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RABINDRANATH TAGORE: THE MAN AND THE POET

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

STRONG in the human heart is the desire to claim kinship as between man and man, between the man standing in the ruck and the man standing apart on an eminence which others may not share with him. It is this human feeling and not merely the spur of curiosity that stimulates the desire for knowledge about the personal peculiarities of great men and women. The baser form of curiosity is usually satisfied with the knowledge of such important events as the donning and doffing of a royal hat, but men desire to know of the ways of men who are not great by the accident of birth, but in their own personal right, the rare gift of a divine afflatus. Between all men there is the bond of a common humanity, common frailties and a common mortality. And when some man towers above his fellows because he happens to have been touched by the magic wand of genius, men wish to assure themselves that he is still one of them, unlike them in some respects but very like them in others.

Of the millions that come and go in the never-ending procession of life and death the world retains no trace : a pinch of ashes here and a handful of dust there, dust unto dust. The earth covers the nameless legion with the mantle of oblivion. Not all : for now and again, out of this mass of vanishing humanity, some one leaves behind him some living thought, some deathless message, some creation of beauty that does not die, that eludes the death-grip of time, and pulses and throbs with life through the passing centuries. The two are easily detachable, the man who goes the way of all flesh and the achievement that does not depart. It is of such a man that we

wonderingly ask, what manner of man was this that lived and died as other men, and yet is living still, deathless in death ?

If it were not for the heritage left by such men humanity would be poor indeed, with the stark poverty of a barren and arid past, a flat and unstimulating present and a future without promise. Here in India millions who look upon Rama as an incarnation of God and utter his name living and dying are barely conscious of what they owe to the Rishi who composed the Ramayana. Those who speak of the principal characters in this sublimest of epics as mere myths do not understand that to a whole nation Rama is as real as the conception of the deity in many lands. History is a thing of yesterday and most of the great things happened long before history came to be written. The Ramayana is not merely a book to be read at leisure and to be put back on the shelf, but it has been for more years than history can count an important part of the spiritual pabulum of one of the most ancient races of the world. Every stratum of Hindu society is penetrated through and through by the living influence of the story of the Ramayana. Rama, intensely human in his trials and sufferings, is an avatar whose divinity has never been questioned ; Sita, whose life-story is a long-drawn tragedy, is the ideal of all womanhood for all time. Year after year the passion-play of the Ramayana brings home to the mind of the humblest Hindu its power and pathos, its idealism and its lofty teachings. And yet but for the Rishi-bard Valmiki there would have been no Ramayana, none of the characters which are as immortal as the gods. Beyond what is mentioned in the epic itself,

we know nothing about this earliest and greatest of poets. What, again, does the world know about Kalidasa, the master-singer who saw and depicted beauty as no other poet has done, before or since? The man, however great, passes, indistinguishable from the herd; his work, if it bears the hall-mark of immortality, endures.

And hence this human and normal interest in the latest Indian poet, whose fame encompasses the world to-day, whose name is on every lip and whose likeness is to be found in a hundred thousand homes in every country in the world. No modern poet has ever attained such fame as has come to Rabindranath Tagore. There is scarcely any language in the world in which some of his works have not been translated, there is hardly any important city in the world in which his figure has not been seen and his voice has not been heard. He has moved as a classic writer whose place among the immortals is already assured. And everywhere men and women have waxed enthusiastic over the dignity and fascination of his personality. This is the appeal of the man to his fellow-men as distinguished from the impersonal appeal of genius apart from the man and unrestrained by limitations of time. A great man of genius may be physically unattractive, but in the case of this Bengali poet nature has been bountiful inside and out, and the distinction of the man is as remarkable as the genius of the poet is great. As he appears to-day, with the fine lineaments of his face and his silver locks, flowing beard and wonderful eyes he resembles a Rishi stepping out of a sylvan glade in ancient Aryavarta or a patriarch full of wisdom moving in the sight of God. I can recall him as he looked when he was just twenty years of age, slender, tall, with his black hair curling down to his waist. He was fairly famous even then as a poet and an elegant prose-writer. I remember an eminent Bengali writer,* who died several years ago, then wrote about Rabindranath Tagore predicting a great future for him, but warning him against being carried away by the plaudits of the public. It was a rhetorical effusion addressed to "Brother Handclap" (ভাই হাততালি) and entreating the said brother not to turn Rabindranath's head by excessive

demonstrations of goodwill. I wonder what this writer would have thought if he had been living to-day and had been an eye-witness to the world-wide homage that has been the guerdon of the poet. Brother Handclap has not succeeded in doing much damage to Rabindranath. As a matter of fact, an answer to this writer was anticipated is one of the early songs of the poet:—

এসেছি কি হেথা যশের কাঙালী,
কথা গেঁথে গেঁথে নিতে করতালি,

* * *
কে জাগিবে আজ, কে করিবে কাজ,
কে বুগতে চাহে জননীর লাজ...

"Have I come into the world as a beggar for fame, to win handclaps by stringing words together? Who will awake to-day, who will work, who wants to wipe out the shame of the Mother?"

A few years later Bankim Chandra Chatterji, then the greatest writer in Bengali literature, suggested to Rabindranath that he should write an epic poem to establish his reputation as a poet. The reply came after some time in some beautiful lines addressed to the poet's Muse as his beloved:—

আমি নাথব মহাকাব্য

সংরনে

ছিল মনে,—

ঠেকল কখন তোমার কাকন—

কিঙ্কিনোতে

কল্পনাটি গেল ফাটি

হাজার গীতে।

মহাকাব্য সেই অভাব্য

দুর্ঘটনার

পায়ের কাছে ছড়িয়ে আছে

কণায় কণায়।

"I had a mind to enter the lists for the composition of an epic poem, but I do not know when my fancy struck your jingling bangles and broke into a thousand songs. Owing to that unexpected accident the epic poem, shattered into atoms, is lying at your feet."

Nearly fifty years of comradeship may constitute some slight claim to an intimate knowledge of a man's nature, though I am not so presumptuous as to imagine that it is of any advantage in measuring the poet's genius. His works are accessible to all readers and competent critics, either in the original or in translations, and are already a part of the literature of the world. Still I have the

* Akshay Chandra Sircar.

memory of having listened to many poems and songs fresh from the pen of the poet and recited or sung in his matchless voice, of many intimate rambles in the flower-strewn fields of literature, of wide ranges of conversation. Many of the friends who forgathered with us are no more, and as the sunset of life is coming on apace, the lengthening shadows of the past are receding in the distance behind us. The years that have brought much fame for Rabindranath have also brought him many sorrows, domestic bereavements of which the world knows thought.

Of school and university education Rabindranath has had no share. As a boy he attended school for a very short time, but his delicate and sensitive nature rebelled against the thoughtless indiscriminate which passes for discipline; neither was the companionship of the average school-boy to his liking. He shook the dust of the school from his feet after a brief experience, but at home he was a careful and diligent student, and he began composing poetry at a very early age. He went to England as a young lad, but he did not attempt to qualify either for the Indian Civil Service or the Bar. He read, however, for some time with Mr. Henry Morley, who was much struck by the elegance and accuracy of Rabindranath's English composition. During his sojourn in England Rabindranath used to write Bengali letters, which were published, descriptive of his English experiences. For a lad in his teens the descriptions were remarkably vivid and showed considerable powers of observation. On his return to India two things were noticeable: he was entirely unaffected by his visit to England in his ways of living. He never put on the European dress and acquired no European habits. The other thing was that in spite of his undoubted command over the English language and his extensive reading of English literature he rarely wrote English. All his literary work and even his correspondence was done in Bengali. Until he began translating his own poems he had made no serious attempt to write in English, and now by his translations, his lectures and his letters he ranks as a great original English writer.

If genius is a capacity for taking infinite pains and hard and sustained work, the Indian poet has amply demonstrated it by his unswerving devotion to literature. Of course, the original spark must be there, for it is absurd

to contend that genius is latent in every man and can be brought out by unremitting toil. You cannot delve down into the bowels of the earth anywhere at random to find a precious stone. Our poet has fed the flame of his genius steadily and loyally, and the light that he has kindled has penetrated as a gentle and illuminating radiance to the remotest corners of the earth. Poetry, drama and fiction have been enriched by his contributions, and he has shed fresh lustre upon various departments of human thought. Nor has he been heedless to the call of his country, though his temperament is unsuited for the din and jar of practical politics. He presided once over a political conference and delivered a profoundly thoughtful address in Bengali. When Bengal was embittered by the partition of that Province and feeling ran high, the heart of the poet-patriot was deeply stirred and the songs he then composed were sung everywhere, at public meetings and in processions, by prisoners in prison vans and prison cells, by women in the home and by boys in the streets. Two or three years later, Rabindranath narrowly escaped having a signal political distinction conferred upon him by the Government of Bengal. He had read a certain paper in Bengali at a crowded meeting in Calcutta and it was published in the usual course. Shortly afterwards he received an official letter from Mr. Chief Secretary Macpherson conveying the warning of the Bengal Government against what was considered a seditious speech. The Government stayed their hand so far that they did not forthright launch a prosecution. Rabindranath told me that he sent no reply to this letter, but though this little incident is not generally known it is well worth being recorded as the first official appreciation in India of the Indian poet. For some time the school established and maintained by Rabindranath at Bolpur and now known all over the civilised world as Visvabharati was under grave suspicion as a hotbed of sedition. It was a fair and accurate index of the working of the official mind in India.

A few more years passed and the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Rabindranath Tagore. How did this come about? The panels which make the selections for the award of the various Nobel prizes are constituted of men who know nothing about the language in which the works of the Indian poet are written. It is contemptuously designated an Indian provincial vernacular

language, as if every living language in the world is not the vernacular and the mother-tongue of some people. English may be a classical language, but we have not heard that the vernacular of England is Hebrew! All that the judges had before them was a thin volume in which the poet had rendered into English a few of his original poems in Bengali. It was not a metrical translation, but the spirit and soul of poetry were to be found in the marvellously musical and rhythmical lines. They disclosed a hitherto unrevealed subtlety of fascination in the English language with delicate nuances of the poet's own touch. Even so the judges could have scarcely realised that in going so far east as India and making a selection from a race ruled by a nation in Europe they were conferring a great honour upon the Nobel Prize itself, for in the list of Nobel prizemen no name stands higher to day than that of Rabindranath Tagore.

A large and influential deputation from Calcutta waited upon the poet at Bolpur in his country home, well named the Abode of Peace (শান্তি নিকেতন), to congratulate him on his having been awarded the Nobel Prize. In his reply the poet spoke with a shade of bitterness. Was not all his work done in his own country and were not his books accessible to all readers in Bengal? Those that had given him the Nobel prize had only seen a few of his poems in translation and did not know a word of the language in which they were originally written. The poet was right for was it not humiliating that his countrymen in Bengal should have waited for the recognition of his genius to have come home all the way round from Europe? In the introduction, written about this time, to his valuable work, "A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation," Mr. Havell writes:—"If Anglo-India or the Calcutta University had awarded a prize for literature, open to the world, neither would, have discovered a Bengali poet."† Unfortunately, it is a besetting weakness of our people that they see through other people's eyes and cannot always appreciate worth

for its own sake. If a man, gets a good Government job or some trumpery title, there is an epidemic of entertainments in his honour and he is acclaimed as a hero so long as the novelty of his distinction lasts. If not widely popular, the name of Rabindranath was a household word in Bengal even before the Nobel Prize was conferred upon him. His poems and specially his songs were known everywhere and there was not a single Bengali home in which his songs were not sung. The most striking tribute is that of imitation and this has been rendered to him in abounding measure, for there is hardly any Bengali writer of verse who has not imitated Rabindranath's language, his metrical originality and versatility and his unmistakeable distinction, though of course the supremacy of the Master remains undisputed. When he was fifty years of age, his educated countrymen of Bengal made him a public presentation in the Town Hall of Calcutta, an honour which has not been shown to any other Bengali writer. Moreover, has it often happened that full and adequate appreciation has come to a great writer or a great man of genius in his own life-time? Such a man lives in advance of his times and it takes time for later generations to arrive at a proper understanding of him. The world was not always the huge sounding board and the rounded whispering gallery it is to-day and great books were written without the world hailing them as important literary events. Was not William Shakespeare an obscure individual in his life-time, and he lived only a little over three hundred years ago?

The Nobel prize looms large in the world's estimation and yet one wonders whether a money prize is the best tribute to genius. For a struggling author the prize is a considerable sum of money and Rabindranath himself has received letters inquiring how the Swedish prize for literature may be won. But while it is only about eight thousand pounds of English money, a heavy-weight boxing champion may earn a prize of eight hundred thousand dollars by having his head and face mashed into pulp! Rabindranath himself kept no part of the Nobel Prize money for his own use, but handed over the whole amount to the Visvabharati. Literary giants like the late Anatole France and George Bernard Shaw have refused to retain the money of the Nobel Prize for their personal use. But the present age is ruled

* This is not the place to enter into a discussion on this point; but we have always felt that the poet was not right, as his genius had received marked and unprecedented recognition in Bengal before the award of the Nobel Prize to him.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

† That would have only proved how entirely ignorant Anglo-India and the Calcutta University were of Bengal's appreciation of her greatest poet.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

by the almighty dollar and the greatest writers are those whose books are considered the best sellers in the market. Judged even by this standard Rabindranath easily holds the first place, for a single German firm has sold five million copies of some of his books. To borrow a phrase from the turf, it is the best sayer that wins a race, and the life of a book is to be measured not by its vogue for a season but by its passing the ordeal of time.

What detracts greatly from the intrinsic value of the Nobel Prize is that it is an annual award. How is it possible to discover a great name in literature every year when a century may pass without producing a really great writer? Consequently, the prize has frequently to be given to mediocre writers whose reputation cannot be enhanced by any prize. It is somewhat like the appointment of a poet laureate in England. What great names besides those of Tennyson and Wordsworth are to be found in the list of English laureates? The royal seal and sign manual can create ministers and governors but not a poet who fills his place by right divine and holds a commission from God Himself. Lord Dewar, a master of epigram and perhaps the wittiest living after-dinner speaker, recently said at a dinner of an Institute of Painters in London, "Poets are born—and not paid." This fine epigram was garnished with a story about the present English Poet Laureate, who refused to give the press reporters an interview when he happened to be in America some time ago. The next morning the New York papers came out with the attractive headline, "The King's Canary Won't Chirp!" The King's canary is sometimes only a house sparrow faked to look like a canary, but its chirp gives it away. Nor can a gift of money add to a poet's reputation. Money is here today and gone tomorrow, and has no element of stability. Therefore, in ancient Rome they crowned the poet and the man of genius with the laurel crown, a handful of ever-green leaves, emblematic of the freshness and immortality of fame. It could be had for the mere plucking but not all the gold in the world can produce a single leaf of laurel.

Among the messages of congratulations received by the Indian poet there was one of genuine respect and homage from the late Mr. E. S. Montagu, then Under-Secretary and afterwards Secretary of State for India. At the next distribution of honours Rabindra-

nath received a knighthood. There may or may not be some connection between these two incidents, but it is a speculation of no interest. All that has to be noted is that the Government of the country displayed an interest in the poet on two occasions: first, when they threatened him as a purveyor of sedition and the next time when they conferred upon him a knighthood in the wake of the Nobel prize. This is not the end of the story, for there is a glorious sequel to it. When the Punjab lay prostrate under the iron heel of martial law, bruised, bleeding, outraged and martyred, the great patriot heart of Rabindranath went out in throbbing sympathy to his stricken countrymen in that Province, and he cast away from him, in indignant protest, the knighthood with which he had been honoured. The letter that he wrote to Lord Chelmsford on that occasion will remain a historical and human document of a lofty and dignified protest couched in language of singular force and eloquence. And his decision has been accepted without question throughout the world, for no one now thinks of addressing him as a knight. What an object-lesson for many of our countrymen who cling to their petty titles and blazon them on their door fronts! By surrendering his title Rabindranath flung down his gauntlet as a challenge to oppression and it was a deed more truly knightly than the breaking of a lance in a joust of arms.

At different times it has been the privilege of genius to disregard the conventions of social life and to live amidst picturesque, bizarre surroundings. But the blandishments of Bohemia have never had the slightest attraction for Rabindranath Tagore. In his hermitage of peace, surrounded by the young Brahmachari scholars of the Visvabharati, the teachers and learned men from distant lands, he has brought back the atmosphere of the open-air teaching of the ancient Aryans. At Bolpur he is revered and addressed as Gurudeva just as the Rishis and teachers of ancient India were addressed by their disciples. To such of our countrymen as delight in the garb of the West and look upon England and Europe as the Mecca of their dreams, a visit to Bolpur may prove something of a shock. Time and again, the magnet of Rabindranath's personality has drawn famous and learned scholars of Europe to his academy. During their stay these learned pundits from the West discard the stiff and inelegant clothing of Europe, for the

graceful raiment of Bengal. But for the strange and humiliating obsession which is euphemistically called the cultural domination of Europe, no thought would have ever come to Indians of exchanging their own costumes for European clothing. There is so little imagination and such lack of individual choice in the West that practically all Europe and America have only a single kind of dress. Apart from climatic suitability, so far as western countries may be concerned, I can conceive of nothing more inartistic than the clothes of Europe with their close fit, straight lines and sharp angles, making a man look like a rectangle set upon two straight lines. So great an authority as Thomas Alva Edison has condemned the garments of Europe and America without reserve on the ground that they cramp a man's movements and his life. On the other hand, most Indian costumes are full of grace, generously fashioned, giving free movement to the limbs, and falling in artistic curves and folds. There is no more attractive headdress anywhere than the turban of the Punjab, no upper garment so well-proportioned or so suggestive of dignity as the robe worn in northern India, no costume so wholly beautiful as that of Bengal, the *chadar* being an improvement on the Roman toga. The robes that Rabindranath himself wears when travelling in foreign lands are distinguished by originality and individuality. There is probably no Indian living who is in deeper sympathy with the intellect of Europe, or has better assimilated the finest literature of that continent, but he has not made the mistake of accepting the husk for the kernel of European culture.

Does the Nobel prize afford an explanation of the wonderful reception accorded to Rabindranath Tagore in the West and the Far East? Rudyard Kipling, the much-belauded poet of the Empire, is also a Nobel prizewinner. If he were to undertake a tour of the world, would he be acclaimed in the same manner as the Indian poet? For Rabindranath the Nobel prize has served as an introduction to the West, but that is all. For the rest the Nobel prize has been of no more use to him than his cast-off knighthood. From continent to continent, country to country, capital to capital he has passed as a vision of light, East and West rendering him the obeisance due to a world-teacher. It has been a royal progress and Rabindranath has moved like a king, ay, a king of hearts playing with wizard fingers upon the heart-

strings of the nations. The great ones of the world have vied with one another in doing him all possible honour, learned and intellectual men have received him as a leader and elder brother, the Universities have opened wide their doors in scholastic welcome, men and women have jostled one another for a sight of this poet and prophet from the East. He has lectured to crowded audiences in English which was subsequently translated into the local language. He has recited his poems in the original Bengali to hushed houses which listened, without understanding the words, to the music of his voice. In China, the representative of the dethroned Manchu dynasty presented him with an imperial robe. Everywhere and in all lands he has been greeted and acclaimed with an enthusiasm and a reverence of which the world holds no parallel.

Since at the moment we are concerned more with the man than with the poet, it may be fittingly asked whether apart from his great gifts Rabindranath has any claim to greatness. The answer is, strip him of his God-given dower of song, even as he himself has laid aside his man-made title of distinction, take away from him his treasure of wisdom garnered during the years, and still he is great—great in his lofty character, great in the blameless purity of his life, great in his unquenchable love for the land of his birth, undeniably great in his deep and earnest religiousness and the faith that rises as an incense to his Maker. As a mere man he is an exemplar whom his countrymen, in all reverence and all humility, may well endeavour to follow.

As a poet Rabindranath has won wider celebrity than any poet in his own lifetime. His works, or parts of them, are familiar to most readers in Europe, Asia and America. The best translations in English are by himself and these have been translated into other languages. Critics in Europe and America, almost without exception, have bestowed high praise on his writings and ranked him among the great poets of the world. Occasionally the criticism is shallow, specially when the Indian poet has been compared to some European poet. A comparison between two writers in two different languages may have the merit of suggestion, but it is not helpful to constructive criticism. A critic who undertakes such a comparison must satisfy his readers that he has read both writers in the original

with full understanding. I doubt whether any European critic can make such an assertion in regard to the poetical writings of Rabindranath Tagore. An English admirer, residing in India, of the poet claims to have read him in the original Bengali and he considers the Indian writer in some respects superior to Victor Hugo. He has not, however, thought of comparing the poet to any English writer. If an Indian critic were to make such a comparison he should be asked whether he had read the works of Victor Hugo in the original French. The similarity between the French and the Indian writer is in their versatility and range of creative genius. Both are masters of prose and verse, both are writers of prose fiction, both have written dramatic and lyrical poetry, both are child-lovers and have tendered the homage of exquisite song to the sovereignty of childhood. There the comparison ends and it can be carried no further, because the two writers belong to two widely divergent schools. Tennyson rightly called Victor Hugo 'Stormy Voice of France.' The great French poet was 'Lord of human tears' but he was in his element in the *Sturm und Drang* of nature and human passions. 'French of the French', he smote and withered Napoleon *Le Petit* with the flail and fire of his scorn and his burning philippics in prose and verse. He nicknamed Napoleon III the Little in contrast with Napoleon the Great. The muse of the Indian poet moves in the glory of early dawn and seeks the gathering shadows of evening. She finds her pleasure, not in the storm and stress, but in the smiling beauties, of nature. She haunts the moonlight and strays in the ripe and waving corn. She listens to the voice of the sandal-scented wind from the south and knocks gently at the door of the human heart.

In the case of a great poet or writer contemporary judgment may not always be in agreement with the ultimate verdict of posterity. A man standing close to the foot of a mountain cannot form a correct estimate of its height or its imposing position in the landscape. Similarly, a certain perspective of time is necessary for an accurate appreciation of a great original writer or creative genius. But the faculty of criticism has grown with the development of literature and we cannot expect the suspension of contemporary judgment in the

case of any writer, great or small. That judgment as regards the Indian poet is entirely gratifying and will be endorsed by future generations of critics. Rich and varied as is the output of Rabindranath's literary work, he stands pre-eminent as a lyric poet. The world of readers outside his own province of Bengal knows him only through the medium of translations. Poetry divides itself easily into three main sections, epic, dramatic and lyric, the three clearly demarcated and separated by wide stretches of time and the evolution of the human intellect. Of these epic poetry is somewhat easy of translation, because its essence is narrative. Some loss is unavoidable in translation but the outlines and central structure of an epic can be retained even in a new language. Drama is more difficult but the excellent renderings into English of the powerful Greek tragedies prove that the difficulties of translation are not insuperable. A fine lyrical poem is the despair of the translator. A great epic is fashioned in a Titanic mould of which a cast may be taken. A drama is a panoramic view of human nature and may be copied. But a beautiful lyric is a sparkling little jewel of which every facet is carefully cut by the poet-jeweller and its setting is the language in which it is composed. Any duplication or imitation of such a gem may prove to be mere paste. To be fully appreciated a lyrical poem must be read in the original with due understanding of the language in which it is written. It is a compact and component whole from which no part can be separated from another. The words, the figures, the metre are all wedded together. Rabindranath has translated his poems as no one else could have done, but how is it possible to convey in another language the grace, the metrical arrangement and the musical harmony of the words of the original poems?

It can scarcely be expected that readers and admirers in far lands will learn the language of Bengal to read the works of the Bengali poet as originally written. India itself is a land of many languages and outside Bengal Indian readers have to read the English translations of the poet. I remember several years before Rabindranath received the Nobel prize Gopal Krishna Gokhale, politician and mathematician, learned the Bengali language for the express purpose of reading Rabindranath's poems in the original Bengali. Gokhale read out to me a few

poems on one occasion, apologising for his inability to reproduce the Bengali accent and enunciation, and then asked me to read the same poems in the manner of a Bengali. However wide-flung his fame, Rabindranath's permanent place is in the literature of his own language. As a Bengali free from a few delusions, I recognise that Bengali literature does not rank as one of the great literatures of the world, though it is full of promise and has already produced a few writers of undoubted genius. Periods of literary activity have alternated with long spells of stagnation. There have been a very few critics of outstanding ability but critical acumen has not been systematically and conscientiously cultivated. The little criticism that is to be found is either shallow, or mordant, which passes for smartness, or indiscriminating and fulsome adulation. When Rabindranath was a young boy criticism by comparison was rampant in Bengal, and every writer of any note was compared to some English writer. Early Bengali literature was neglected. The Vaishnava poems of the era of Chaitanya, the cradle and crown of the lyrical poetry of Bengal, were consigned to the oblivion of cheap and obscure printing presses. The boy Rabindranath turned to this literature with the unerring instinct of nascent genius. As a boy-poet he wrote a number of charming poems in imitation of the language of Vidyapati, a Maithil poet by birth and the language of his verse, but also a Bengali poet by adoption and extensive imitation during the period Bengali poetry was influenced by the personality of Chaitanya.

As the pinions of his genius grew stronger the poet soared higher and ranged wider. The supreme art of simplicity was his to begin with, and he rapidly acquired considerable depth of thought and a rare strength and delicacy of touch. There was very little variety in rhythm, metre and measure in Bengali poetry, though the great poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt had introduced blank verse and a few simple new metres. Rabindranath dazzled his readers by his creative faculty of introducing new metres and measures. Tripping verses nimble-footed as *Tripsichore*, slow, dreamy measures caught in the land of the lotus-eaters, long-swinging, stately lines of regal grace, stirring lays of knightly deeds and martyr heroes, lofty chants from ancient Aryan and Buddhist legendary lore, holy hymns rising like hosannas from the shrine of the soul, all

were his and his muse answered every compelling call. His language is of classical purity and dignity, and of striking originality. Critics everywhere have been struck by his wealth of simile and metaphor, the subtlety of perception and suggestion, the realisation of the beautiful. His devotional songs and poems are among the finest in the whole range of literature. They are a noble and melodious expression of a living faith beautiful in its strength and sublime in its appeal. His lyrical poems are of steadily progressive strength and variety, and the careful student can detect the successive stages of development, the growing maturity of thought and expression, the increasing power over language and rhyme, and the splendid outburst of music in several of his later poems. Without attempting anything like an exhaustive criticism or appreciation of the poet I may quote a single poem displaying some of the qualities which have placed Rabindranath in the front rank of lyric poets. This poem was composed when the poet was about thirty-four years of age, in the full plenitude of his powers and the assured strength of his genius. The theme is *Urbasi* :—

উপাঙ্গ

নহ মাঠা, নহ কস্তা, নহ বধু, স্তম্ভরি রূপনি,
হে নন্দনবাদিনী উর্কশি।
গোষ্ঠে যবে সন্ধ্যা নামে শ্রান্ত ধোহে স্বর্ণকল টানি,
তুমি কোনে গৃহপ্রান্তে নাহি ছাল সন্ধ্যাদীপখানি ;
বিধায় জড়িত পদে, কস্ত্রক্ষে নম্র নেত্রপাতে
শ্রিত হস্তে নাহি চল সলজ্জিত বাসর সজ্জাতে
শুক অধ্বাতে ।
উগার উদয় সন অনবন্ততি।
তুমি অকুণ্ঠিত।

বৃন্তহ'ন পুষ্পসন আপনাতে আপনি বিকশি
কবে তুমি ফুটিলে উর্কশি।
আদম বসন্তপ্রাতে উঠেছিলে মল্লিহ সাগরে,
ডানহাতে স্বধাপত্র, বিষভাণ্ড লয়ে বাম করে ;
ভরঙ্গিত মহামুকু মন্ত্রণাস্ত ভূহঙ্গের মত
পড়েছিল পদপ্রান্তে, উচ্ছ্বসিত ফণা লক্ষ শত
কবি অবনত ।
কুন্দস্ত্র নগ্নকান্তি অরেন্দ্র বশিতা,
তুমি অনিন্দিত।

কোনোকালে হিলে না কি মুকুলিকা বালিকা বয়সী
হে অনন্তযৌবনা উর্কশি।
আঁধার পাথারতলে কার ঘরে বসিয়া একেলা
মাণিক মুকুতা লয়ে করেছিলে শৈশবের খেলা,

মণিদীপদীপ্তকক্ষে সমুদ্রের কল্লোলসঙ্গীতে
অকলঙ্ক হস্তমুখে এবাল পালকে ঘুমাইতে
কার অক্ষটিতে ?
যখন জাগিলে বিধে, যোবনে গঠিতা
পূর্ণ অক্ষুটিতে ।

যুগ যুগান্তর হতে তুমি শুধু বিশ্বের প্রেমদী
হে অপূর্ণশোভনা উর্ধ্বশি !
মুনিগণ ধ্যান ভাঙি দেয় পদে তপস্তার ফল,
তোমারি কটাক্ষঘাতে ত্রিভুবন যোবনচঞ্চল,
তোমার মদির গন্ধ অঙ্ক বায়ু বহে চারিভিতে,
মধুমত্ত ভ্রমসম মুগ্ধ কবি কিরে লুপ্ত চিতে,
উদার সঙ্গীতে ।
নুপুর গুঞ্জরি যাত আকুল-অকলা
বিদ্রাব-চঞ্চল ।

হরসভাতলে যবে নৃত্য কর পূলকে উল্লসি,
হে বিলোল-হিম্মল উর্ধ্বশি !
ছন্দে ছন্দে নাচি উঠে দিক্‌মাঝে তরঙ্গের দল,
শস্ত্র-দীর্ঘে শিহরিয়া কাঁপি উঠে ধবার অকল,
তব স্তনহার হতে নভস্তলে ঝদি পড়ে তারা,
অকস্মাৎ পুরুষের বক্ষোমাঝে চিত্ত আয়হারি,
নাচে রক্তধারা ।

দিগন্তে মেখলা তব টুটে আচম্বিতে
অগ্নি অনব্রতে !

স্বর্গের উদয়াচলে মুত্তিমতী তুমি হে উদয়ী
হে ভুবনমোহিনী উর্ধ্বশি !
জগতের অশ্রুধারে ধোত তব তনুর তনিমা,
ত্রিলোকের হৃদিরক্তে আঁকা তব চরণ-শোণিমা,
মুক্তবেণী বিবসনে, বিকশিত বিশ্ব-বাসনার
অরবিন্দ মাঝখানে পাদপদ্ম রেখেছ তোমার
অতি লঘুভার ।
অখিল মানসস্বর্গে অনন্তরঞ্জিনী
হে স্বপ্নসঙ্গিনি !

ওই স্তন দিশে দিশে তোমা লাগি কাঁদিছে ক্রন্দসী—
হে নিষ্ঠুরা বধিরা উর্ধ্বশি !
আদিযুগ পুরাতন এ জগতে কিরবে কি আর,—
অভল অকুল হতে দিক্‌কোশে উঠিবে আবার ?
প্রথম সে তম্বুধানি দেখা দিবে প্রথম প্রভাতে
বারিবিন্দু পাতে ।
অকস্মাৎ মহাধর্মি অপূর্ণ সঙ্গীতে
হবে তরঙ্গিতে ।

কিরিবে না কিরিবে না—অন্ত গেছে সে গৌরবশশী,
অন্তাচলবাসিনী উর্ধ্বশি ।
তাই আজ ধরাডালে বসন্তের আনন্দ- উজ্জ্বল
কার চিরবিরহের দীর্ঘাশ মিশে বহে আসে,
পূর্ণমানিনীধে যবে দশদিকে পরিপূর্ণ হাসি,

দূরস্মৃতি কোথা হতে বাজায় ব্যাকুল-করা বাঁশি,
বরে অশ্রুবাণি ।
তব আশা জেগে থাকে প্রাণের ক্রন্দনে
অগ্নি অধ্বজনে !

Of this poem, which scintillates and glitters like the Kohinoor in the poet's Golconda of flawless jewels of the finest water, I have essayed a translation, with very indifferent success:—

Nor mother, nor maid, nor bride art thou,
O beauteous Urvasi, dweller in the garden of the gods !
When Eve comes down on the mead drawing the golden end of her garment round her weary shape,
Thou dost not light the evening lamp in a corner of any home ;
With the faltering feet of doubt, trembling bosom and downcast eyelids,
Smiling and coy, thou dost not pass to the bridal bed
In the still midnight.
Unveiled as the rise of the dawn
Unembarrassed art thou !

Like a flower without a stem blooming in itself

When didst thou blossom, Urvasi ?
Out of the churned sea thou didst rise in the primal spring-morn
With the chalice of ambrosia in thine right hand, the poison cup in thy left ;
Like a serpent charm-stilled the mighty ocean wave-tost
Sank at thy feet bending its million heaving hoods
In obeisance.
White as the *Kunda* flower, in beauty undraped,
the lord of the gods bowing before thee,
Fair art thou !

Wert thou never a budding maiden tender in years,

O Urvasi, of youth eterne ?
In the dark vault under the sea, sitting lone in whose abode
Didst thou play with rubies and pearls the games of childhood ;
In a chamber lit with jewelled lamps, to the cradle-song of the sea,
With pure smiling face, on a couch of coral, in whose arms

Didst thou sleep ?
Instant on thy awakening in the universe thou wert fashioned with youth
Full flowered !

From aeons and ages past thou art but the beloved of the Universe,
O Urvasi of grace beyond compare !
Saints break their meditation to lay the merit of their communion at thy feet,
Struck by the shaft of thy glance the three worlds stir with youth,

Borne is thy intoxicating fragrance by the
 blind wind all ways,
 Like a bee drunk with honey the poet
 enraptured roams tempted of spirit
 With impassioned song.
 Thou passest with the tinkle of thy anklet,
 fluttering the end of thy garment,
 Swift as the lightning !

When thou dancest in the assembled hall of
 the gods, exuberant with joy,
 O swaying, billowy Urvasi,
 To measured music dance the lined waves

of the sea,
 Shivering to the ears of corn trembles the
 apron of the earth ;
 From the chainlet on thy breast bursts the
 star that falls on the floor of the sky !
 Suddenly in the breast of man the mind loses

itself,
 The stream of blood dances in his veins.
 On the distant horizon of a sudden snaps
 thy girdle,
 O thou without restraint !

On heaven's mountain crest of sunrise thou
 art Aurora embodied,
 O Urvasi, the charmer of the world !

The slenderness of thy form is washed with
 the tears of the world,
 Painted is the pink of thy feet with the
 heart-blood of the three worlds,
 O thou with thy hair unbound, ungarmented !
 on the open lotus-flower
 Of the world's desire thou hast poised thy
 lotus feet

Ever so light !
 In the whole heaven of the mind endless
 is thy delight,
 O companion of dreams !

Hark ! all around earth and heaven are
 crying for thee,

O cruel, heedless Urvasi !
 Will the pristine and ancient of cycles come
 back to the earth,
 From the fathomless, shoreless sea, wet-
 tressed, wilt thou rise again ?
 First will that form appear in that first morn,
 All thy limbs will weep hurt by the eyes
 of the universe,

Dripping the water from thy loveliness.
 On a sudden the great ocean will heave and roll
 To a song unsung before.

Never again, never again ! That moon of
 glory has set,
 On the mount of the sunset dwells Urvasi.
 So on the earth today in the burst of joy
 of the spring
 Whose long-drawn sigh of parting eternal
 comes mingled with the notes of mirth ?
 On the night of the full-moon when all
 around is full laughter
 Whence come the tunes distraught of the
 lute of distant memory ?

The tears flow in flood,
 Still hope keeps awake in the weeping of the
 heart,
 O thou bondless one !

The metre of this poem is original, the language is full of artistic grace and the instinct of the true poet is to be repeatedly found in the choice of the words. Words like कम्प्रा (*Kāmpṛa*, trembling), उषसी (*Ushasi*, dawn), तनिमा (*Tanima*, slenderness), and शोণিমা (*Sonima*, redness), delightfully musical, are rarely met with in Bengali poetry. In one line occurs the word ক্রন্দসৌ (*Kṛandasi*, heaven and earth). How many Bengali readers of the poet know the meaning of this word or have troubled themselves to trace its origin ? It cannot be found in any Bengali dictionary or even an average Sanscrit dictionary. It is an archaic Sanscrit word and occurs in three places in the Rīg-Veda, in the second, sixth and tenth *mandalas*. The meaning of the word is two contending armies shouting defiance, but in the commentary of Sayanacharya it is noted that it also means heaven and earth. It is in this sense that the word has been used by the poet in this poem. This will give an idea of the wide and accurate scholarship of the poet and his artistic selection of appropriate words.

Urvasi is an epithet of the dawn personified as an *apsara*, a heavenly nymph, the principal danseuse in Indra's heaven. The Aryan, Greek, Roman and Islamic conceptions of paradise are a perpetuation of the lower forms of the pleasures of life on earth. The paradise of the North American Indian is the happy hunting ground, for he cannot think of a heaven without the pleasures of the chase. Incidents relating to Urvasi are frequently mentioned in ancient Sanscrit books. Among the objects and beings that rose from the sea when it was churned by the gods and the demops with the mount Mandar for a churning rod and the great serpent Vasuki for a churning rope Urvasi was one. This splendid allegory crystallises some dim and remote tradition about some stupendous convulsion of nature, may be an unparalleled seismic disturbance, a mighty volcanic eruption, the emergence of a vast tract of land from the sea or the submergence of some forgotten continent like Atlantis. In Greek mythology, which is largely a reflex of Aryan mythology, Aphrodite, named Venus in Roman mythology, rose from the sea-foam in which she was born. The Sanscrit legend explains how the sea was

churned into foam by a Titanic process. Aphrodite unlike Urvasi does not represent the dawn, but the Greek word for daybreak, *eos*, is etymologically very similar to the Sanscrit word for dawn, *usha*.

In all the ancient accounts relating to Urvasi there is nothing that appeals to the finer feelings. There is the fascination, irresistible to saint and sinner alike, of an unearthly and fadeless beauty. In the tenth *mandala* of the Rig Veda there is a dialogue between Pururava and Urvasi. The story is told in fuller detail in the Satapatha Brahmana, the Bhagavata and is mentioned in several other books. In the Mahabharata the second Pandava, Arjuna, who rejected Urvasi's advances, was cursed by her. For a short spell she was the wife of King Pururava and in dramatising this incident in Vikramorvasi the poet Kalidasa represents her as a loving and attractive woman. But the modern poet has restored Urvasi to the spirit world and interpreted her with an inspiration so sympathetic and elevating as to reveal her in a new light. As one reads and understands this poem, he realises the sublimation of Urvasi from the low level of sense to the height of supersense. She no longer appears merely as the radiant but heartless ravisher of hearts, a much-magnified, if elusive, type of the scarlet woman. Any conception of the eternal feminine, whether in the flesh or in the spirit, is incomplete without the three stages of maidenhood, wifehood and motherhood, and this is the first note sounded by the poet while apostrophising Urvasi. Fronting the universe, unshrinking in the freshness and glory of the first dawn of creation, Urvasi stands in the splendour of her beauty with the glint of the young sunlight on her loveliness.

And this image recalls the legend of her first manifestation, for there is no word about her birth anywhere though the parentage of the gods can be easily traced in the elaborate theogony of Sanscrit sacred literature, with its imposing setting. Behold the gods and their opponents with their muscles showing like corded steel, heaving and straining and pulling at either end of the straightened but writhing coils of the mightiest of serpents, trampling the golden strand under their giant feet, the massive bulk of mount Mandar whirling each way by turn with the broad, speckled bands of the length of the serpent Ananta enfolding its girth, the cosmic ocean lashed and

racked and churned into hissing, hydra-headed foam ! And behind this travail and turmoil is the background of the calm and smiling rose-flush of the dawn ! On this scene of mingled strife and peace appears Urvasi, parting the waters and the foam, her hair dripping and clinging to the rounded curves and the slender lines of her peerless form, the vision of her beauty striking the godly and ungodly beholders dumb with amazement !

For centuries poets and dramatists and other writers accepted this conception of Urvasi without question. There was no suggestion of any flaw in the myth, or anything lacking in the imagination that invested the nymph with perennial youth. But the latest of the great poets of India has noted the gap in the life-story of Urvasi. We see her suddenly revealed to the astonished eyes of the universe in the maturity of her lissome grace, the immortal gift of her beauty and her fatal fascination, but nothing is known of the innocence of her early youth, of her playfulness as a child or the arms that rocked her to sleep in a gilded chamber in some submarine palace. And hence the wondering question of the poet concerning the missing infancy of Urvasi. The original legend is undoubtedly a daring figment revelling in the creation of full-grown beauty, skipping the stages between childhood and maturity. In Judaic tradition and the Book of Genesis the first man and woman were never infants. But the loss to the being or the spirit so created is immeasurable. What beauty of person or consciousness of strength can compensate for the void inseparable from the absence of the lights and shadows of the vista of memory, recollections of the past to fill moments of idleness or preoccupation ?

This is the emphasis on the word 'only' (ॐ *sudhoo*) when the poet says Urvasi has been for ages the beloved of the whole universe. Her appeal is the disturbing influence of beauty alone without the lighter shades of the memory of an innocent childhood. It is the puissance of sheer beauty shattering the concentrated contemplation of the saint and filling all the worlds with the ache of youth and maddening the fancy of the poet. But she, the creator of all this commotion, the dancer with the jingling-anklets making music to her footfall, flits as she will, gay, heartwhole, fanc-free. It is when she dances before the assembled gods on the

sapphire floor of the ball-room in Indra's palace with all the abandon and witchery of her art that the poet lifts the veil from the mystery of her identity and reveals her as the spirit of beauty behind the phenomena of nature. The rhythmic waves of the sea keep measure to her dancing feet, the tremors of the agitated earth are communicated to the heads of corn, the heart of man is strangely and inexplicably disturbed. The falling meteor is a jewel burst from the chain round Urvashi's neck in the mad whirl of her dance, the lambent lightning with its wavy lines is the broken strand of the lustrous girdle round her waist. Urvashi is the expression of all the buoyant, spontaneous joyance of Nature!

Still further behind is the Vedic myth, though even there the identity of Urvashi with the Morning Dawn and the Evening Twilight is very faint and the allegory is more or less lost in the proper name. In hailing her as the embodiment of dawn in heaven the poet greets her on the threshold of early tradition and yet finds in her the fulfilment of the later and wilder myths cleansed from the grosser accretions of later times. The morning dew in which the dawn is bathed represents the tears of the world while the tinge of rose with which the delicate feet of Urvashi is painted by the rays of the morning sun is the heart-blood of all the worlds. As the lotus which remains closed at night opens its heart to the first touch of the sun, so the longing and the desire of the universe opens out as a lotus flower on which the dainty sun-kissed feet of Urvashi may rest. The image of beauty that haunts the dreams of the world is the all-pervading loveliness of Urvashi.

Will the revolving cycles bring back the ancient and pristine era when Urvashi rose from the sea which hailed her with a new song of welcome? Will a wondering world again witness what the gods saw? Will the wailing cry of heaven and earth reach

Urvashi and turn her tripping feet back to the scene of her first triumphs? Vain, alas is the weeping and yearning for the lost Urvashi! How can the beauty and the glory of the first dawn of creation ever return? Is it not recorded in the Rig Veda* that Urvashi told Pururava, "I have gone from thee like the first of Mornings....I, like the wind, am difficult to capture"? Urvashi is not the nymph of the daily recurrent dawn. She came from the waters flashing brilliant as the falling lightning, bringing delicious presents for Pururava†. Gone is she with the glory of the first of Mornings, leaving behind her the memory of a vanished beauty such as has never again been seen on earth or in heaven, and her parting sigh comes floating in the festive season of springtide as an undernote of melancholy!

And so we see Urvashi again, ancient as the Vedas in recorded language and far more ancient in mythic tradition, uplifted and purified, stepping forth as she did when she rent the veil of uncreated, brooding gloom and looked out on the universe in the soft dawnlight, wondering and wondered at, passing fair, winning unsought the adoration of immortals and mortals. The fame of the poet, to whose genius we owe this new presentation of the world-old Urvashi, has been broadcast round the world by the wireless of human appreciation conveyed in many tongues, and if we claim him as our own it is with the knowledge that he belongs also to the world and his is the one form of wealth which grows with the giving. To the many exotic foibles that we have brought from the West, let us not add the pride of possession indifferently distributed between a transient empire, a race-horse and a casual poet. Let ours be the better portion of sharing the glad gratefulness of giving, of adding to the joy and light of the world.

* Rig Vêda, X, 95.

† Ibid.

SPRING THAT IN MY COURTYARD

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Spring that in my courtyard used to make
Such riot once, and buzzing laughter lift.
With heaped drift—
Pomegranate-flowers,
Kanchan, *parul*, rain of *pulas*—showers;
Spring whose new twigs stirred the woods awake,
With rosy kisses maddening all the sky,

Seeks me out to-day with soundless feet,
Where I sit alone. Her steadfast gaze
Goes out to where the fields and heavens meet
Beside my silent cottage, silently
She looks and sees the greenness swoon and die
Into the azure haze.

From *Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry* :
Edited by *Guendoline Goodwin*.

WAR ON OPIUM

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

OPIUM has been outlawed by the United States Congress; but it is smuggled into the country in large quantities. America, it is generally conceded, is one of the greatest consumers of opium and its derivatives. America has, therefore, a vital interest in the suppression of the nefarious opium traffic.

There is, of course, no possibility of knowing the actual number of narcotic addicts. This is due to the fact that the use of opium in America is a secret, and not a public vice. The victims doubtless number by thousands, and tens of thousands. The United States Department of Justice announced early this year that at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1926, more prisoners were sentenced for violation of the National Anti-Narcotic Law than for the violation of the National Prohibition Law.

OPIUM VICTIMS

The prevalence of addiction to narcotic drugs is causing the greatest apprehensions to American medical, educational and religious bodies. The platforms of all political parties, patriotic and civic associations are pledged to wipe out the opium curse.

All addicts do not come from the underworld. They go there, but ninety percent of them start among the so-called best people. It has been demonstrated by extended investigations of the United States Treasury Department and by records of Public Health Offices that the evil has its largest proportionate number of victims not among the irresponsible elements of society, but that all classes are open to its stealthy advances. The Treasury Report of a few years ago revealed the portentous fact that the largest proportionate number of victims are found among "housewives, laborers, doctors, nurses, pharmacists." The Chief of the Board of Health of San Francisco also reported that the "great majority of the victims are found among the upper strata of society, including doctors, lawyers, states-

men, businessmen, intelligent and able mechanics, only a small percentage being of the criminal type." The evil is therefore striking the country in its muscle as well as in its brain.

The bureaucrats in India say, even in this year of enlightenment 1927, that opium is a harmless "stimulant". It is highly improbable. In fact, it is plainly not so. Americans, backed by the whole scientific opinion of the genuinely civilized medical men of the world, make merry of the Indian bureaucratic opinion. It is the veriest commonplace of scientific knowledge that opium is a deadly poison. The point is that if any of the bureaucratic gentry were to come here from India and advance his fool theory about the occult virtues of opium, he would be promptly arrested. Worse, he is likely to be shut up in jail as a prehensile moron or a dangerous loony.

Americans recognize that the habit of addiction quickly develops a perilous disease which can be subdued only by adequate medical care. The problems of addiction are of utmost seriousness to the nation. Physicians are urged to fight them with the same heroic spirit which they have shown in attacking yellow fever, and other devastating plagues.

NARCOTIC EDUCATION WEEK

Realizing the awfulness of narcotic indulgence, America observed the last week of February as Anti-Narcotic Education Week. Such an Education Week offered an invaluable opportunity for diffusion of information. Schools, churches, clubs and civic societies appealed to all agencies for co-operation and to direct activities of observance.

Governors of many States issued official proclamations designating the week of February 20 to 27 as Anti-Narcotic Education Week. The Governor of the State of Arizona, in issuing the proclamation, sought to arouse not only the public opinion in this country, but throughout the world

for overthrowing the opium menace. "I further call upon the press," declared the Arizona Governor, "the clergy, educators and all persons in positions of influence to utter to youth and all others their solemn warning against even the least possible beginnings of these insidious poisons and to register their appeal to public opinion of all nations to the end that all may recognize their responsibility and unite in efforts against this enemy of mankind."

The voice of the people may not be the voice of God, but public opinion is undoubtedly the mightiest power under heaven. As an example of what the aroused public opinion will do, Americans point to the fact that only a few months ago the British Government in India announced officially that exportation of opium from India was going to be cut down progressively. Time will come when the public opinion will be so stirred even in India that it will stop the mouths of all those who have been stoutly but falsely asseverating that the Indian people have no objection to the opium traffic. That is bound to happen on some not distant to-morrow. Now watch!

The Anti-narcotic fight of the Education Week was not confined merely to a few gubernatorial pronouncements. With the zeal of a moral crusade, the campaign was carried from one end of the country to the other. Mayors of towns and cities issued proclamations, appointed local committees, and organized public meetings which adopted resolutions expressive of abhorrence of the evil. The press spoke forth the loudest possible warning to all who are subject to the temptation. It called on such nations as still share in the opium traffic to reject henceforth its blood money. Churches arranged for narcotic pulpit discussions at meetings before and during the Education Week. Movies put on trailers, short pictorials, and educational titles at all performances. Radio stations, too, did their bit in this campaign. They broadcast brief discussions daily during the Narcotic Education Week.

TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Greatest possible attention was focussed upon schools, where young people were put wise to the dangers of the narcotics. Educational organizations of all sorts adopted plans for instruction of youth and for co-operation in anti-narcotic meetings.

Many years ago von Humboldt said: "Whatever you wish to introduce into a nation you must first introduce into its schools." Acting apparently on this axiom, American schools give regular lessons on the evils of strong drink and narcotic plague. Almost all States require instruction in schools in the perils of opium. The Board of Education of Delaware has recently made special announcement, calling upon "Boards of Education, school directors, school superintendents, principals, and teachers to exercise unusual vigilance in shielding school children, and to see that suitable instruction and information is available to enable each child to safeguard himself against a habit unspeakably terrible." The members of the Brooklyn Board of Education likewise have lately felt called upon to inform the public of the ceaseless vigilance which they find themselves under the necessity of exercising.

School teachers are constantly on guard, and never fail to warn their pupils of the deadly effects of the opium drugs. Here is the substance of a talk which a teacher gave to the school assembly:

"Try Everything Once? Not on Your Life. It is a fool stunt. If you know anyone who talks that way tell him that if he MUST try anything once, don't begin on narcotics, not even once. Try something easy. Try playing with cobras and rattlesnakes. May be they won't bite. Try a stiff dose of rat poison. May be the doctor will get to you in time, run his pump down your throat and pump you out. But if you once get narcotics into your system no pump ever made can pump them out. You are hooked, you have swallowed the bait, hook, and sinker."

HOW IT ALL STARTED

Some fifty years ago an American missionary wrote home from India that opium, in forty years, would circle the globe. The prophecy has been fulfilled with deadly accuracy. How did it all begin? The evil practically started in 1776, when a profitable financial budget had to be arranged for the old East India Trading Company. It was proposed to raise the poppy in India, make opium, and sell it to China.

Warren Hastings of the unhappy memory, who suggested the scheme, wrote to England that this new alluring drug was so pernicious that it should be carefully kept away from the English people, and should be used for purposes of Chinese commerce only. China decreed death to any Chinese implicated in the traffic. Means were found, however, to

get the drug in. It spread with such rapidity that it menaced the very life of the nation.

The Chinese government in its efforts to purge the country of the opium curse decided upon a heroic measure. In 1839 the Chinese seized 1,440 tons of the British drug in the harbor of Canton, which they destroyed as contraband and piratical. Then followed the two Opium Wars. By 1856 the Chinese opposition to opium trade was finally broken down. China was compelled to sign a treaty legalizing opium importation. A great flood of opium poured in. Moreover, the Chinese, to save money, began extensive cultivation of the poppy and the making of opium. Gradually the whole nation went opium-drunk and yielded to its seduction.

Then came the awakening. In 1906 the Chinese began a campaign for the suppression of opium in their country. They destroyed the poppy on about two million acres of land, and closed up 500,000 opium dens. It was a period of great national house clean up. For a time China was opium-free.

"The same greed of the white man," writes an American, "which in the beginning forced opium upon the Chinese, next forced upon them morphine and heroin, ten times worse than opium." Under the disorganized condition prevailing in China since its Revolution (1911), the growing of the poppy has been renewed. The magnificent fight of a few years ago has all but gone for nothing. The battle, it seems, has to be fought all over again.

India and China are today the principal poppy growers of the world. The poppy must go. Opium is an international menace. No nation—so Americans argue—is safe as long as there is the backwash of Indian and Chinese narcotics to flood the world.

During the late European War, India, it was said, helped to put down the "Hun" and save civilization. Why aren't the Indian people now permitted to save their country and the world from the demon poppy, an enemy hundred times more insidious than the Hunnish Hun?

THE SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS AND UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

By AN INDIAN STUDENT

A Professor of the Russian University spoke on the 7th of October, 1926, at the institution of the "Friends of the New Russia" in Berlin on the methods of educational science of Soviet Russia. Several representatives of the German Government, as well as a large number of people interested in pedagogics, were present. The chief characteristic of the meeting was that the importance of Russo-German Co-operation in the cultural sphere seemed to be gradually realised also in such circles. Albert Petrovitch Pinkewitsch, the Rector of the Second University of Moscow, spoke calmly and definitely. He put forward his principal arguments. But the store of his vast knowledge was indeed disclosed when questions, put to him during the discussion, were rightly answered. He gave no rosy interpretation of the situation of his country, but dwelt in an informing manner on its poverty, which still prevented them from paying teachers as much as one could wish, from building-up as many schools as one might heartily desire and from opening up to an ever-increasing number of children

as well as adults the cultural achievements of the pedagogic methods of the Soviet Union.

Albert Pinkewitsch is staying at present in Germany and wants to make an educational tour throughout the country. He had already been in Vienna, where as a member of the Russian delegation of teachers, he took part in the session of the Teachers' International of Paris. He will go also to Weimar, in order to take part in the Pedagogic Congress, which will meet there soon. At present he is working in the University of Berlin. So it is also possible for him now to acquaint himself with all the pedagogic institutions and the new pedagogic literature of Western Europe, with which he wishes to deal in a book he intends publishing shortly. "A History of Pedagogics" in the light of the Marxian visualisation of society is the work on which he is working now. Prof. Pinkewitsch spoke as follows:—

To thoroughly initiated scientific circles it is now quite clear, that scientific life in Russia, far from showing any sign of deca-

dence, gives evidence on the other hand of an all-round revival. The Soviet Government, as it is recently announced, has sent a hundred young students with a scholarship of a thousand Roubles each per year to make an educational tour in foreign countries.

In the campaign of lies in the bourgeoisie press the charge is unceasingly made that the Soviet State behaves as an enemy of science. I have been asked by educated people, why we murder and tyrannise over the Professors in our country. One can only laugh at such remarks. I shall perhaps surprise you all if I now assert, that 99 p. c. of the Professors who were employed before the war, still keep their posts today, teach unhampered and are fully satisfied with their present conditions.

There are altogether 71 Universities, besides which there are special schools, the so-called "technica", which number 524. These schools are of a Russian type, which stand between the high and the middle school. The above 71 institutions for higher education are divided as follows:

14 Universities (of which 7 are new), 17 technical high schools, (five are new), 5 medical colleges (2 are new), 19 agricultural high schools, (10 new), 10 pedagogical institutions (during the Tsarist regime there was only one). Two special schools of economics (one new) and 4 academies, which may be classified as follows:

Industrial and technical faculties 21, agricultural 25, medical 17, social economics 14, pedagogical 18, artistic 4. In these 71 institutions there are in all 110,414 students. The percentage of students as drawn from the different social strata, is as follows:

24.6 p. c. workers and children of workers.

26.2 p. c. peasants and children of peasants.

36.0 p. c. employees and children of employees.

10.7 p. c. intellectuals and children of intellectuals.

2.5 p. c. others.

Among the scientific research workers, there are 2646 professors, 5.8 p. c. of whom are communists.

As regard sex, 66.8 p. c. are men students, and 33.2 p. c. women students. Of the teaching staff 84.6 p. c. are men and 15.4 p. c. women teachers.

The method of teaching is such that the students themselves work out the material which is to be taught, through their own activities, and are never occupied with thoughts quite foreign to their minds.

In the various administrative and advisory committees of these institutions, the students are represented on an equal footing with the professors. The students who come from the factories, after having terminated their period of apprenticeship there, in order to seek admission into the above-mentioned institution, make progress with more difficulty in abstract sciences, but produce much more than their colleagues in natural and social sciences. If their general knowledge is found to be insufficient, then their duration of work in the factories is prolonged. Since 1926 on, one is admitted without previous examination.

There are two types of research institutes, those that are connected with the University and the independent ones.

To the Union of Research Institutes for the Social Sciences belong 10 institutions (for history, philosophy, literature, psychology, soviet laws, economics, etc.). To the Union of the Research-Institutes for the Natural Sciences belong 12 Institutes (botany, zoology, geography, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, etc.).

The most distinguished and the best organised scientific institution is the Academy of Sciences, which incorporates 30 Research Institutes. The Academy organises all scientific expeditions, and investigates all special problems.

Regarding the material condition of the professors, false information has been spread. The average salary amounts, indeed only to 200 Roubles per month, but in reality they earn much more, from the various Commissions to which they belong and receive payments also from the publishers and scientific journals, amounting sometimes to as much as 1000 Roubles per month.

If one bears in mind, moreover, that the State is always building up the program of furthering the cause of science, and considers the present condition as only a transition period, one gets a view of the development which is taking place and which the "Educated West" cannot even dream of.

BERLIN, OCT. 28, 1926.

CEYLON'S POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

INDIA is unhappy at the callous manner in which the men at Britain's helm turn a deaf ear to her clamour for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into constitutional reforms. Ceylon, on the other hand, has just been promised such an investigation; but refuses to go wild with enthusiasm over that announcement.

Happiness, apparently, is not meant to be the portion of the semi-free, even if India and Ceylon may be considered to have attained to that rank!

Unquestionably there is a strong and almost universal disposition among the Ceylonese publicists to view the constitutional enquiry announced by His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G. C. M. G., G. B. E., the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony, with undisguised suspicion and even alarm. The fear is entertained that the inquiry, instead of ensuring the "next step in the direction of political emancipation and advancement," as he put it, it might bring about curtailment of such powers as the people, through their representatives in the Legislative Council, already possess and exercise.

As matters now stand, the "unofficial members" have, in a sense to be explained later, "power of the purse," and even the Governor cannot over-ride their will without employing procedure that would render him unpopular and expose him to the charge of ruling the Island without the consent of the "permanent population," as the phrase goes in Ceylon. The officials, not excluding His Excellency the Governor himself, have referred to that particular provision of the Constitution in a manner that has made people talk. The alacrity with which the Colonial Office, at Sir Hugh Clifford's suggestion, has announced its intention of taking early steps to set up the constitutional enquiry, which was due in 1929, has, in consequence, roused misgivings.

II

The Hon'ble Mr. Edward W. Perera, President of the Ceylon National Congress and one of the most active and spirited Members of the Ceylon Legislative Council, lost no time in warning his people, to be on their guard. He told a press reporter that he viewed the appointment of a Special Constitutional Commission "with a certain degree of suspicion" because "Special Commissions tend to register certain preconceived Government opinions." Evidently he does not believe that the British officials in the Island are tired of exercising their monopoly of power over the Administration, and are anxious to relieve themselves of the burden by transferring it to the sons of the soil.

Even so conservative a leader as the Hon'ble Sir James Poiris, who, as Vice-President of the Legislative Council, presides over its deliberations, from which the Governor---the ex-officio President---studiously absents himself, deemed it necessary to qualify his approval of the projected enquiry. "The proposal is a good one," he declared to an interviewer, "if the Commission is properly constituted."

The organs of public opinion in Ceylon, with the exception of the single newspaper under British control, are no less suspicious. The *Ceylon Daily News*, conducted under the guidance of Mr. D. R. Wijewardene, a wealthy Singhalese of proved ability and character who has already done much to quicken public life in the Island, for instance, refused to "grow altogether enthusiastic over the Governor's announcement" for reasons similar to those stated by the President of the Ceylon National Congress.

Mr. Francis de Zoysa, President of the Congress during last year, publicly admitted that he shared "in a certain measure the misgivings" to which that newspaper had given expression. His admission is of peculiar importance since it was in the nature of a revised opinion. Speaking a day

earlier, following the reception of the news, he had not only pronounced himself as being "certainly in favour of the proposal," but had gone to the length of deploring the fact that the impending departure of Sir Hugh Clifford from Ceylon to assume the Governorship of Malaya would make it impossible for him "to assist the Commission in its enquiries on the lines His Excellency apparently had in his mind." It is to be presumed that the "lines" along which Sir Hugh may wish to see the constitution amended may not, after all, suit the ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress.

III

If the Governor of Ceylon expected that his announcement of an enquiry which was to pave the way for "the next step in the direction of political emancipation and advancement" of Ceylon would rouse enthusiasm in the Ceylonese breast and bring him gratitude, he must, indeed, be disappointed by the manifestation of "misgiving" and "suspicion" from the leaders of the community. Having spent in the Orient all but twenty-five of his sixty-one years, "in the study of the people domiciled (born?) in the tropics" and probably feeling that he knows them even better than they know themselves, it is to be doubted that he anticipated any reception other than the one his announcement evoked.

The Ceylonese publicists are by no means perverse by nature. Their refusal to take Sir Hugh Clifford's proposal at Sir Hugh's own valuation, that is to say, as a step in the direction of Ceylon's political "emancipation", cannot, therefore, be explained away on any such basis.

IV

The announcement, to begin with, was made in an atmosphere which, through no one's designing, took away from it something of its gravity. Members of the Legislative Council had met, on the evening of Saturday April 9th, in a private dining room of the Grand Oriental Hotel in Colombo—at which I am at present staying—to give a farewell dinner to a Ceylon Civil Servant who after many years' exile in the Island where there is No Income-tax was returning to Britain—His Homeland where the Government insists

upon taking away nearly one-quarter of a citizen's income from whatever source. Sir Hugh Clifford came to the function with a statement that might conceivably alter the direction of Ceylon's progress. To his dismay he found that not a single member of my craft, generally maligned but welcome when the mighty desire the momentous words that fall from their lips to be broadcasted to the masses, was present.

The reporters being indispensable to His Excellency on this occasion, a mad hunt for them began. It being Saturday night, newspaper offices were empty or nearly empty. The men who serve as care-takers of some of the buildings in which Colombo papers are edited were in sole possession at the time and had taken the telephone receivers from the hooks so as to save themselves the trouble of answering calls. So getting hold of press-men was by no means the simple proposition it generally is.

While the mad hunt for at least one reporter thus went on, the Governor and other slightly less distinguished personages in that private dining room of the Grand Oriental Hotel in Colombo tried to kill time by every imaginable device. The formality of dining was protracted as long as it could be. Then some one with a talent for elocution ---or perhaps only the nerve to attempt it---got up and amused the company by speaking a "piece." Others followed with recitations and songs. Not a single reporter having turned up even then, charades or impromptu impersonation of fantastic characters were started. As one of the local newspapers gravely put it, even His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony unbent to the point of reciting Rudyard Kipling's "Vineyard".

With all that time killing, the assembly still being without a journalist of any sort or condition, the speeches began. An Hon'ble legislator who, I believe, was largely responsible for getting up the function, undertook to do the best he could with his shorthand.

Finally, however, the Fates smiled. A member of the reporting staff of the *Ceylon Daily News*, routed out of his happy home and well-earned week-end rest, appeared on the scene, and took down His Excellency's speech. I doubt if any other member of his craft was ever made more welcome in or perhaps even out of the Island. An attempt was made to persuade him to share the fruits

of his toil with the absentee Newspaper-men but he refused to give up his "scoop".

And the other papers had to "lift" the speech from the *Daily News* and make clumsy efforts to hide that fact.

I reproduce His Excellency's announcement, in view of its importance :

"I am authorised by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to announce that he has under consideration certain representations made to him by me relative to the revision of the Constitution. Mr. Secretary Amery desires me to say that he is fully aware of the assiduity, devotion to duty and public spirit manifested by the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council in the conduct of public affairs. He points out, however, that proposals for revising the Constitution will require careful examination and consideration, in the course of which opportunity should be afforded to all shades of opinion to receive a full and impartial hearing. He accordingly proposes to advise His Majesty to appoint a small Special Commission composed of four members, at least two of whom will be persons of Parliamentary experience in Great Britain to come out to Ceylon, toward the end of the current year, to enquire into and to advise upon the matter in detail."

Some two months before Sir Hugh Clifford rose at that dinner to make his announcement, "Wayfarer" stated in the *Ceylon Daily News* :

"It is very much on the cards that the Secretary of State will be invited to appoint a Commission from England for examining the various questions connected with this reform. We know what these dummy Commissions are. They can always be depended upon to go beyond their terms of reference and make recommendations based on ex-parte statements. What could be more easy for such a Commission than to report that the responsibilities and privileges of the Executive Council cannot be increased without a corresponding curtailment of the powers of the Legislative Council?"

A few days later the Hon'ble Mr. E.W. Perera asked Sir Hugh's Government if the Government had "in contemplation a scheme of Reform of the Constitution curtailing, modifying, or altering the power of financial control possessed by the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council."

The representative of that Government in the Legislative Council stated in reply : "The answer is in the negative. The Government has at present no scheme of Reform under its consideration."

The speech that Sir Hugh Clifford made at the dinner did not quite square with that answer. The announcement that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had authorised him to make did not owe its initiative to Down-

ing Street. It came, it is admitted, as the result of a despatch which Sir Hugh's Government had sent up to London on November 30th, 1926. To say, some two months later, that the Government had "no scheme of reform under its consideration," was little short of equivocation. Knowing something about newspaper-making, as I do, I have little doubt that the "Wayfarer" had managed somehow to learn that that despatch had been sent. What if the rest of his surmise was correct and the projected enquiry has for its motive the abridgement of the legislature's existing powers. That is the fear that patriotic Ceyloneses entertain.

VI

If the maker of that announcement had been known to be an apostle of Government of the people, by the people, and for the people and the sworn enemy of administration by high officials preponderatingly alien in blood and culture and owing not the least responsibility to any indigenous individual or authority, his eagerness might well have brought him the gratitude of the Ceyloneses. He, on the contrary, knew little at first-hand of parliamentary institutions, his life having been cast in the mould of personal, or, at any rate, bureaucratic rule. As he told the Members of the Ceylon Legislature assembled at that fateful gathering, he had left his own country at the age of seventeen, and since then had spent "an aggregate of ninety months in England." (Did he mean Britain or even Europe—or only England?) He had "been in the House of Commons more than a dozen times in the last forty years." His whole life "from the age of seventeen to the age of sixty-one" with the aforementioned ninety months in England (?) excepted, had, in fact, been spent in the tropics—either in the Asiatic or the African Colonies, Dependencies, and possessions of Britain.

Some twenty years ago he, as plain Mr. Clifford, served for a time as the Colonial Secretary in Ceylon. The "Unofficial Members" were not then in the majority in the Legislative Council, nor did they have "power of the purse." He spoke in the Legislative Council, as then constituted, and acted in a manner that roused much antagonism in the Island.

About three years ago, when the Colquhoun Office then presided over by Mr. J

Thomas, probably the most conservative among British Labour leaders, announced Sir Hugh's appointment as Governor of the Colony, there was, therefore, consternation among the politically-conscious Ceylonese. Fearing that he may attempt to scuttle the Constitution introduced during his absence, they openly talked of moving His Majesty's Government to cancel that appointment.

Advancing years had, however, changed the Pro-Consul's methods, if not his mentality. After coming to Ceylon on November 30, 1925, he refrained from taking any overt action that might give umbrage to the people and confirm them in their suspicions. He even went about talking in a good-humoured way to the effect that he was no more than a "cipher" in the Government of the Island and apparently he was quite contented to be one. He even went to the length of chiding the newspaper writers who refused to take his banter seriously.

At this very dinner Sir Hugh told the Members of the Legislative Council that the people in the Island, "following the traditions of a hundred years," came to him and asked him for "this, that and the other," and he invariably had to tell them that it was "not possible for" him "to give them any promise, because the power to implement such promises had now been taken away from 'him' and transferred to the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council."

So often has His Excellency alluded to that fact that there are Ceylonese who genuinely feel that he is going away from Britain's "premier Colony" with his term of office only half completed, to Malaya, where he will receive no greater salary, and which is regarded as inferior in status, only because in Malaya he will have no Legislative Council with an unofficial majority to fetter his initiative, highly developed, as it is, through long exercise of personal rule in the tropics. The editorial writer of the *Daily News* returns his joke with the quip that "the representative of the King (in Ceylon) who can do no wrong, cannot now, according to the Governor, even do right."

Personally I do not believe in this "cipher" business. To my mind there are reasons other than the Governor's inability to do anything in Ceylon under the present constitution of Sir Hugh Clifford's love for Malaya, which have led to his transfer from His ambo to Singapore. These matters, how-

ever, fall outside the scope of this article, and may one day be separately discussed.

VII

Even if the retiring Governor of Ceylon were a parliamentarian by temperament and training, and if his talk about being the shadow of the legislature did not sound as if he were hawking for the return of the good old days when even a senior British administrator in the Island was the master of all he surveyed, the very subject matter of the speech in which he sandwiched the announcement of the Constitutional Commission was sufficient to rouse suspicion and misgiving in the politically-minded Ceylonese. The burden of his statement was that the Unofficial Members possessed the "power of the purse" while they lacked the responsibility for executive administration.

"I do not think," said Sir Hugh,

That the present arrangement is a sound one. It places the power in the hands of the Unofficial Members while it places the duty of carrying on the administration of the Government on the shoulders of the Executive Government. It leaves the Unofficial Members at complete liberty to paralyse the Executive at any moment by declining to vote supply. It leaves the Governor, who has not attended any debate and has not, therefore, been in any close touch with the feelings of the House or through it with the feelings of the country, to declare that such and such a thing is a matter of paramount importance and force it through the Council in spite of the majority votes of the Unofficials."

The Governor then proceeded, in a bantering style, to show how Sir James Peiris, the Vice-President of the Council, had ousted him, the President, out of the Chair. He declared,

"I think I should be more than human, and I claim to be the most human of any human being present in this room tonight—were I not to feel a certain resentment against Sir James Peiris—and my sentiments resemble closely those of the young hedge sparrow when it regards the recently hatched out cuckoo which gradually levels it over the edge of their common nest and takes sole possession of what after all, from the beginning of things, would seem to belong to the hedge sparrow."

He had no complaint to make against Sir James, he said. That gentleman had, on every occasion since his arrival in the island, treated him with "the utmost kindness and condescension." He had never assumed the position of superiority which he naturally

held, and had no doubt behaved with the utmost courtesy and paid the utmost deference to His Majesty's representative in Ceylon. "But nevertheless," said Sir Hugh :

"he not I as Governor, to-day presides over the meetings of the Legislative Council, and if I have regarded Sir James Peiris in some measure as the 'cuckoo in the nest' I do not think any of you can find therein very serious grounds for reproach."

Sir Hugh then, in the same jesting manner, addressed himself to his "rather strange friend," Mr. E. W. Perera, who, it seems, had some time earlier stated that the hospitality dispensed at "Queen's House"—as the Government House in Colombo is called—was "playing the mischief with" the "political principles" of the "representatives of the people." The "poisonous meals given at" that place, he had declared, according to the Governor, were "steadily undermining" their "loyalty" to "their constituents." Sir Hugh declared that personally he did not believe that Mr. Perera or anybody else in the Island entertained "any sort of belief in statements of that description, and for the convenience of his "successor" he suggested that "it would be advisable to drop the repetition of phrases of that sort which really mean nothing and only dishonour those who give them currency."

Strong words these, even though said in fun !

These and other passages that could be culled from the version of the speech, revised and approved by the Governor himself, do not inspire the belief that he is anxious to see the people's representatives not only confirmed in their power of the purse, but also being given the responsibility for executive administration. If that be his wish, he certainly has never said a word in favour of it, either while in the Island or before coming to it. In the absence of any such expression, his complaints about being powerless, even though uttered in a semi-jocose style, put in juxtaposition with his life-experience, could not but rouse the suspicion that the steps which he has recommended for the "political emancipation" of Ceylon might actually lead to the abridgement of some of the powers that the people now enjoy.

VIII

Whatever be Sir Hugh's own predilections and preconceptions, the coterie of high

officials, exclusively British in blood, which monopolizes executive power in the Island is not credited by the popular leaders with the intention to let that power pass out of their hands. Mr. Francis de Zoysa, ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress, for one, has no illusions on that subject. The people could not "forget the existence amongst" them "of powerful reactionary forces," he declared in an interview.

"Those whose vested interests and privileged positions are threatened by the advance of democracy will make strenuous efforts to get back to the 'glorious past'. Officialdom, seeing its power and prestige waning, will fight every inch of ground to regain them or at least to retain as much of them as is now left, and selfish pseudo-patriots may be found willing to sell the country for some slight personal or family gain or glory."

The fear that the patriotic Ceylonese entertain is that the selfish element in the "permanent population" may make common cause with the reactionaries among the officials and thereby bring about retrogression. As the editorial writer of the *Ceylon Daily News* puts it :

"There is some reason for apprehension. To one of Sir Hugh Clifford's experience it will be no news to be told that every change in the Constitution is the long-looked for opportunity of the disgruntled patriot. Every variety of these buckle on their armour and emerge from the backwoods to strike a blow for self and their self-centred prejudices. Performances of this kind have been enacted in the past and there would be no reason to suppose that they would be any more successful in the future but for one new circumstance, to which a good deal of importance has been given by no less an authority than Sir Hugh Clifford himself. His Excellency is never tired of affirming that under the present Constitution the Governor is a cipher. Those who cannot contain their jealousy at the thought that the Council now enjoys the powers which individual Civil Servants once wielded have tried to make capital of the Governor's confession of impotence. Among a certain class of Civil Servants and a certain class of politicians there is a tendency to make common cause. These will undoubtedly try to employ the Commission to further their aims. They may endeavour to convince the Commission that although Mr. Amery is 'aware of the assiduity, devotion to duty and public spirit of the Legislative Council,' yet in the interests of good Government the powers of the Council ought to be curtailed and the constitution of the Council ought to be modified. If the Royal Commission attempts to do anything of the kind it will commit the most colossal blunder."

IX

I have watched the working of the constitution in Ceylon far too long to be

by the minatory talk of the officials that they have no power—that the real power rests with the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council. True, the officials, even when re-inforced by the “unofficial” British planters and merchants and the Burghers (Ceylonese of Dutch descent), are in a permanent minority. True, also, numerically the officials are still worse off in the Finance Committee in which financial power is supposed to reside. Do these provisions of the Constitution, however, make the “unofficials” all-powerful and reduce the officials to mere automata? No one who knows the situation can answer that question in the affirmative.

The unofficial members, in the first place, are riven by differences of race, religion and interest, and, therefore, it is difficult for them to make common cause with one another in matters of public policy. Some of them, at least, are unable to resist the temptations of one sort or another that the officials can throw in their way.

There was only lately an incident which showed that a single official was able to twist the entire Legislative Council around his little finger and get it to rescind a decision on an important matter involving considerable expenditure out of public funds. Sir Hugh Clifford, indeed, patted the “unofficials” on the back for behaving like “good boys” on that occasion.

It must, moreover, be remembered that not only does the Governor possess power to over-ride the wishes of the Legislative Council, but the power of initiating money-bills also lies entirely and exclusively with his Government. The “Unofficials” may modify the executive application for funds—may even reject it: but they cannot, of their own motion, initiate any money bill.

Two results inevitably follow from this system:

First, not only does the people's sense of initiative remain undeveloped, but taxation follows queer—and unjust—lines. Income Tax—the incidence of which would fall upon officials enjoying high salaries and merchants engaged in import and export trade (many of them British by blood and birth)—is not levied, while customs duties, which notoriously press hard upon the poor, constitute a principal source of revenue. Second, so frightened are the “Unofficials” is the Governor may use his “over-riding” His that they order their legislative life

on the maxim that “discretion is the better part of valour.”

Not a single official occupying any key position in the executive administration being a son of the soil, the translation of policies approved by the legislature lies exclusively in non-Ceylonese hands. Even the Ceylonese who are members of the Executive Council are in it without being of it, they not holding any portfolio.

While the contention that the officials are powerless is far from tenable, nevertheless the Legislative Council, if it happens to be composed of earnest-minded men determined to serve the public cause come what may, despite all temptations from within and from without, can, under even the existing Constitution, be a power in the land. If the present system of election on a territorial basis is kept intact, and the representative character of the council is improved by the widening of the franchise and the removal of certain restrictions as to the qualification of candidates; if the financial powers of the Council are confirmed and the power of initiating money bills given to it by making the officials an integral part of the Councils and responsible to it in name as also in fact; there is no doubt that the “political emancipation” of Ceylon that Sir Hugh Clifford professes to have at heart can easily be brought about.

X

The Ceylonese publicists suspect, however, that that objective is not the one which the officials in Ceylon are striving to attain. They are sure that the officials have ulterior motives, though they are not quite certain as to what method or methods the bureaucracy will employ to “register” its “preconceived... opinions.”

The newspapers owned and edited by the Singhalese interpreted the Governor's announcement to mean that a Royal Commission would be set up to carry out the enquiry. The *Times of Ceylon*—the only daily paper under British management, however, takes a different view. “The fact that His Majesty will appoint a Commission,” it says, “has led the whole of the Ceylon Press, with the exception of ourselves, and most of the Ceylonese political leaders, to a belief that a Royal Commission is to be appointed. It had been careful ‘to state that it is a Special Commission which will inquire into

the Ceylon Constitution—and this is a very different thing to a Royal Commission," An enquiry at Queen's (Government) House confirmed the opinion "that it is not a Royal Commission which is being appointed, but a Special Commission. "It was further pointed out to the *Times*, presumably at Queen's House, "that the proceedings of a Royal Commission are open to the public, that is, to the press, while a Special Commission may hold their sittings *in camera*—which is an important distinction."

A Special Commission will, therefore, in the opinion of this leader-writer, be more suitable than a Royal Commission. He believes that the temptation to make impassioned speeches, were the sittings to be public, would "be too much for the Ceylon political leaders." If, however, proceedings were to be held *in camera* "the evidence is likely to be of a much more valuable type, embodying the real views of the witnesses, who will not be deterred from giving candid expression to their views by the fact that publication in the Press will lead to recriminations and ill-feeling."

XI

The leader-writer of *Ceylon Daily News* spiritedly assails this position. He produces an extract from "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom" by Lord Courtney of Penwith to support the view that a "Special Commission" can only be a Royal Commission. He vents his rage especially against the suggestion made for an enquiry *in camera*. "To squirt poison gas

from the safe seclusion of a secret session may appeal to intriguers and wire-pullers," he says, "but to no man of honesty and decency." He warns the Government "that the surest way of rousing ill-feelings is by encouraging the hush (hush) policy of hypocrites and humbugs."

This controversy shows that there are among the educated Ceylonese some individuals who pin their faith to a Royal Commission. Mr. H.A.P. Sandrasagara, K. C., indeed publicly stated a few days ago that he desired a Royal Commission because it would help "us to see ourselves in the proper light in relation to the next extension of reforms which we may be disposed to claim." In his view a local commission was likely to suffer from "grave disadvantages and people expressing their views may be disposed to temporize and modify such views, out of false deference to the views ostensibly held by members of the local Commission." A Royal Commission, on the other hand, "may be trusted to judge correctly and arrive at correct conclusions."

The truth is that the eyes of the majority of the Ceylonese publicists are turned towards Britain—not towards themselves—that as yet the dawn of nationalism has barely touched the horizon of Ceylon's political firmament. There is, at any rate, no sign of a spirit of give-and-take or of sacrificing personal or sectional advantages for the sake of the nation. In this event, if the legislature comes out of the projected enquiry with its powers not only undamaged but even materially enhanced, there should indeed be cause for universal rejoicing in the Island.

A. E., POET AND SEER

By G. RAMACHANDRAN

Santiniketan

"A. E. is the pen name, or rather the occult symbol, indicating the immortal spirit who in this life as George Russell, a native of an ill-favoured manufacturing town in Ulster, edits the organ of agricultural co-operation in Ireland, paints pictures of the worlds, visible and invisible, and distils into immortal lyrics the Wisdom and Beauty of the Infinite."

A. E. is essentially a lonely figure, lonely alike in the poignant purity of his spiritual vision and in the exquisite crystallised perfection of his verse. If the spiritual depth of his vision is in part the legacy of Celtic character. The genius such

race, which through centuries of sunshine and shower could renew itself over and over again at the perennial fount of its own idealism, tended often towards the deeper and more vital values of life. This idealism is also perhaps the most fascinating element in the Celtic character. In the "Emerald Isle" this idealism became a thirst for poetic imagination and expression.

An eminent Irish critic has written :

"For many centuries the ancient civilisation of Ireland was permeated with the spirit of poetry. Her kings were crowned by poets. Her laws were made and recorded by poets. Her tribal and royal histories were recorded and celebrated by poets. One of the qualities for membership in the National Army a thousand years ago was a knowledge of the 'Twelve great books of poetry'. An elaborate system of apprenticeship was evolved and long before rhyme had found its place in European poetry, the Irish poets had worked out about two hundred verse forms, some of great complexity."

For the crystallised perfection of his verse we turn to the personality of the poet himself, the light of which illumines all his poetry. And then we discover that more than any other poet, except perhaps Rabindranath, A. E. is a poet of *Sadhana*. A poet too has his *Sadhana*, his realisation. Only on the wings of *Sadhana* can a poet soar into the higher realms of poesy where utterance becomes divine in its revelation of supreme beauty. This is why A. E. is a seer as well as a poet. But unlike in Rabindranath, in whom the seer and the poet are in perfect harmony, in A. E. the voice of the seer becomes more insistent. Hence alone does A. E. lack "large and muscular qualities". His poems thus become but definite expressions of his spiritual moods. They resemble, as the critic has pointed out, the aphorisms of Patanjali. To quote the critic again :

"His poetry stands like a small frosted white window of little panes like Japanese shoji through which the white light of the spirit percolates sweetly. The outer things of A. E.'s poetry are reduced to a minimum, but the reduction in expression has a complementary increase in significance."

Rabindranath's poetry possesses all the wealth of colour, design and movement. He does not miss even the least in creation, while keeping his gaze on the summits. Rabindranath's poetry is like the vast drama of the sky itself. In it lights and shadows play hide and seek ; streams of colour rise and fade and we can listen to the pealing forth from the piled-up life, while not missing the tenderest

and sweetest notes that rise from the depths of pity, sympathy, reverence and love. It is a baffling variety,—a variety the like of which is in life alone. But the poetry of A. E. is different. It resembles the rays of a bright pure star at which we look with half-shut eyes. His poems are like the rays that shoot out of molten things.

"Its edges foamed with amethyst and rose,
Withers once more the old blue flower of day :
There where the other like a diamond glows
Its petals fade away.

A shadowy tumult stirs the dusky air ;
Sparkle the delicate dew, the distant snows :
The great deep thrills, for through it everywhere
The breath of Beauty blows.

I saw how all the trembling ages past, :
Moulded to her by deep and deeper breath,
Neared to the hour when Beauty breathes
her last.
And knows herself in death."

The 'Great Breath' he calls this poem. It is a typical poem where we see the poet and the seer mingling their touch of flame. It was sunset time. Day became a 'blue flower' whose petals were fading away in foams of amethyst and rose. The very conception of day as a 'blue flower' reveals an imagination which, while it is essentially poetic, is on the borderland of spiritual symbolism. The quality of crystalised perfection is present too.

"Sparkled the delicate dews—the distant snows—the great deep thrills—". Almost every line here is like a star ray. There is as exquisite disregard of literary sequence, every word or line having the quality of a flash, but there is the subdued sequence of the spirit which links up in a unified garland all the bright 'sparkles'. There is just a touch of colour here and there, but not the least extravagance. The spirit is finding utterance, and utterance so pure, clear and direct that there is the fear of an unconscious indifference to the form, but the spirit is beautiful ; it has been waked by the touch of the beauty of the 'blue flower' of day whose petals were fading away, in the enchanting riot of amethyst and rose. So naturally and inevitably the form is traced in flame and beauty. But the vision is so intense that sometimes there is the fear that A. E. might only see and not sing. We know that intense vision often finds expression in

utter silence. But A. E.'s ecstatic emotional imagination, "drunk with a beauty our eyes could never see," alone saves him from being all seer and no poet.

Of all English poets, A. E. is the least sensual. Whether it be in his communion with Nature or life, he swiftly passes beyond the plane of the senses and eagerly loses himself in the depths of pure spiritual beauty. Thus he brings up only the gems of his own precious experience, of his *Sadhana*. Even to the beloved of his heart he sings :

"I did not dream it half so sweet
To feel thy gentle hand,
As in a dream thy soul to greet :"

and

"Let me.....know thy diviner counterpart
Before I kneel to thee."
"So in thy motions all expressed
Thy angel I may view ;
I shall not on thy beauty rest,
But beauty's self in you."

The spirit thus wings above the flesh and yet never ignores it or despises it. In the last lines the spiritual attitude reveals itself vividly. The beloved is thus precious, since she is a part of the Eternal Beauty and to A. E. 'Beauty' is the everlasting light that lures all life through the gates of birth and death and whose pathways throng 'with suns and stars and myriad races'. Beauty thus becomes for A. E. the creative moving energy behind all life ; Beauty becomes enthroned in heaven.

There is another poem which reveals vividly the spirit of the poet :

I needed love no words could say ;
She drew me softly nigh her chair,
My head upon her knees to lay,
With cool hands that caressed my hair.

She sat with hands as if to bless,
And looked with grave ethereal eyes ;
Ensoiled by ancient Quietness,
A gentle priestess of the Wise.

To A. E. the touch of love was 'cool', not warm or burning ; cool, because to him love is spiritual fulfilment, not sensual craving. "With hands as if to bless", with "grave ethereal eyes" and "Ensoiled by ancient Quietness," the beloved becomes "A gentle priestess of the wise"

The noblest of all A. E.'s poems is the one entitled 'Love'. It reveals the poet's direct attitude towards life.

Ere I lose myself in the vastness and drowse
Myself with the peace.
While I gaze on the light and the beauty
Afair from the dim homes of men,
May I still feel the heart-pang and pity,
Love-ties that I would not release ;
May the voices of sorrow appealing call me
back to their succour again".

What a noble and sublime plea is this ! The poet gazes in rapture at the face of Beauty. But more insistent than the need to lose himself in the vastness and drowse himself with the peace is the yearning for all the heart-pangs, love-ties and sorrows of life.

"I would go as the dove from the ark sent
forth with wishes and prayers
To return with the paradise blossoms that
bloom in the Eden of light
When the deep star-chant of the Seraphs I
hear in the mystical airs,
May I capture one tone of their joy for the
sad ones discrowned in the night."

He would go to the Eden of light where the 'paradise blossoms' are in bloom, only to gather them all in the lap of his passionate sympathy for the 'sad ones discrowned in the -night'. He gazes at the stars and sees joy flowing from star to star and his soul bursts forth in the poignant cry "may I capture one tone of their joy for the sad ones discrowned in the night." Nowhere perhaps in the whole range of English poetry could be found such exquisite intensity of noble feeling as in the last few lines of the poem :—

"Not alone, not alone would I go to my rest
in the heart of the love :
Where I tranced in the innermost beauty, the
flame of its tenderest breath,
I would still hear the cry of the fallen
recalling me back from above,
To go down to the side of the people who
weep in the shadow of death."

The burden of one of Rabindranath's finest songs is "Give me the strength never to disown the poor." The Mahabharata tells the story how Yudhishtira would not enter heaven unless the dog, his sole surviving companion, was allowed to go in with him. Salvation, whatever that might mean, has no value for A. E. the poet or Yudhishtira as long as the rest of mankind is in misery.

A. E. has not written much. All his poems could be collected together in a little more than three hundred pages. But if quality is a test of greatness, irrespective of quantity, then A. E.'s place is among the very greatest of poets. Seldom has such

purity of spiritual vision and perfection of expression flowed so sweetly together as in the rich streams of his poetry. Most of his little poems are luminous with the touch of immortality. One of the finest of these is the 'Refuge'.

"Twilight, a timid fawn, went glimmering by,
And night, the dark blue hunter, followed fast,
Ceaseless pursuit and flight were in the sky,
But the long chase had ceased for us at last.
We watched together while the driven fawn
Hid in the golden ticket of the day.
We, from whose hearts pursuit and flight were
gone,
Knew on the hunter's breast her refuge lay."

In the years to come it is very probable that A. E. will find a more and more abiding place in the mind of India. There is in A. E.'s poetry some quality, some enchanting fragrance, which is akin to the spirit of

India's own striving. A. E. has known something of India too. He has poems for Sree Krishna and even on 'OM'. In some respects A. E. stands nearer to Rabindranath than any other English poet. Both are great dreamers. One dreams of an India recognising its vital kinship with the larger life of humanity. The other sings;—

"We are less children of this clime
Than of some nation yet unborn
Or empire in the womb of time.
We hold the Ireland in the heart
More than the land our eyes have seen,
And love the goal for which we start
More than the tale of what has been."

and

"We would no Irish sign efface,
But yet our lips would gladlier hail
The first-born of the Coming Race
Than the last splendour of the Gael."

THE INNER LIFE OF SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR

By D. G. VAIDYA

IF we were to ponder over the secret of the reverence that saints, sages, self-less patriots and noble-minded philanthropists inspire in our hearts, we should find it in the fact that they are ever wide-awake and are certainly far more so than the ordinary run of human beings. It is by introspection that man approaches perfection. On the other hand, if he harps constantly on the blemishes of other people he slides down to ruin and spiritual suicide.

That man is really great who by constant introspection discovers his drawbacks and makes an unremitting effort to overcome them. One such noble brother was the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who departed from this world on the 14th of May last four years ago and a few facts of whose inner life we would weave together in the lines that follow.

The first point that struck any one who had the privilege of Sir Narayan's intimate acquaintance was that he was not only thoughtful in whatever he said and wrote, but he was of a meditative turn of mind. A thoughtful man is not necessarily of a medi-

tative turn of mind. These two qualities do not always go together, nor are they found invariably in the same man. A brooding, meditative and introspective turn of mind is, indeed, a great asset of a character that would perfect itself. A man thinks while he writes. That is not to say that he will ponder over whatever he observes or learn a rich lesson or garner up wisdom and virtue from the varied experiences of life. What distinguished Sir Narayan from many an educated man of his day and class was his gift of meditation. Wherever he was and whatever he saw or heard or read would always start and awaken that mood. His long and lonely walks were to him a constant inspiration and elevation. In them he often brooded over the experiences and happenings of the day, on what he had seen, and read and felt, on the conversation he had with other men, and on the lessons for his own guidance that these varied experiences suggested. Sir Narayan was not a man without any flaws. His own writings will discover many to those who are inclined to note them. What was remarkable about him was that he himself

was very keenly alive to them and incessantly endeavoured to rid himself of them. It is this trait of his nature that the writer would unfold in what follows.

There are many men among us who have inordinate fondness for books. Many know how to summarise what they read and to make long excerpts in their note-books from what they have read for future reference and guidance. But it is given only to a few to brood over anything that is striking & new in the books they read, much less to work out its application to their personal lives and needs. Of these rare few who knew how to use books Sir Narayan was one among the educated men of his times. Once while happening to read Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the following sentence struck him as remarkable :

"The more I give, the more I have,
it is infinite."

And he began thinking on it and expressed himself in his journal as follows:—

"Shakespeare has said this of love between human beings. Man's love for a woman, and woman's love for a man suggested this remark to him. But if this love is to be called infinite, what can we say of God's love for man? Is it not really even more so than that between two human beings? And if man were to love God as he loves a human being, infinitely, how much will that love grow and what peace and joy and blessedness will it not bring to his heart? And does not life's fulfilment consist in the possession of such love culminating in such blessedness? What else can reconcile man to life?"

Sir Narayan does not stop here in his meditation. His heart further swells into a prayer to God as follows:—

"Oh God, oh my Father, teach me how to love Thee and to love those who are Thy children. May Thy love reveal to me the goodness in others and may it be given to me through that love to know Thine worth. May it ever keep me in the path of goodness. Bless Thou all, for Thy love is infinite."

Sir Narayan did not stop here. The following day his meditative mood is further awakened by the following lines from Shakespeare that occur in the same drama. The lines are "They are beggars that count their worth", and Sir Narayan starts into the following meditation upon them:—

"Rising from my bed the first wish for the day's work was to be good and to do good. No aspiration can be nobler, no wish higher, and holier. 'To be good.' How can I be good unless I know what goodness is? God is good—how silently and steadily He works; how kind and loving. (Oh my soul) Bring to your work the spirit of love—deal generously and charitably with

your fellows. Be pure in thought and deed and let not the day pass without doing some act of kindness to some suffering soul. And whatever you do, do it in a spirit of humble-mindedness. Be not conceited. Remember you have faults. You are weak."

It is easy to give counsel to another. But what is written above is in a vein of self-expostulation. And it was written not to be seen by the world but only for his own eyes. And this self-expostulation concludes with a prayer thus :

"Oh God, teach me to be good and to do good. If I ever think of counting my worth, I am a beggar unto Thy love. Oh Lord, there is no worth in me. Let me ever fully realise this. Oh Thou, teach it to me. What worth is there in me? What of merit? Good deeds done in perfect humility—these alone constitute a man's worth. Give it to me to know this."

This prayer shows the child-like faith and humility and the spiritual awakening of the man whose loss we mourn. How few are there among us who carry on such self-examination from day to day in order that they may grow into the knowledge of spiritual truth and wisdom? Are we not rather prone to hide our faults even from our own selves?

Sir Narayan was a man belonging to that rare class among the sons of India who believe fervently in the efficacy of prayer to give man strength and wisdom, to know his own defects and to cure them. Once while he was studying Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* he came across the following words of Brutus wherein Brutus says: "Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius, that you would have me seek into myself for that which is not in me?" On this Sir Narayan writes in his diary as under:—

"Brutus was an honest man intent upon doing his own duty. Cassius was full of hatred, cunning and jealousy. Brutus sees through Cassius when the latter heaps praises upon him and attributes to him qualities that he does not possess. There is many a Cassius in the world, but many more in our own selves—in our own passions. We must guard against them. Man falls prey to the external flattery because he is prepared for it by the flattery of his own passions. Lord, teach me to be strong in my own self—a proof against all internal and external flattery."

Never did Sir Narayan let go a single occasion to speak to his own soul in the manner indicated above. Reading the following psalm in the Old Testament, *viz.*, "Who can discover his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults;" he addresses himself thus:—

"This was the prayer of the psalmist : how much more should it be of those who are apt to forget God and be caught by the snares of the world rather than led by the will of Him who made us ? Parameshwar, teach me to discern my secret faults and correct them."

Sir Narayan was not one of those who use their knowledge only for display. He learnt from books the wisdom that helps in the conduct of life, a wisdom which, as has been so well put, books teach not themselves.

It was not from books alone that he garnered up the wisdom of life, the strength for righteous living. Conversation with friends, incidents in public and private life, experiences of every kind were utilised by him for this supreme end, *viz.*, to purify and perfect himself. One incident of this kind is well worth mentioning here. Sir Narayan was at Khandala with a friend of his, Mr. Shivrampant Wagle. As was usual with him, in one of his long walks with that friend he met a beggar whom he wanted to give something. He opened his purse to give him a two-anna piece. But the purse contained only a pice. While giving the pice to the beggar Sir Narayan said to him that he was so sorry that he had only that much to give him. To which the beggar answered that he need not be sorry for it, as it was not in his luck to get more. The kind words, added the beggar, were more to him than the two-anna piece which he would have got. Referring to this incident Sir Narayan significantly remarks. "That is a pure soul. *A lesson for me.*" It was not enough for him to listen to the words of the beggar. He drew from them a lesson for himself in contentment, purity of heart and meekness of spirit, a lesson which he regarded as indeed a very precious return for the alms he had intended to give.

Sir Narayan was very particular about his health. Sometimes he carried his fastidiousness too far. He was far from being a man of robust constitution. His was a delicate constitution without any chronic ailment or disease. But the slightest change in it would upset him. Sir Narayan knew this defect in his temperament and always tried to control it. One morning he woke up and found himself ill at ease. He became extremely nervous about his health, and to overcome his nervousness he prayed and wrote : "How shall I overcome this habit of mine ? Am I not entirely in God's hands ? Why need I fear then ?" Heartened by this self-admonition he got up, had his bath and

said his prayers. That restored him completely. Then he went out for a walk up the hill with his gardener's son. The scenery of the place, the singing of birds, the beauty of the rising sun had their desired effect upon his mind. The gloom and despair were no more. And he became full of joy and gladness. He describes the experience thus :

Listened to the notes of a bird singing from a tree on a raised ground. It brought calm to the mind. Life a song. The trees and plants were standing still---there was the chirping of birds all around. The sun trying to peer through the clouds. Wild flowers here and there. Oh Nature ! Thy beauty is soothing. Came home refreshed."

It was a habit with him to recover the poise of the mind and the soul by such contact with Nature. He sought such opportunities when he could be alone in the midst of the beauty of Nature and refresh his spirit. Of this quest he writes :

"Sought for the music of birds. Why is that music less than it used to be fifteen years ago ? They say because birds are killed. What inhumanity ! God's singers, how they soften man's heart by their sweet chants !"

As was usual with him during the summer vacations, one year he had gone to stay at Khandala and had invited a few friends to stay with him by turns. Mr. Shinde of the Depressed Classes Mission Society was with him at that time. Once they went out together for an early morning walk. It was Sir Narayan's habit during such walks to make his companions share with him the charm, beauty, delight and exhilaration of the surrounding scene by drawing largely upon his well-stored mind, for apt quotations from his favourite English poets who had described similar scenes. It did not matter to him at such a time whether his companion was an elderly person like Mr. Shinde or his little grandson Madhukar ! The day on which Mr. Shinde went out for a morning stroll with Sir Narayan at Khandala has been remembered to this day by the former. The sky was overcast with clouds, the hills around were lit up with the beautiful rays of the morning sun. The breeze was blowing gently and sweet. The grassy ground over which the two pedestrians were walking was covered with flowers here and there. On the whole the scene was full of poetic inspiration. Sir Narayan began to recite passages from his favourite poet Wordsworth. He felt it too cruel for him to trample the grass with its tufts of flowers underneath his feet. They moved aside,

they dared not hurt these tender little beautiful shoots and flowers. Mr. Shinde was struck with wonder and delight by the effect the scene had made upon Sir Narayan's mind and the outburst of song to which it led from Sir Narayan who poured out quotation after quotation from his favourite poets that vividly brought out the charm and significance of the whole scene. But what was most remarkable about it was that it was not with him a mere sensuous experience—an appeal to the eye and the ear. It became with him, as ever, a landmark in spiritual perception, a vivid realization of the love and glory of God.

Those who knew Sir Narayan only from the outside could not help being struck with his greatness. His eloquence, his command over the English language, his earnestness and enthusiasm, his large and liberal mode of thought at once attracted attention and captivated the heart. But his character, his religious temperament, his unshaken faith in God, his tender heart and cheerful and loving disposition, his fire and genius became clearer only to those who had the privilege of his close and immediate acquaintance. It was then alone that the man stood completely revealed and one could know fully the secret of his greatness. And that lay in his spirituality, in the growth of the spirit within which he was so assiduous to cultivate and to the unfoldment of which he gave all his time, thought and attention.

When one thinks of the care he bestowed on the cultivation of his heart and mind and on the efflorescence of his soul, one cannot help regarding him as a rare type among the educated men of India. Not a day passed in his life without prayer, meditation and devotion. He rose with the break of dawn and began the day with prayer and the reading of some scripture. When one scans the list of books that he had made out for careful reading and thought at different times one is filled with amazement at the order and method which governed his life's work from day to day and hour to hour. Everything with him was perfectly methodical and regular. Everything was well-planned and the plan of work was carried out to the letter without haste and without waste. A portion of his busy day was regularly spent in the company of children and he regarded the time thus spent

as a great education for himself. But the method according to which he worked from day to day was never allowed to degenerate into the lifeless mechanism of a clock-work. He pursued his work with delight and joy and with a thrill of emotion that made it really exhilarating. Of this he writes:

"I am grateful to God for the *impulse* to work methodically and the resolve to work rather than weary myself in indolence. I feel so peaceful, so happy, when I have spent the day in good hard work."

It was not enough for him to have subjected himself to this self-imposed discipline, to have prayed while working and worked while praying. What he did further was to note from day to day whether this work and prayer marked a real growth in his life. Thus he ever asked himself, "Have I been industrious? Have I been true, just and prudent?" His searchlight was always turned inwards. The questioning went on incessantly. Thus, "How have I employed my time?" "How far have I succeeded in my resolution to practise the virtue of patience?" "What good have I done? What notable thing have I observed?"—questions like these are a constant refrain in his private diary. And there are also answers to these questions. Thus he writes, "Went through my daily programme pretty well and faithfully. No time ill-spent."

It is our usual experience in the difficulties of life to grow despondent, gloomy and uncharitable. Rich and poor, ignorant and educated—all are subject to sorrow, bereavement and suffering in this chequered world. Death takes its toll from among those dearly loved by us. It is under trials and tribulations like these that we are really tested and our growth in spirit is properly measured. How he felt and thought on such matters and in the midst of such experiences he has himself put on record as follows.

"We complain that life is travail, that difficulties and disappointments trouble us and make it sometimes unbearable. But life is discipline and to go through it well we must be strong. The strength must come from faith in our mission. Whence can that strength come but from Thee, Oh Lord! Believe, my soul, that thou art not of this earth but there is the Divine in thee; cling to it; make it shine inwards and outwards; make that your inspiration and aspire with its help. The mountain-tops of life may be misty, but stand there, climb there and stand like the jocund day. God Almighty help me to go through with *manliness*, too high for envy and too great for haste."

This passage furnishes the key to the

calmness of spirit with which he bore all things in life, whether they brought him joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain.

There is another trait of his character that ought not to go unmentioned while we are meditating on the lessons of his inner life. No one knew his drawbacks better than himself. We have heard many waxing eloquent over the foibles of his nature. But so much trouble need not have been taken on the subject. For no one has unfolded them better than he. Let us give an instance or two on the point. One morning while absorbed in reading a book on religious reform, a thought struck him and he puts down the method of reform thus:

"To win men by the winsome beauty of truth is necessary for me whose great short-coming is want of gentleness."

Another instance occurs in connection with a meditation on a hymn from Tukaram. What he wrote after that meditation is deeply instructive. Writes he:

"That is what I should strive for—not to be vexed or angry where I see another in fault but try to restore him in meekness. It is one of my besetting sins—I lose my temper when I see another wrong or fancy I see. I forget I do wrong too and why should I not bear with others' infirmities? I resolve once more to be earnest and mild; to counsel without haughtiness and reprove without scorn. Win others by love. That is the only way to live and work and be acceptable to God."

Does not this passage and admonition reveal a wrestling soul striving to set himself right with man and God? Does it not show how keenly alive it was to its own defects and how earnestly he prayed and worked to improve himself?

Sir Narayan knew the importance and secret power of prayer. He strove to live, move and have his being in God in all the pursuits of his life, private and public. His life was ennobled and beautified by the spirit of prayer and godliness that pervaded it. He believed in prayer and openly avowed his faith. In his daily duties prayer gave him strength and resolution and kept him firm in the path that he had chalked out for his guidance. Once while he was a Judge his mind had become confused by hearing the pros and cons of the case on either side. When he returned home he

thought deeply on the matter but could come to no definite decision. In this unsettled mood he prayed to God for light and retired for sleep. He woke up with dawn, prayed and started writing the judgment. The whole case became clear to him and the confusion and doubt were no more. Referring to this experience he notes in his diary:

"Always pray, especially in doubt and difficulty, and God will help you, provided the prayer is earnest and the mind is pure."

Whenever any one boastfully said that he had no faith in prayer and that loyal work was all that really mattered, Sir Narayan would answer him:

"Work alone without the consciousness and the inspiration that it is God's narrows us; it is apt to degenerate into mere routine; and difficulties and disappointments, temptations mar it. But pray to God and accustom yourself to the idea that you are doing God's work and the prayerful habit becomes an inspiration, making even drudgery divine."

The facts that have been brought together above from the diaries and personal observation of the life of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar make one thing clear to us. And that is that his was a soul that aspired heavenwards, that he valued becoming and being higher more than any other outward good of life. And his life, therefore, deserves to be remembered as that of one among the very few among the educated sons of India who have striven nobly and ceaselessly to give the life of the spirit the first place in all their doings, be they private or public, individual or national. Unless we give religion—that is purity of thought, word and deed and nobility and honesty—the first place in all our activities and so work as to give God, that is Truth, Righteousness and Love, the pre-eminence over everything else, our efforts are foredoomed to failure. That was the deepest conviction of Sir Narayan's soul. And that is nowhere better embodied than in the following prayer of his:

"My God and Father, Thou art Truth. Thou art love. Teach me to live truth, to abide in Thee; teach me to repose in Thee in a spirit of calm resolution. Teach me to hate none; teach me to seek good in everything and every one; teach me to do my duty regularly and faithfully and to trust Thee."

THE CHINESE WOMAN TO-DAY

An interview with Mrs. Sun Yat Sen of China

“OUR grandmothers were 500 years behind the women of America, but our daughters will be fifty years ahead of them”, declared Mrs. Sun Yat Sen, the widow of the famous Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuo-Min-Tang (the National Peoples' Party of China) and thereby of the revolutionary movement in progress in China to-day. Mrs. Sun Yat Sen spoke these words while giving a recent interview about the woman's movement in China in general, and especially about the Political School for Women which she has founded in Hankau, and in which women are being trained for leadership in the woman's movement. A small group of about one hundred young women have been carefully selected and are being intensively trained in this school in the problems of China, the revolution, and the role the Chinese woman must play in the social and political rejuvenation of the Chinese people. In her interview, Mrs. Sun Yat Sen continued :

“These leaders of the woman's movement whom we are training today have as their ideal a free Chinese womanhood who shall be a living part of the struggle for freedom. This was also the ideal of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who continuously repeated in his writings that not only men of our nation, but also women, must be free. He was not only a political, but also a social revolutionary, and particularly in so far as women were concerned. Wherever he went and worked, he fought for the freedom of all classes and of both sexes. Women always sat at the same conference tables with him and his co-workers and women continue to sit at the conference tables today where the fate of China is being decided. In revolutionary ranks today, in the ranks of the Kuo-Min-Tang, women have, without demanding them, been given the same rights as men.”

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen also spoke about the great changes in China during the past twenty years. “Considered historically,” she said, “it is but an hour ago that China recognized her slavery and decided to free herself. But in this one hour great changes have taken place. China is absolute-

ly illiterate, the men as well as the women. The mothers of China today find their daughters strange, and the grandmothers look upon them as if they were creatures from another world. But we younger women feel that perhaps in the hearts of the older women there exists a faint envy and a timid approval of our life today.”



The Late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and leader of the Kuo-Min-Tang

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen does not speak of her country-women without broad experience. She also knows foreign women's movements intimately, for she travelled extensively with Dr. Sun Yat Sen when he visited foreign countries to organize his countrymen for

the revolution. She knows America especially well, for she studied four years there in the State University of Macon, Georgia. She admires the responsibility, the seriousness and courage of the American woman.

"But I doubt," she said, "if the American woman can conceive of the dimensions of the woman's movement in China today. During the four years that I studied in



Madame Sun Yat Sen, Widow of the Famous Dr. Sun Yat Sen, member of the Executive Committee of the Kuo-Min-Tang, and leader of the Chinese Woman's Movement

America, I came into intimate contact with many women and came to know their political and social activities. I saw their desperate struggle for the franchise and their continuous agitation for equality before the law. Their determination and seriousness made a tremendous impression upon me, but I recognized that the chains that they were trying to free themselves from were not half as strong as the chains the Chinese woman suffered from. I watched their struggle and then gazed into the many, many decades which I thought we

Chinese women would have to pass through before we gained the same measure of freedom that the American woman already had. At such moments I was very sad. The complete freedom of American women, in any case, is near at hand, but for the Chinese woman this freedom then appeared to be so far, far away, that it seemed a dream of Utopia.

"But I was wrong. Strong as the chains have been on our women, they are today being broken, and with gigantic blows of the revolution. Our grandmothers were five centuries behind the American women, but our daughters will be half a century in advance of them. The mighty activities of the Kuo-Min-Tang are wiping our centuries of subjection of Chinese women, and we are being spared generations and generations of useless and bitter suffering. As I said, this work of freedom is the work of the Kuo-Min-Tang. The mighty, all-inclusive foundations of freedom being laid by Chinese nationalism are tearing all social evils and all enslavement out by the roots. Everyone finds himself in the midst of this great stream—the highest and the lowest, men and women, the intellectuals and the working class. Old and young, under the leadership of the Kuo-Min-Tang, we are day by day abolishing the merciless and barbarous methods and conditions of feudalism. We once thought our goal lay in the great distance, but we know that today in the twentieth century, it is not necessary to go slowly at a snail's pace. Much pain and suffering will be spared us because of this. The national Constitution drawn up by the Kuo-Min-Tang insures women the same rights as men. Under new China we women do not have to fight for the franchise, the right of guardianship and education of our own children, nor for equal and just marriage laws. Marriage and divorce are the same for men as for women in new China. Equal citizenship, the franchise, the same property and social rights for men and women is the fundamental basis of our revolutionary programme just as much as the absolute sovereignty of China in relationship with other powers of the world is a fundamental part of our programme. Our revolution is not merely political, but is instead also social—which means in its broadest sense, ethical."

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen then discussed her plans for the new political School for Women in Hankau. At first, she says, the school has been started on a small scale. Only one hundred young women can be accommodated

at first, but soon there will be opportunities for one hundred more, and later still for another hundred and so on. In this way, and with the help of the new laws that have sprung from the national movement, "we will help win freedom in all walks of life for Chinese women. In China we will not have any need to struggle against worn-out, old, traditional laws made by men for the

special privileges of men. The Kuo-Min-Tang's laws and decrees recognize no difference between the sexes. The task of the woman of new China is to go to her sisters and to open their eyes to a new and beautiful world."

(The Chinese Information Bureau, Berlin)

FROM THE GERMAN BY AGNES SMEDLEY

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH RHODESIA

By C. F. ANDREWS

WHILE the struggle has been going on from year to year in South Africa, with varying success, which has at last issued in a settlement, giving us breathing space down in South Africa itself, in Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, things seem to have gone suddenly all against us and a great set-back has occurred. Indians to-day are absolutely excluded from a country, which bears the name of Cecil Rhodes—the same Rhodes who invented the phrase, "Equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi."

When I visited Rhodesia for the first time in the year 1921, the contrast with Kenya and other parts of Africa, as far as Indians were concerned,—was so great, that I wrote in strongly appreciative terms about it. The 'English' Education test, which admitted Indians into the country, was a very fair one. There was no cheating or juggling about it. Indians told me that they had no trouble at the frontier. There was also a distinct air of friendliness within the borders of Rhodesia, and every educated Indian had the franchise according to Cecil Rhodes's own formula of civilisation, which I have quoted above.

Sir Drummond Chaplin was then the administrator, and he was a real friend of the Indians. He liked them, and they liked him. It was an unusual experience to me to pass from one town in Rhodesia to another, and to find that there were no grievances of any kind, but only words of praise for the administration. This gave the lie at once to those who had told me, that it was

impossible to satisfy the Indians, because they delighted to grumble on all occasions and would never be contented.

Again in 1924, when Mrs. Sarojini Naidu visited the country, the story that she brought away with her, when she related her experience, exactly tallied with my own. She was, if anything, even more enthusiastic than I was in her appreciation; and she told the whole of India about the admirable treatment that Indians received under the chartered Government of Southern Rhodesia, and how different it all was from Kenya and Tanganyika.

Nevertheless, three short years have wrought havoc already with Indian rights in Southern Rhodesia; and from all the accounts, which I have received, matters are rapidly going from bad to worse. Unless something is done equally rapidly to prevent this, our rights will all be taken from us before we know where we are.

The first occasion when this change in the situation came home to me was on the day that I landed on Beria, in early October, 1926.

Four men, who had been residents in Southern Rhodesia for many years, were waiting for me as I got down from the steamer. They had been all turned back from the frontiers, although they carried Rhodesian certificates. The ground for this refusal to allow them to enter was stated to be, that an Ordinance had been passed, restricting entrance of Indians; and that as they had been absent from the country for more than three years, their certificates had been cancelled.

These four men were simple people, small shopkeepers. Their shops were in Rhodesia. They had at first not heard, while in India, of the passing of any Ordinance restricting entrance. Then, in 1926, a rumour reached them. This made them hurry back to their business. They came as quietly as possible. They landed by the steamer just before the one on which I travelled out, and had been up to the frontiers at Umtali. But they had been turned back. They had sent in their papers and certificates, and were awaiting a verdict from Bulawayo. At the moment, I did all that was possible, writing letters for them and stating their case. It was my definite hope, that they would easily be admitted. But, on the contrary, they have sent me many letters since, which have followed me all about the South African Union, telling me their troubles. The letters are written in the quaintest English; but they are all the more expressive on that account. The last letter was received by me only a few hours ago. Indeed, it is this very letter, that has been the cause of my wishing specially to write this article; for the condition of these outcasts is piteous, and it is very hard to feel oneself able to do nothing as yet to help them. It has only been possible to promise them, that I will take up their cause when I get to Rhodesia at last.

Meanwhile, a series of letters reached me from Bulawayo itself, where the Secretary of the Indian Association is stationed. At first, it was impossible to reply to them with any assurance, because it was as clear as possible that South Africa was the storm-centre, and a final defeat in South Africa would mean a defeat up and down the whole coast of East Africa also, and far into the interior. But since the Round Table Agreement has been signed, the relief, that has partly followed, has made it possible to promise that on my return journey I will stay for some time among them and go very thoroughly into their whole situation and consider with them how it can be improved.

Two things have happened since Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit, in 1924, which have altered the Indian position. The former is the grant of Responsible Government to the white population of Southern Rhodesia. It is now a Dominion, which has not yet reached its full status; but at the same time, it can exercise, in certain

very important directions, independent powers.

The second thing is the very large influx of settlers from South Africa, and especially from Natal, where for generations past the Indians have been despised. These new South African settlers have brought in their worst prejudices against the Indians, and the whole tone of the country has become more illiberal than in Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's time. Everything points to this in the actions that have been taken; but I do not wish to write too positively about it, until I have seen things with my own eyes and formed an opinion from personal experience.

The two actions, which stand out most clearly at present and form the basis of my own tentative judgment, are these.

(i) The immediate restriction of Indian immigration, which has followed the grant of Responsible Government.

(ii) The half-expressed Government intention to segregate the small number of Indians remaining in the country.

The former of these two decisions, I had already cabled to India. Also I had written articles which have appeared in the Indian papers. But the second has come to me with startling surprise; and as it is not already finally established by the Administration, I have still some hope that it may not be proceeded with, if only representation can be made in due time and with due effect. The meetings of the Legislative Council take place in May and June. Unfortunately, I am still compelled to stay on in Capetown, in order to watch the passage of the new legislation on the Indian Question through the House of Assembly, which is to implement the Agreement. Though these Bills, as they are published, appear to be exactly in accord with the Agreement, nevertheless it is of the utmost importance to be on the spot, in case some doubtful amendment should be proposed and it were necessary immediately to oppose it as a breach of the Agreement.

Before this article appears in print, I shall hope to visit Rhodesia, and see things on the spot. If it is still possible to prevent the segregation policy from being carried out, every effort must be made at once to accomplish such a desirable end. It will not be now so difficult to effect this as it was before,—such is my genuine hope—because, by the abandonment of the Asiatic Bill, the

South African Union Government have themselves given up the segregation policy in South Africa. Since it has been generally acknowledged, that other provinces in Africa will take the lead from South Africa, I am not without expectation, that the Rhodesian Government may be induced to give way on this vital point in a similar manner. But the 'Bulawayo Chronicle,' which belongs to a Syndicate by no means hostile to Indian interests, has already adopted a bullying attitude in its editorial; and it may be more difficult to prevent hasty action in a young country, that has just felt the intoxication of power, than at this distance one is able to imagine.

It may be asked,—and I have often asked it myself, in moments of depression,—what, after all, is the practical use of this perpetual striving? Will not things inevitably take their downward course? Will

not Might still continue to triumph over Right?

In calm moments of insight, it is not possible to believe this. History certainly does not teach it. Faith has now a firm foundation of past experience to build on, though it must remain faith still—'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.'

No, it is only by the assurance, that every little inch gained means greater progress ahead, that our faith is sustained; it is only thus we are enabled to take at one time with fortitude the blow which drives us back, and at another time to seize without over-elation the opening which enables us to go forward,—

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

BY TARAKNATH DAS, A.M., PH. D.

I.

A State may lose its sovereign rights, after a defeat in war, or by limitations imposed by a treaty; but a people, a nation, never loses its inalienable right to be free, even after centuries of subjection. The history of the emancipation of Spain from the Moors, of the Balkan States and Greece from Turkey, of the freedom of Poland, Finland and Hungary and of the freedom of Ireland after seven hundred years' struggle against British domination and the growing unrest in Egypt, India and the Philippines for national independence demonstrates the fact that a living nation will repeatedly struggle against foreign domination, until it recovers its sovereign rights. Although the doctrine of self-determination has been much heralded since the World War, it is certainly as old as the Declaration of American Independence. It is needless to say that the effort of the Chinese people to be free and completely independent from foreign domination is their birthright.

II.

The present revolutionary phase of Chinese Nationalism is but a vivid manifestation of

an angle of a happening of tremendous consequence..... *The Ultimate Emancipation of the Orient From Western Domination*.... which began about a century ago and is now fairly on the road to success.

Indignant and horrified at the consequences of the "Opium Trade" carried on by the East India Company, China tried to free herself from the Western commercial domination. This led to the First Opium War of 1839-1842. In this war the British were victorious and imposed the Treaty of Nanking.

None should forget that the Chinese laws at that time demanded abolition of the Opium Trade. China's defeat in the Opium War resulted in the introduction of extra-territoriality, restriction of tariff autonomy and Great Britain's annexation of Hongkong and extraction of a large indemnity of twenty-one million dollars. By the famous Treaty of Nanking China agreed to open up five Chinese treaty ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai...to foreign powers; and various trade privileges, including "favoured nation treatment", was accorded to Great Britain. It may be well said that it was the beginning of the era of concert of Western Powers (so-

called Treaty Powers) to keep China under economic, judicial and political subjection.

The Arrow War of 1856 followed the First Opium War. In 1860 the combined forces of France and England laid siege to Peking. By the Treaty of Tientsin, concluded in 1860, France and Britain extracted large

noted that while China was going through the Taiping Rebellion, Turkey was struggling against Russian encroachment, and India had her so-called Sepoy Rebellion of 1856-1857. Thus ended the second attempt of the Chinese people to free themselves from western aggression and their own corrupt and weak Government.



His Excellency Hon. Sao-Ke A. Sze, the Chinese Minister to the United States of America

indemnities and Britain annexed Kowloon. In 1860, Russia by clever diplomacy of persuasion and threat, succeeded in annexing China's maritime province, east of the Ussuri. Foreign Powers at this time firmly secured extra-territorial jurisdiction and established foreign concessions in the so-called treaty ports. The Manchu rulers submitted to the inevitable. But the Chinese people felt indignant at the national humiliation and started the patriotic movement of overthrowing the incompetent Manchu Government, which had failed to protect China from foreign aggression. The patriotic movement spread from South China to the north and took the form of the so-called Taiping Rebellion. It lasted for two decades and was suppressed in 1864-65, through foreign co-operation. It may be

After the failure of the Taiping Rebellion, the Manchus tried their best to strengthen their position, by bringing about certain reforms; but as the government was thoroughly corrupt and incompetent, these pious wishes were never transformed into effective reforms. In the meantime foreign encroachments upon Chinese Sovereignty, began from all sides, with greater vigor. China lost her suzerainty over Burma, during the period of 1862-1886, over Indo-China during the period of 1862 to 1885, and various nations began to stake out portions of Chinese territory. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) China lost her suzerainty over Korea; and the weakness of the celestial empire became so evident that the important Treaty-Powers, particularly Great Britain, France, Russia and Germany, following the policy of "break-up of China", through mutual agreement, established special spheres of influence in the Chinese Empire. This resulted in the fact that over 85 p. c. of the territory of the Chinese Empire was staked out as "special preserves" of various powers. The Chinese patriots in utter desperation again organized a nationwide movement to get rid of the "Foreign Devils" from China and to oust the Manchu rulers. This patriotic movement, on the part of the Chinese, to regain Chinese sovereignty by ousting the foreign intruders, has been grossly misinterpreted as the so-called anti-foreign Boxer Uprising of 1900, as if it had no other motive than massacring the Christian foreigners. The efforts of the Manchu rulers and concerted military action on the part of the great Powers against the uprising of the Chinese people crushed the Boxer Rebellion. The western Powers found it convenient to acquire further financial control over China by taking over control of the maritime custom revenue as the guarantee for the enormous Boxer indemnity imposed upon the Chinese people; and military control over China was planned by increasing foreign soldiers in Peking and various treaty ports. Thus the third attempt for the liberation of China failed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

After the suppression of the Boxer uprising, the Western Powers, interested in controlling China, could not agree in their respective plans of dividing the booty. The



The Infant Hercules

Anglo-Americans wanted to have equal opportunity for commerce, for themselves as well as others in China, even in various spheres of influence; while the Russians, supported by the French (France was a party to the Dual Alliance of Europe) and even encouraged by Germany, wanted to annex sections of Manchuria and Mongolia. This conflicting interest among the Western Powers engaged in exploiting China, gave rise to the so-called Open Door Policy of the Anglo-Americans which was warmly supported by Japan. The rivalry between the Anglo-Americans on the one hand and the Slavs on the other, gave rise to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was fully supported by the American government and public. Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, in which more than a hundred thousand Japanese gave their lives and a billion dollars was spent by Japan, safeguarded for the time being Chinese independence from further Russian aggression; but at the same

time it made it easy for Great Britain to encroach upon Chinese sovereignty in Tibet and various parts of the southern provinces of China. However, it may be well said that, in a way the victory of Japan over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, was a victory of the cause of the Chinese patriots who genuinely sympathised with Japan and wanted to see a check upon western aggression in China and other parts of Asia. Indeed this Japanese victory was a significant political as well as spiritual victory for all Asia, which was groaning under the yoke of western imperialism.

The Chinese patriots, after the Russo-Japanese War, felt more than ever before that, to save China from further aggression, it was imperative that China should be freed from her own corrupt and incompetent rulers. They felt that China, like Japan, should modernise herself.

Political secret societies of the Chinese patriots, organised all over the world, under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, began to work for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic. The life of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his activities for the cause of Chinese Nationalism and Revolution are an epic. He and his followers brought about a revolution in the ideas of the Chinese people and Chinese soldiers; so with very little



Chinese Students parading with an inscribed banner, through the streets of the Chinese City at Shanghai, after the Cantonese had gained Control : Types of Nationalist "Intellectuals"

blood-shed they accomplished their end, when in 1911 the Manchu Emperor was forced to abdicate and China became a Republic. This was the beginning of the triumphant march of Chinese Nationalism.

It may be mentioned that the Chinese residing outside of China aided Dr. Sun financially and Dr. Sun received considerable help of every kind from the far-sighted Japanese advocates of Asian Independence through Chino-Japanese-Indian friendship.

Dr Sun Yat Sen, to avoid a conflict among the Chinese, resigned the position of the First President of the Chinese Republic, in favour of General Yuan Shi Kai, who promised to uphold the cause of the Chinese Republic. This really led to a serious counter-revolution, because Yuan Shi Kai, within a short time, abrogated the Parliament and assumed the position of a Dictator, supported by his military subordinates. Later on when Yuan attempted to establish himself as the Chinese Emperor, he was heartily supported by the British Government in his adventure. However, the Chinese patriots, under the leadership of Dr. Sun, rose against Yuan, to save the cause of Chinese Revolution. In 1917 when the Chinese Government persuaded by the Entente Powers and America, entered the World War against Germany, Dr. Sun and his adherents opposed it vigorously. Chinese patriots felt that China had nothing to gain by fighting Germany and thus strengthening the British power; on the contrary, China should spend all her energies for her own regeneration. For this policy of Dr. Sun, he was hated by the British Government.

For a time it seemed that the cause of the Chinese Revolution was lost, as milita-



Feng Yu-hsiang

rism and the opportunism of the Chinese War Lords took the place of popular government in China. Fortunately for China, good came out of the evil of the World War. Japan, by her might and foresight, eliminated Germany from China and presented the Twenty-one Demands to China. The rise of Japanese preponderance in Chinese affairs alarmed the Anglo-Americans; and they carried on anti-Japanese propaganda to rouse the Chinese against Japan. This aided the Chinese nationalist cause with international support. Furthermore, to induce China to enter the World War against Germany, the Entente group of Powers agreed to the non-payment of the Boxer Indemnity for a certain period. China was allowed to terminate all German rights in concessions and extra-territorial jurisdiction in China. The World War made it evident, as it was during the Russo-Japanese War, that there was lack of solidarity among the Western Powers, in their policy in China.

When the World War ended and all the German rights in Shantung were transferred to Japan, due to secret treaties signed between Japan on one side, and Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia on the other, the Chinese nation felt that they were betrayed by the statesmen of the Entente Powers and President Wilson of the United States. This stirred the Chinese people to great indignation and aided the cause of Chinese nationalism. It was the nationalist agitation that forced the Chinese statesmen to assert diplomatic independence by defying the Powers and refusing to sign the Versailles Treaty. This defiance of China is the beginning of her self-assertion in international politics for the sole purpose of regaining her sovereign rights. At the Versailles Peace Conference, the Chinese nationalists successfully served notice to the Powers that Chinese rights could not be bartered away by other nations, through secret agreements. While the Chinese nationalists carried on their activities to rouse the nation to the nationalist cause, through the Student Movement and National Boycott against Japan, the actual victory was achieved through the success in international diplomacy carried on by Chinese statesmen—all young men trained in western lands in western methods. Through American statesmen and journalists, the Chinese carried on agitation on the question of Shantung. The Shantung Question became a very important factor in American opposition to the approval of the

Versailles Treaty by the United States Senate. American idealists as well as Imperialists espoused China's cause and demanded that Japan must not be allowed to retain Shantung and thus become so rich in raw materials and dominant in the Pacific. Chinese nationalists worked persistently to regain Shantung, through international action and enlisted American and British support against Japan in the Washington Conference and in the end succeeded.

About this time Chinese nationalists formulated a course of treating with foreign nations—China must treat individually and independently and on equal terms with foreign Powers. China concluded a separate treaty with Germany as well as Austria by which she freed herself from unequal treaties. After the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan felt that there was an unwritten Anglo-American agreement against her. To avoid the possibility of complete isolation in world politics, Japan was forced to cultivate friendship with China and Russia. Soviet Russia, actuated by the policy of freeing herself from isolation in world politics and to secure support of various Asian states gave up her special privileges in China, Persia and Afghanistan. To cement a friendly understanding, the Soviet Government gave up Russian concessions, unequal treaties and extra-territorial jurisdiction in China.

From this it is evident that, although China was torn with Civil wars among her War Lords, Chinese nationalists were winning great victories in international politics.

By 1925, when the Chinese nationalists, under the leadership of Dr Sun, made the influence and power of the Kuo-min-tang party felt in Southern China and the Yangtse region, the Treaty Powers were already divided into various groups and there was no possibility of united action amongst them to keep China under subjection. Among the European Powers, Austria and Germany had given up the unequal treaties, as the result of the World War; Russia gave up the unequal treaties to secure Chinese recognition and friendship. Japan was willing to support China in her efforts to end the unequal treaties, with the hope of securing Chino-Japanese co-operation in the Far East, for her own security and to promote the cause of Asian Independence. America could not advocate a policy which would seem to be less generous towards Chinese

aspirations than those advocated by Japan. France, seeing her international situation delicate and complex in Europe, particularly in the Mediterranean regions, chose the path of moderation and conciliation towards China and co-operation with Japan. Of all the

so called Treaty Powers, Britain alone took a definite and determined stand against the cause of the Chinese nationalists. The Chinese nationalists, with great vigor, pursued the policy of agitation against Great Britain, as they did a few years ago against Japan. The British authorities tried to overawe the Chinese nationalists by massacres, and perpetrated several massacres of the type of the Amritsar massacre—the massacres at Shanghai, Shameen and Wanshien. This roused the Chinese nation to a man and crystalized the anti-British sentiment in China for all the wrongs done since the days of the Opium War to the present time. It is natural that



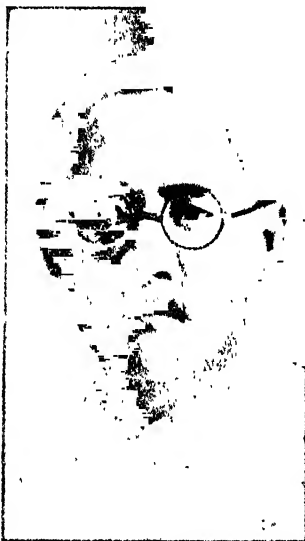
General Chiang Kai-shek

Russia gave enthusiastic support to the anti-British programme of the Chinese nationalists. One hundred and fifty years ago, the then existing Anglo-French rivalry and the international situation in Europe aided the cause of American Independence; and today Anglo-Russian hostility, Anglo-American distrust of Japan and the general condition of world politics is an asset to the cause

of Chinese freedom. Furthermore, the spirit of Chinese nationalism is not a shallow one, it has been ripened by the struggle of the last century, for at least eighty years. It is needless to say that inspite of all obstacles, Chinese nationalism is marching triumphantly to victory.

III

The Chinese Revolution is not merely political, on the contrary, like all great revolutions, it embraces the whole life of the Chinese people. There is the literary revolution going on in China, so that the Chinese masses may be quickly educated. There is the social revolution for the emancipation of the women of China and for inculcating new ideals of society. The Student Movement and Labor Movement are manifestations of new China's militant spirit. There is the Religious Revolution, which in some places has taken the turn of anti-Christian agitation. Many Chinese nationalists are placing new interpretations on the teachings of Confucius which attach great importance to civic righteousness. Among the young nationalists, worshipping the spirit of Sun Yat Sen is taking the place of ancestor worship. Mr. S. Yui, Assistant Professor of Political Science in Tsing Hua University, Peking, has stated the present situation in China in an admirable way :—



Foreign Minister Eugen Chen

"The period in China today is a period of fighting for emancipation. The Chinese revolution, which began in 1911, is a fight for emancipation from despotic rule. This fight will continue till the Republic is firmly established.

"The Chinese renaissance movement which began in 1917 is a fight for emancipation from illiteracy and for freedom of thought. This fight will continue till illiteracy vanishes.

"But the most important fight today is the fight for emancipation from the 'unequal treaties,' which have bound China hand and foot for over

eighty years. And this fight will continue till the Powers realize the gross international injustice they have done to China, and give China her legitimate place in the family of nations.

"What China aspires after today is not any concession from any foreign Powers, but merely restoration of her lost independence—no more than that, and no less than that."

The spirit of political revolution in China has been well expressed by the 'Christian General' Feng, who plackarded the barracks of his soldiers with the slogan, "*The People Subjected To Foreign Imperialism Are No Better Than Homeless Dogs.*" The Chinese people do not any longer submit to the condition of being "homeless dogs"; and the spirit of revolution has so deepened that even a rickshawman in the street cannot be illtreated by a foreigner with impunity, as used to be the case before.

China wants to be free and independent; and the Chinese demands from the Treaty Powers are very lucidly set forth by an American student of oriental politics in the following way :

"Stripped of non-essential claims, put forward for bargaining purposes so deeply rooted in all international diplomacy, China lays claim to just three reformations in the policy of the powers on her soil. These three demands are (1) rectification of the situation in Shanghai (2) tariff autonomy ; (3) abolition of foreign extra-territorial privileges so far as they interfere with the fundamental principle of public law, recognized by all modern civilized States, that every sovereign body has the exclusive right to exercise political jurisdiction within its own territories.*"

It is apparent that these demands are stoutly opposed by the British Foreign Office as well as the State Department of the United States of America, which are staunch supporters of the Treaty of Lausanne, by which Turkey has made the ideals of her National Pact effective by the complete abolition of capitulations. The following passage of the Turkish National Pact expresses the demand of the Chinese people ; and it may be regarded as the demand of the peoples of Asia, struggling for their emancipation :—

"It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every country should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development, in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration. For this reason we are

* *Our Far Eastern Assignment* by Felix Morley New York (1926) Doubleday, Page and Co.

opposed to restrictions inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial and other matters."

• After the Chinese nationalist forces had captured Shanghai, General Chiang Kai Shek was interviewed by the representatives of American newspapers. On that occasion this Chinese patriot declared :—

"Government of all parts of China by the Chinese is my creed. The present revolution will not end until extra-territorial rights and concessions and unequal treaties have all been abolished ... Our attitude toward America is friendly, but we consider America an imperialist, because she has not given the Philippines freedom. The Powers which are willing to abrogate all former treaties and return their concessions and offer recognition to China on the basis of equal treaties will show a friendly spirit and be recognized by China. The new Government will not interfere in the activities of missionaries in China...We have no quarrel with Christianity."

It is the fashion among certain people to class the Chinese nationalists as "Reds", who are inspired by the Russian Bolsheviks, and

whose creed is communism or abolition of private property. It is well to remember that in 1911, when Dr. Sun and his followers succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu dynasty and established the Chinese republic, there was no Russian Communistic Government. The majority of the Chinese nationalists, who are following the teachings of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, are not communists ; on the contrary, they are nationalistic.

"The English translation of 'Kuo-min-tang' goes a long way towards explaining the spirit of the Chinese nationalist movement. In Chinese 'kuo' means country, 'min' people, and 'tang or tong' association. "Kuo-min-tang" means 'association to bring the country into the hands of her people.' It has three basic principles. 1. People's Nationalism ...The freeing of China from foreigners who have tied up the country by treaties dictated at the cannon-point. 2. People's Sovereignty---Development of education and political...democracy. 3. People's Livelihood...Better opportunities for Chinese businessmen ; better conditions for Chinese labor."

(To be concluded)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

PLANT AUTOGRAPHS AND THEIR REVELATIONS: By Sir J. C. Bose, F. R. S. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. London. 7s. 6d. net.

This book is a popular and connected summary of the researches in the physiology of plants which the author has pursued for a quarter of a century, written for the general reader, with as few technicalities as the subject admits. The line of research adopted was the application to plants of the methods which had been successfully employed in the investigation of muscle and nerve in the animal. The point of the title is that the data on which the author bases his conclusions are the results of experiments in which, by means of highly sensitive automatically recording apparatus devised by himself, the course of its normal activities and its response to change of conditions or to stimulation were inscribed by the plant on sheets of paper or glass plates without the observer's intervention.

When pursuing investigations on the border region of physics and physiology, the author tells us in the preface, he was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerging between the realms of the Living and the Non-living. He found metals responding to stimuli ; they are subject to fatigue, stimulated by certain drugs and 'killed' by poisons."

"Between inorganic matter at one extreme and animal life at the other, there is spread out the vast expanse of the silent life of plants. The difficulty that thwarts the investigator at every step arises from the fact that the interplay of life action is taking place within the dark profundities of the tree, which our eyes cannot penetrate. In order to reveal the intricate mechanism of its life, it is necessary to gain access to the smallest unit of life, the 'life-atom', and record its throbbing pulsation. When microscopic vision fails, we have still to explore the realm of the invisible."

This the author has been able to do by means of highly sensitive automatically recording apparatus invented by himself. In the book under notice

he has taken his readers with him step by step as the wonders of plant life became gradually revealed to him through artificial organs of great sensitiveness by which alone the realm of the invisible could be explored. The barriers which seemed to separate kindred phenomena are found to have vanished, "the plant and the animal appearing as a multiform unity in a single ocean of being." "In this vision of truth," says the author, "the final mystery of things will by no means be lessened, but greatly deepened. It is not less of a miracle that man, circumscribed on all sides by the imperfections of his senses, should yet build himself a raft of thought to make daring adventures in uncharted seas. And in his voyage of discovery he catches an occasional glimpse of the ineffable wonder that had been hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the universe."

This volume is the outcome of the author's wish to share with his readers the joy that fills his life. Even those who do not know much of science will be able to understand it and be the author's partner in joy. But it is not merely joy that the reader will derive from its perusal. He will also feel inspired in reading the following concluding paragraphs of the book :

"From the plant to the animal, then, we follow the long stairway of the ascent of Life. In the high spiritual triumph of the martyr, the ecstasy of the saint, we see the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which Life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment, and fortifies itself to control them.

"The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth, the impulse coursing through the nerve and the resulting sensations, how diverse are these and yet so unified! How strange it is that the tremor of excitation in nervous matter should not merely be transmitted but transmuted and reflected, like an image on a mirror, into a different plane of life in sensation and in affection, in thought and in emotion. Of these, which is the more real, the material body or the image which is independent of it? Which of these is undecaying, and which beyond the reach of death?

"Many a nation has risen in the past and won the empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. There is, however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter, yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction: that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations.

"Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions nor even in attainments, but in ideals, is to be found the seed of immortality." R. C.

THE PROBLEM OF COMBATING TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA : By A. C. Ukil, M.B.

This is a reprint of an informative article which originally appeared in the Calcutta Medical Journal for November and December, 1926. The author has discussed the subject from the following points of view :—

- (a) The incidence of the disease in India.
- (b) Its clinical types.
- (c) The mechanism of infection in man.

(d) Influence of diet and socio-economic factors on the incidence of the disease.

(e) Its prevention and control.

The pamphlet contains much useful matter regarding the various aspects of the disease which will be read with interest and profit, both by medical men and the lay public. The chapter on the prevention and control of the disease contains many valuable and practical suggestions, the adoption of which would not only contribute to the amelioration of the condition of those who are already victims of the disease but would effectually check its further spread. In the opinion of the learned author, a great deal could be done by (1) *raising the general vitality and standard of living* and (2) *by preventing the "open" bacillised people to come in contact with healthy or susceptible persons.* We endorse the views of the author in this matter and we join with him in his earnest appeal to "research scholars, the medical profession, the public, the State, the employers and the employed" for a combined effort to organise necessary measures for combating the disease.

HAND-BOOK OF GYNÆCOLOGY : By S. K. Gupta, M.B.

The author has tried to condense, within the small limit of 114 pages, practically the whole subject of Gynæcology, general and operative, dealing with female diseases, constitutional and local, their ætiology, diagnosis, pathology, prognosis and treatment, as also the methods of examination of the patient and the preparation for surgical operations. The book is intended for use by students of medical schools. Unfortunately, it is *too over-crowded*, and this has greatly impaired its usefulness. We regret we cannot encourage the use of such books by students, as they fail to give any intelligent understanding of the subject-matter, but serve only as *cram books* for passing examinations.

THE INDIAN MATERIA MEDICA : By K. M. Nadkarni. Published in Bombay 1927.

The author has taken great care and pain in placing before the medical profession a vast collection of ancient and modern knowledge and experiences of the medicinal use of Indian indigenous drugs belonging to the vegetable, mineral and animal kingdoms. Nearly thirty-six years ago, Dymock, Warden and Hooper published their classical book entitled the "Pharmacographia Indica" in three volumes in which very detailed information in respect of the medicinal plants of India was given, and this work has rightly been considered as the standard book on the subject. It is time that a revised edition of this valuable book (Publishers—Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co.) should be brought out. The author has freely consulted this book in compiling his Indian Materia Medica, and following the foot-steps of the great pioneer-workers in the field of indigenous drugs, has furnished a detailed account of 1053 medicinal plants in their various aspects. [*Indian Medicinal Plants* by Major B. D. Basu and Lieut.-Col. Kirtikar should be mentioned in this connection. Ed., M. R.] He has also dealt in his book with the chemical composition and medicinal properties of 54 mineral drugs and of 51 substances belonging to the animal kingdom, used in the indigenous Systems of Medicine. A number of specific medi-

cinal preparations of the *Ayurvedic* and *Unani* systems of medicine has been described in the book and the method of their preparation in detail has also been given.

Some of the appendices given at the end of the book, such as those on "Indian substitutes for foreign drugs," "percentage composition of and calories in food," "vitamines in food," "natural orders," etc. will be found useful. The appendix on the "percentage composition of foods" could have been improved by introducing separate figures for "fats" and "carbohydrates" in the table. The drugs have been treated in the book alphabetically and this will prove very convenient for ready reference. The book ends with an exhaustive index arranged alphabetically.

One of the objects of the author in publishing this useful volume of Indian *Materia Medica* is to encourage the use of indigenous medicines among medical practitioners trained in the traditions and methods of the Western System of Medicine. There is no doubt that this important subject has hitherto been very much neglected by Indian medical practitioners. Whatever progress has been made in this direction is mainly due to the action of the Government and the interest taken in and the work done by a few enthusiasts belonging to the Imperial and Provincial Medical Services. The signs of the time seem to be more promising. Pharmacological experiments on Indian drugs are now being carried on in well-equipped laboratories, both by Indians and by Europeans, on scientific lines under State patronage and helped by private benefactions as well, and some of the medical graduates of the different Universities of India are showing an increased leaning towards the study of the ancient Hindu System of Medicine. The State and the Legislature are taking some interest in the matter, and medical schools and hospitals are being started in the principal towns of India for the study of *Ayurveda* on scientific basis.

There is an economic aspect of the question which the author has not lost sight of. The substitution of many imported foreign drugs by indigenous medicines of equal potency would contribute to a large saving of public money. It would further enable the poor people of India to get medical relief at a much smaller cost. The author is one of the many who believe, rightly or wrongly, that drugs grown locally act more potently on the children of the soil than those imported from other countries.

There is one matter which requires comment. In a book of this kind published in 1927, one would have expected to find record of results of *up-to-date experiments* in respect of some of the more important indigenous drugs, such as *Boerhavia diffusa*, *Terminalia Arjuna*, *Holarrhena Antidysenterica*, *Cephandra Indica*, *Silajatu*, *Nerium Odorum*, *Cerbera Thevetia*, &c. &c., but we regret to say that we miss them in the book.

We have no hesitation to say that the book will prove to be a useful companion to practitioners of Medicine.

C. L. BOSE.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA: By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., Retd. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. 1927. Price Rs. 1-8.

With the Sépoy Mutiny, a new chapter opens in Indian history. It saw the abolition of the

rule of the old East India Company in India and the assumption of the sovereign power of India by the Queen Victoria. A large number of problems presented themselves before the Queen and her advisers for immediate solution. One of the most pressing problems was: whether the old policy of annexation of Lord Dalhousie would be followed or not. Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.) in his new brochure, *The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*, discusses this and other post-mutiny problems affecting India in a new light. He tries to "analyse the motives which influenced the British authorities to give up the policy of annexing the Native States governed by 'heathen' princes." He quotes liberally from the British authors, whose authority is beyond any shade of doubt, and shows the real motive in giving up the favourite policy of Lord Dalhousie, which was largely responsible for the out-break of the Sepoy revolt. It was due to Mr. John Sullivan and Mr. John Dickinson, Jr. of the India Reform Society that the mischievous nature of the policy of annexation was exposed in England. Their writings and speeches, from which Major Basu makes ample quotations, showed that "the policy was neither ethically just, nor politically expedient, nor financially sound." As to the effect of the annexation policy, Mr. John Sullivan wrote: "The little court disappears, trade languishes, the capital decays, the people are impoverished, the Englishman flourishes and acts like a sponge drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames." But the expenses which this policy entailed were more than the addition to the revenue of the Company. It was stated "that whilst we have not trebled our revenues, we have increased our debt more than sixfold and we are at this moment adding to that debt in order to make good deficiencies of income." Thus, Major Basu shows conclusively that it was not from any motive of philanthropy, altruism or justice that the policy of the annexation of the Native States was given up, and the Doctrine of Lapse was knocked on the head.

After the Sepoy Mutiny, the cry of the Christianisation of India was raised by many zealous Christians in India. They began to maintain that the Christian power in India would not be consolidated and the occurrence of mutinies in future would not be prevented unless and until India was converted to their faith. One Mr. William Edwardes openly declared: "Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country."

Another zealous Christian, Sir Herbert Edwardes of the Multan campaign fame, carried on an agitation for "the elimination of all un-Christian principles from the Government of British India." According to him, one of the un-Christian elements in the Government of India, was, the exclusion of the Bible and Christian teaching from the Government schools and colleges. Sir Herbert Edwardes proposed that the Bible should be taught in the Government schools in India. This view was shared at that time by almost all the high Christian officers in the Punjab, including Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab (who afterwards became Lord Lawrence, Viceroy of India).

Another problem of the Indian Government was the development of the resources of India. To

our rulers it meant nothing less than "affording all possible encouragement to the employment of British capital, skill and enterprise in the development of the material resources of India." This is what Major Basu calls the exploitation of India by England, which helped greatly to consolidate her power in India. Major Basu shows how this exploitation of India by England is carried out by (a) the Construction of Railways, (b) Cultivation of cotton, (c) Concessions to British capitalists to float companies in India to work her resources, (d) Larger employment of Englishmen in India, and (e) Denying self-government to India.

The Indian army was another problem with our rulers. After the Indian Mutiny, the Christian rulers of India were not in a mood to keep the Artillery in the hands of the Sepoys. Therefore, a Royal Commission was appointed, which resulted in greater degradation and humiliation of the Sepoys. Thus post-mutiny reconstruction "deprived Indians of the right of serving in the Artillery." Major Basu observes: "The re-organisation of the Indian Army not only increased the amount of the tribute of India to England, but it emasculated the people, made Indian Sepoys inefficient and unfit for leadership."

In the chapter entitled "Overawing and striking terror into the Punjabis," Major Basu describes 'the cold-blooded judicial murders by such highly-professing Christians as Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery.' We also read of Mr. Frederick Cooper, "who in the face of God and man, dare to boast of the butchery, or death by suffocation, of nearly 500 of their fellow-creatures."

In this new book, *The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*, Major B. D. Basu continues the story which he began in his monumental work, *The Rise of the Christian Power in India*. It is a well-written and thought-provoking sequel to the latter book. He shows how the first five royal Viceroys, namely, Canning, Elgin, Lawrence, Mayo and Northbrook tried to consolidate the Christian Power in India. Those who have read his *Rise of the Christian Power in India* should not also miss this interesting volume on *The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*. Major Basu has already acquired a reputation as a great scholar and historian. He is one of the few Indian scholars, who are devoting their time and energy to the study of the history and problems of modern India. We congratulate Major Basu on the success of his new treatise.

PHANINDRANATH BOSE

THE RELIGION OF ZARATHUSHTRA: By Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Ph. D.

We have before us an able and praiseworthy attempt to present the outlines of the Zoroastrian system to those seeking information about that faith. Within the limits set by the author to himself as regards space it was necessary for him to confine himself to the vital doctrines of the faith, but the task has been very satisfactorily performed owing to the skill with which the plan of the book has been laid out. On a larger scale similar work was done by Dr. Hang in his "Essays on the Parsis" and by Dr. Dhalla in his *Zoroastrian Theology* more recently. But the writing of such introductory works is, indeed, a

periodical necessity with the growth of linguistic study and historical criticism. It need hardly be said that Dr. Taraporewalla is fully equipped for a guide to the Zoroastrian system, being at once a competent scholar of Avesta and Sanskrit.

Indeed, one of the chief merits of the book arises, in our opinion, from the author's ability to look at his subject from the angle of Sanskrit as well as that of Avesta studies. Thus the first chapter of the book is one of the best, since it gives a synoptic vision of the old Aryan home, using Indian as well as Iranian sources of information. There we have quite a calendar of gods and heroes of hoary antiquity whom the ancestors both of Persians and of Indians adored alike. Thus Ahura was worshipped in old India in the forms of Asura and Varuna; while the deity of sacred fire was in Persia Nairyosangha and in India Narashamsa. At a marriage ceremony in the Vedic days the god Airyaman was invoked and the same divinity is still invoked by the Parsis on the same occasion. We would recommend to the author the further prosecution of this "Synoptic" work.

We might draw the attention of the reader to the very good chapter on "Good and Evil." Here the various phases and aspects of Dualism are dealt with, and of course such a solution of the problem of evil will always have great attractions for a considerable proportion of readers. The subject is made interesting by Dr. Taraporewalla who has thrown light on it from Hindu philosophy. The two spirits of the Gathas have been compared by him to the two-fold powers (Spirit and Matter) as postulated by the Yoga Philosophy of India. Such comparisons, limited in scope admittedly though very useful in clearing ideas, are far more useful and illuminating than that wholesale introduction of foreign doctrines into the Zoroastrian system which has been the practice of some otherwise competent Parsi scholars with a great zeal for Theosophy. Here we must praise the procedure adopted by our author, which is scientific in nature and moderate in spirit. Our duty as scholars is to produce an exposition of the system of the Prophet of Persia and not to make wholesale additions to it after the eclectic fashion. In a sense, of course, all religions deliver the same message, but that is only in the very long run and only after abstraction has been made of numerous peculiarities of doctrine which are very interesting in themselves from the point of view of the history of dogma and of human thought.

The chapter on "the path of Asha righteousness" is an interesting account of the growth of spiritual ideals and their development in old Persia. Since the deep and fundamental importance of this conception of "Asha" colours the whole teaching of the Zoroastrian system our author has done well in making a special study of the path of "Asha." He also illustrates the topic by comparing the eternal law of Asha with that of "Rita" in the Vedas. "In both the branches of the Aryan peoples we find the Asha-Rita aspect of God brought into prominence even in the earliest hymns. Both Ahura and Asura Varuna embody the highest ideal of truth and righteousness. The other beings worshipped were regarded as so many varied aspects of the activities of the godhead."

From this point the author is led on to a study

of the angelology of his system. His classification of the angelic hierarchy has much to recommend it. There are angels who are personified divine attributes; a second group represent the ancient Indo-Iranian deities. To these must be added a third class representing the elements and powers of nature. Indeed, it must be always difficult to keep the latter two classes mutually apart. To convey the true spirit of angelic worship is no easy task, but Dr. Taraporewalla has achieved it successfully. Another particularly well-written chapter is the one devoted to the life and work of Zoroaster himself.

We have no doubt that another edition of this very useful book will be soon required. When that edition comes out we would venture to make some suggestions to the author for improving the book still further. The chapter on Zoroaster should be enlarged and enriched by select quotations to be incorporated from the Gathas. A chapter should also be added on the later development of Zoroastrian doctrine under the Sassanides; for developments of great importance there certainly were as also a great deal of reciprocal influence exerted by Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism which would when duly brought out, make that chapter a most fascinating one. The author is quite competent to deal with the fresh matter thus suggested to be introduced.

But a reviewer should advisedly confine himself to dealing with the edition in hand, in the main; there can be no hesitation in stating that the work of Dr. Taraporewalla is one of the best introductions to the study of the religion of Zoroaster.

J. C. C.

A SCHEME OF MASS EDUCATION: By A. B. Mande M. A. (Columbia, U. S. A.). Pp. 84. Price not known.

It is Bulletin No. I of Young men's Indian Association Education Committee.

The author has made a special study of the question of mass-literacy in India. In this book he makes some practical suggestions for teaching Reading. "This method is commonly known as the 'sentence method.' Dr. Huey who made a study of the perception span and of the eye movements was the first psychologist to recommend this method. The Phonetic Method, the Word Method, the Look and Say Methods, etc., which have come into vogue in the Western countries are mere adaptations of his recommendation, which are based on the laboratory findings" (p. 47). Instead of following the traditional method of teaching the alphabet first he begins with words which have a 'natural setting' in a sentence. This method is perfectly psychological. But even our trained teachers are afraid of following this method. And the reason is that they have no practical experience in the matter. Mr. Mande tried his method in the Central Jail, Nagpur with wonderful results. If we are to popularise the method, we must convince the people. If we wish to convince the people, the experiment should be tried extensively by competent teachers.

But who will take the initiative and who will take the responsibility? There must be practising schools.

THE DARVISHES OR ORIENTAL SPIRITUALISM: By John P. Brown. Edited with Introduction and notes

by H. A. Roser with twenty-three illustrations. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. XXIV + 496. Price 18s.

The object of this volume is to afford information in regard to the Belief and Principles of the Darvishes as well as to describe their various modes of worshipping the creator.

The spiritualism of the Darvishes differs in many respects from Islamism and has its origin in the religious conceptions of India and Greece. So the information that the author has been enabled to collect together will be of much interest to the reader. Much of this is original, and having been extracted from Oriental works and from Turkish, Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, may be relied upon as accurate.

It is a valuable publication and is recommended to our readers. There is no other English book on the subject.

FREEDOM, RELIGION AND REALITY: Edited by Mr. G. Y. Chitnis and Published by Mr. Y. V. Bhandarkar, Secretary Prarthana Samaj, Bombay. Pp. 192. Price not known.

It is a commemoration volume published on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the foundation of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. It contains twelve essays by competent persons. Here is the list—

(i) Worship and Fellowship by J. Estlin Carpenter. (ii) The Position of the Prarthana Samaj in the Religious World by R. G. Bhandarkar. (iii) Modernism in the Church of England by J. S. Bezzant. (iv) Theism of Ramanaya. Some problems by S. Radha Krishnan. (v) The Faith of the Brahma Samaj by G. Y. Chitnis. (vi) The Islamic Revival by Mohomed Ali. (vii) Judaism by Rebecca Reuben. (viii) Bahai Revelation (Bahai Spiritual Assembly, Bombay) (ix) The Ideals of the Prarthana Samaj by Y. V. Bhandarkar. (x) Buddhism and Modern Thought by K. A. Padhye. (xi) The Philosophy of the Upanishads by the Editor and (xii) Conclusion by V. G. Bhandarkar.

All the essays breathe the spirit of Liberalism and to this book we draw the attention of all who take an interest in Liberal Religious Ideals.

We congratulate the editor on his being able to include in the volume an article on Judaism. A civilization that is directly and indirectly shaping and modifying our ideas is inimical to the interests of Judaism. An oft-read Scripture which contains unjust denunciations of the expounders of that religion and missionary bodies which popularises that Scripture have succeeded in alienating Indian minds from Judaism. This is deplorable. Liberal Judaism is as akin to the Theistic movement of India as any other Theistic Religion and should never be ignored by Indian Theists as they have hitherto done.

They should make a special study of that religion, and Montefiore's *Outlines of Liberal Judaism* (Macmillan) will give an excellent idea of that movement.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH

BENGALI

DARIDRER KRANDAN : By Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee. The Book Co., Ltd. Calcutta. Price. Re. 1 Sas. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged.

The first thing that strikes one about this book is its excellent get-up and the expressive cover design which very ably illustrates the title—*The Cry of the Poor*. The book is a pioneer production in Bengali Sociological Literature and is indispensable to the student of the realistic economics of India. A glance at the chapter-heads will give an idea of the wide field it covers: Thus Comparative Economics, Want vs. Luxury, Cottage Industry vs. Factories and Social Service form only a few of the many subjects treated by the author. The work embodies the result of much laborious research-work and original observation on the part of the author and is of the utmost value to politicians, scholars and students alike.

H. S.

KAVYA DEEPALI : Edited by Narendra Deb. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons. Calcutta. Price Rs 3. as 8. 1927.

Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, the enterprising firm of publishers, deserve to be congratulated on bringing out this popular and illustrated book of poems. The book, under notice, contains 151 poems from the pen of 73 Bengali poets (dead and living) who, according to the editor, represent the modern age. The book begins with a poem entitled *বৈশাখ* from the pen of Rabindranath, "the best poet of the modern age and of all ages" and concludes with a verse under the caption "*কুড়ির ভিতরে কান্নাঝে গন্ধ*" by Mrs. Radharani Datta 'whose poetic fame (says the editor) even at this stage is widely acknowledged.' We are, however, of opinion that the collection is not fully representative and that much improvement could have been effected. For, we did not expect to miss Dwijendranath Tagore, Bijoychandra Majumdar, Narendra Bhattacharjya and other poets from this collection. Some of the illustrations are no doubt excellent, but a good number of them could have been safely omitted. It is also regrettable to find that the book abounds with execrable printing mistakes.

We hope that the publishers will rectify these in the next edition. It is most likely that the book will command wide popularity as a presentation volume because of its excellent get-up.

MANAS-KAMAL : By Narendranath Basu. Gurusdas Chatterjee & Sons. Re. 1.

Mr. Basu, late Editor of *Bansari*, needs no introduction at our hands. The book, under notice, contains eleven refreshing stories written in elegant style. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. We commend this book to the Bengali reading public.

P. C. S.

VISMARAN By Mohitlal Majumdar. Calcutta. Prabasi Press. 1333. Ph. XIV+131. Rs. 2-8.

It should not be necessary to preface a notice of this volume of poems by saying that Mr. M. L. Majumdar is one of the most important of the younger Bengali poets. His first book which came out five years ago gave him a fair title to be so regarded. His second, now before us, is another

evidence of the justness of the claim. But eminence among younger Bengali poets comes to very little unless one can assign some sort of importance to the group as a whole, and in this connection it can hardly be disputed that these poets have not had their share of attention and encouragement. They are too much under the shadow of one great name. That they are indebted to Rabindranath is a colourless, almost mischievous commonplace. The rich world conquered by Rabindranath will be the heritage of every poet coming after him, to-morrow or in the distant future. Is there any reason why a writer, with all these gains in language, metre and inspiration before him, should wastefully throw them away even if it were possible for him to do so and start all afresh? The question which matters is whether he is going to treat Rabindranath as a starting point or as a culmination. There is no denying that a good deal of Bengali poetry of to-day does read like an echo of Rabindranath, varying, if at all, in its degree of faithfulness. But if there are those to whom Poetry is a mere pretty convention for the expression of æsthetic vapourings and Rabindranath's mellifluous verse, the prettiest ready-made pattern for them all, there are also others who do not feel in a chorus and write to a prescription, who would not play the sedulous ape in thought or phrase to anyone, who cannot rest satisfied with anything less than a fresh expression of fresh thoughts in words which are in vital relation with the stuff of their imagination. Among these, through whom we might hope, indeed expect, lies the future of Bengali poetry, Mr. Majumdar has assuredly his place.

In his first collection of verse, the peculiar stamp of Mr. Majumdar's poetic individuality was shown in his choice of certain historical themes which were not strictly speaking historical in treatment. The situation, the character, the story is well known—Nurjehan looking back upon the Romance of her life from the vantage point of its tragic close, the last vigil of Nadirshah and his death at the hands of the assassin, these are familiar tales—but they are there not for their own sake but for the sake of the value which they have as a symbol of the poet's emotional out-look. Under all the reticence and artistic disinterestedness which seems to cover all personal sensibility, behind the objectivity and the chiselled silences of the technique, we can yet guess the unspoken meditation, the hidden cross currents of the poet's moods. In the present book Mr. Majumdar goes a step further and takes us into his confidence. He speaks in his own person and admits us into his intimate world.

Two long pieces however, furnish the link in the transition. One is 'Nurjehan and Jehangir' and the other "Death and Nachiketas." Being a poet, Mr. Majumdar has possibly nothing but contempt for the scruples of the specialist, for after dealing with "Yama and Nachiketas", he does not hesitate to skip Millenia and launch us in the midst of a palace intrigue in the time of the Great Mogul. But he has done the exact thing that will disarm critics. He has succeeded. "Death and Nachiketas" is a reflective poem dwelling in words of mournful grandeur on the baffling mystery of death, while the other is a fine dramatic piece in which the psychological possibilities of the situation and the characters are quite successfully

exploited. This volume contains only twentyfive poems. But they are enough to furnish additional proof of Mr. Majumdar's versatility. It is enough to cite half a dozen titles—An Epicure of Touch, To Schopenhauer, Kalapahar the iconoclast, Dead Love, Dusk out of Season, Moaning of Doves---to give an idea of the range of his inspiration.

There are people who would consider versatility hardly a merit. It might mean no more than lack of character. Certainly this reproach cannot be levelled at Mr. Majumdar; for behind the diversity of topic and treatment, we feel the author's possession of a secret store—an *arriere-bartique* as Montaigne would put it—a doctrine and a view of life of which he gives us many glimpses. His world is steeped in a dim crepuscular light.

তোমাদের তরে রয়েছে সমুখে
ধরার অকণোদর,
আমি ভিমিরের তীর্থ-পথিক
তারকাব গাহি জয় ।

He has his yearning for the sun, for clear-cut forms and brilliant colours,

বেকরণ নেহারি আমি রৌদ্রদীপ্ত নীলাধরে
ফুকারিব স্বপ্ননের গান,
সর্বদেহে সকারিবে আদিত্য আলোকভরে
বিধাতার প্রায়স মন ।

But it is no longer possible for him to believe in the actuality of this sunlit world. A dusk out of season has descended upon his vision :

প্রাণভরা সেই গানে লেগেছে হিমেল হাওয়া,
আলি এ দিনান্ত বরষায়—
নেমেছে অকাল সন্ধ্যা, বুধা মুখপানে চাওয়া,
ছন্দ নাই ভাষা না জুয়ার !
আমার প্রাণের কূলে উদ্বিগ্নাছে সন্ধ্যা-তার
মধ্যাহ্নের রবি অন্তমান
আলোকবিহীন দিবা হইয়াছে রূপহার
তুমি সখি স্বপন সমান ।

Mr. Majumdar's poetry is the flower, I shall not say of evil but of a profound disquiet and disenchantment. Ordinary people will perhaps miss in him beauties of the orthodox and accepted kind—smiling fields of flower and fruit, mild blisses and trials of domesticity and all the little emptinesses of love. Pessimism is a recently learnt emotion and Mr. Majumdar is decidedly more modern than the poet of complacency. As Mr. Hardy once said, "The new vale of Tempe may be a gaunt waste in Shule. Human souls may find themselves in closer and closer harmony with external things wearing a somberness distasteful to our race when it was young. The time seems near, if it has not actually arrived, when the chastened sublimity of a moor, a sea or a mountain will be all of nature that is in keeping with the moods of the more thinking among mankind." Our poetry will also respond to our altered outlook upon life and nature.

নতনীর বেদনার গুড়গুড় হরিত-শ্রাবল !
ধূসর উদ্যোগ কভু পৃথিবীর পঙ্কজ-পাষণ !
হলে জলে অন্তরীকে আত্মরক্ষা করে জীবদল
নিরন্ত সংগ্রামশীল বাজিতেছে কালের বিধান ।

হতে ফুটি হতে লর—জীবাপুরা মরণপাশল ।—

সহস্র মৃত্যুর পরে জীবনের উড়িছে নিশান ;

মৃত্যুর নাহিক শেষ, দুঃখময় জীবনের নাহি অবসান ।

But this disappointing earth, this broken many-hued toy, is for the poet the only thing which counts. The more it deceives him, the more he clings to it.

যে স্বপ্ন-হরণ তুমি করিবারে চাও স্বপ্নহর !
তারি মায়-সুখ আমি, বেহে ঘোর আকর্ষণ পিপাসা !
মৃত্যুর মোহন মত্তে জীবনের প্রতিটি প্রহর
জপিছে আমার কাণে সক্রপ মিনতির ভাষা !

All this might easily lead to the belief that Mr. Majumdar is a philosopher. We must hasten to emphasise that he is only a poet. He is not going to systematise his sensations into an intellectual understanding of life. He does not "criticise" life. He merely discerns an emotional quality in it.

The distinction of Mr. Majumdar's poetic inspiration is well matched by the distinction of his poetic technique. There is between his inspiration and the form in which he has embodied it an essential unity, that is to say, his forms are all justified by his inspiration. He is not so overwhelmed by his emotions as to lose sight of the technical side of his business. Perhaps his also is the ideal of Mr. T. S. Eliot's "one is prepared for art when one has ceased to be interested in one's own emotions and experiences except as material." Mr. Majumdar has not reached this exacting and rather inhuman standard of detachment but between his attitude and that of the amateur there is all the difference which exists between a man who regards poetry as a craft and one who regards it as a pose. But in his pre-occupation with technique Mr. Majumdar does not make the mistake so common with certain Bengali poets of to-day that harmoniously combined sounds, producing on our nervous centres a purely sonorous effect is enough to make poetry. Yet he recognises that words with certain associations arranged in patterns can make poetry independently of definite logical concept. I will quote just one example of his symbolism. A dove is moaning in some tree in a listless noon.

যুযু—যুযু—যু !—

পোড়া-বাড়ীর আঙিনাতে,

শিউলি-ঝরা শরৎ-প্রাতে,

দোনার জলের ছড়া কে দেয় ? সেই কথা কি যুযু বলে ?

যুলে পড়া বারান্নাতে

ভাঙা-ছাতের আলিসাতে

চাঁদের আলোর হাঙ্গা হাসি—যুযু শুধায়—কিসের ছলে ?

অশানপাখে বাবার বেলার

বধুর হুঁপার আলতা বুলার—

কেমন শুভ-সিঁ দূর দিয়ে সাজান তারে এঁয়ের বলে !

It is an evocation not less beautiful in its way than the picture of Ruth standing in tears amid the alien corn.

Finally it would be ungracious to pass over the contribution of the publisher to our pleasure. Enough has been said to give an idea of the quality of Mr. Majumdar's poetry. It is not less welcome for being given to us in a distinctive

form. So rarely does one come across a Bengali book which will not offend good taste in some way or other that the discreet beauty of this volume will come as a very agreeable surprise to all lovers of the art of the book. The publishers deserve our gratitude for striking a note of revolt against the drabness of commercial book production.

N

HINDI

VIDYAPATI KI PADAVALI : *Compiled by Mr. Ramkrishna Sarma Benipuri. Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Serai. Pp. XIV+327.*

265 *padas* of Vidyapati are published in this edition with short notes on difficult words. The aim of the compiler seems to be to furnish a handy collection of the best songs of the poet. The introduction deals with the poet and his work in a general way. As regards the pictures, they are disappointingly devoid of any art and one is a mere copy from a European model. The editor has to be thanked for preserving the original dialect of the *padas*.

MATIRAM-GRANTHAVALI : *Edited by Mr. Krishnavihari Misra, B.A., LL.B. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. Pp. CCLXIII and 244. 1926.*

Matiram Tripathi is a well-known Hindi poet of the *brajabhasha* dialect. He belonged to a family which has given the poets Bhushan and Chintamani. He lived at the court of Bundi during the reign of the son of the celebrated Chhatrasal. Three works of the poet are edited with occasional notes, and they are based on several Mss. and printed copies. The long introduction has dilated on all possible issues in connection with the poet and his poetry. The editor is not blind to the defects of the poet, who, though he excelled in the craft according to the *Rasa-sastras*, lacked in emotion, which is the mainspring of all true poetry. This edition is sure to become a standard work for reference.

MAHAKAVI AKBAR OUR UNKA URDU KAVYA : *By Umrao Singh Karunika, B.A. Published by Jnanprakash Mandir, Machhra, Meerut, 2nd edition. Pp. 177.*

This second edition of the selected poems of the celebrated Urdu poet is a testimony to his popularity. His muse was not confined to the rose-garden of convention, but he breathed a new life into modern Urdu poetry. Thus he created light verses on various topics of modern life, politics not excepted. He touched on various chords, — love, humour, religion, topical events and even Gandhism and non-co-operation. The introduction is useful and shows the poet both as a man and an artist.

RAHIM-KAVITAVALI : *Edited by Mr. Surendranath Tiwari. Published by the Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow. Pp. XLIII+98. 1926.*

Every schoolboy in India knows the name of Abdul Rahim Khan Khan-khana, the great soldier at the court of Akbar. But few of us ever suspect that he was a great poet too. The editor of the present collection was drawn towards the *dohas* of

this soldier-poet even at his school-going age. And the result is this compilation for which we cannot thank him too much. Rahim is nothing if he is not charming and elegant. He poured his heart into his work and he is equally felicitous in his delineation of love and life. We are struck by his catholicity of spirit, because in Hindi and Sanskrit verses he pays homage to several Hindu gods and goddesses. He was also a patron of poetry. His life and works are described in the introduction. There is a reproduction of his portrait.

DEHATI DUNIYA : *By Mr. Shivpujan Sahai. Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Serai. Pp. 226. 1926.*

Scenes of country-life in Bihar have been most charmingly depicted in this work. The author has been well-advised in using the popular dialect, which has a peculiar flavour and directness and is also refreshing when contrasted with the much-sanskritised modern Hindi prose. As their dialect, no less do the elemental life affairs of the country-folks interest us by their foolishness and knavery as well as their honesty and simplicity. We congratulate the author on his success and hope he will give us more of such bright stories. We like to draw his attention to the necessity of collecting the folk-lore in the very words in which they are delivered.

BIHAR KA SAHITYA—PART I : *Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Serai, 1926. Pp. 279.*

In this work are collected the presidential addresses of the first five sessions of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Literary Conference, together with those of the Chairmen of the Reception Committees. This is surely a useful publication inasmuch as it focuses our attention on the literary history of Bihar.

RAMES BASU

TELUGU.

MUHAMMAD : *By Puripanda Appalaswamy. Published by V. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras. Pp. 44. 1926.*

An interesting and well-written essay on the life of Muhammad. It would have been more useful at the present time if the tenets of the Muslim creed had been lucidly explained and it had been shown how traces of these can be found in Christianity and other religions. The variations of doctrine in the Koran are not referred to. The life of the great prophet is, however, vividly described.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

GUJARATI

We beg to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the 11th Annual Report of the *Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya* of Bombay. We do not review Reports.

We have received several copies of SARAL BHAGVAD-GITA from Kanji Kalidas Joshi. They are translations of the Sanskrit text into Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi and illustrated. The renderings

are well done, and they are sure to be very much appreciated by the reading public.

• **RAMAYANA** : By *Saxtri Chhotalal Chandra-Shankar*, printed and published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 1124. Second edition. Price Rs. 6-0-0. With 10 colored illustrations (1926).

This is a translation of Tulasidas's Ramayana in Hindi. Looking to its got-up and contents it is marvellously cheap for six rupees. Its introductions are many and comprise a wealth of interesting details on the life of Tulasidas and on various other matters connected with the great epic. Every Gujarati Hindu, and other Gujaratis, too, should read this work.

• **SARALA GITA GOVIND** : By *Natwarlal P. Shah, Esq.* B.A., Printed at the Anavil Bandhu Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-12-0 (1927).

Jayadev's Gita Govind is a literary gem in Sanskrit. It is not possible to translate its beauty into vernaculars which lack the wealth and flexibility of Sanskrit vocabulary. An existing translation by Rao Bahadur Keshablal H. Dhruva into

Gujarati, because of the scholarly attainments of the translator, tries to go as near the original as possible. The present translation has, however, aimed more at easiness of style than at scholarliness, and it may be that those who scorn the trouble involved in perusing a scholarly work may find solace in perusing an easier work, disregarding its other faults and short-comings. The work, however, needs encouragement.

• **SHASHIKALA AND CHAURPANCHASHIKA** : By *Nagardas J. Patel*. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, (with pictures.) Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2. (1926).

The romantic story of how a teacher fell in love with his pupil, a princess, and was ordered to be executed by her father on discovery of it, and how he was reprieved on singing fifty *slokas* one as he mounted each of the fifty steps leading to the execution platform, reciting his undying love for her, is versified by Kavi Bilhan : it has been translated into English in his inimitable way by Sir Edwin Arnold, and Mr. Patel has attempted re-telling it in Gujarati verse. He has, in doing so, supplied a want.

K. M. J.

CURRENCY AND PRICES IN INDIA*

By PROFESSOR J. C. SINHA, D. Sc.

THE post-war literature on currency is a voluminous one. Even in India many books on the subject have been issued in recent years. Unfortunately, most of them cover the same ground. Questions of currency history and theory which have been authoritatively dealt with, are often introduced merely to increase the bulk of some books. The present volume also is not entirely free from this defect.

The book is divided into three sections. Part I contains a historical survey of Indian currency from 1806 to 1920. This subject has been dealt with by many writers but our authors have described more fully than any other "the gold movement" in India during the third quarter of the last century and how it was "suddenly shelved in 1874."

We find also in this part an interesting account of the Report of the Maasfield Commission. "The reasons which led the authorities to sit tight over this report and take no action," is, according to our authors, "one of the unexplained mysteries of the history of Indian currency" (p. 28). Though no official explanation has been given, the chief obstacle to the acceptance of the Report, appears to have been the almost continuous fall in the value of silver, which began from the year 1867. Incidentally, the authors tell us that this was the first currency commission appointed by the

Government of India. As a matter of fact, however, a currency committee was appointed as early as 1787 by the government of Cornwallis which took oral and written evidence in India, as described in a paper read at the eighth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Lahore in 1925.

Part II of the book is devoted to a study of Indian prices. Here the authors are mainly on new ground. The section opens with a study of index numbers. India Office Memorandum of 1885-87 and subsequent index numbers of Indian prices are briefly examined. But there is an important omission. The authors have not mentioned the recent index numbers, published in the Bombay Labour Gazette and in the Indian Trade Journal, Calcutta. It is true that these relate to prices in Bombay and Calcutta and do not give a very accurate idea of the general price level throughout the country. But it should be remembered that Calcutta index numbers are regularly quoted in the monthly bulletin of the League of Nations for representing price-changes in India.

The study of price-levels is followed by the study of prices of individual commodities like rice, wheat, sugar, tea, cotton, jute, coal and oilseeds. The authors arrive at certain conclusions, which are open to criticism.

"The price-history of sugar," they tell us, "is one of the most illuminating illustrations of what a policy of determined protection can achieve" (p.176). The authors gravely tell us that the difference between the cost of production here

* *Currency and Prices in India* by N. C. Vakil and S. K. Muranjan. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1927, pp. xvi+549. Price Rs. 10).

and that abroad, should be bridged by an adequate protective duty, (this difference amounting, according to them, to the paltry figure of 76% in 1913), although the theory of equalising costs has been discarded even in America, where it was first proclaimed as the true principle of protection. The reason assigned is equally curious,—"the infancy of the industry!"

Nor can one support the authors' contention that the Indian coal industry requires protection, which in their opinion, "deserves to be strengthened a good deal more, if it is to become an active force in stimulating our other industries. When it is remembered that our coal production exceeds our consumption, the case for a prohibitive import duty becomes stronger still" (pp. 239-240.) One fails to see how by a protective import duty on foreign coal, the Indian coal industry can be made "an active force in stimulating our industries." For, as the Tariff Board has pointed out, "all measures which tend to raise the cost of fuel are prejudicial to industrial development."

Nor can one accept the authors' view that "the prices of hides, like those of jute, are determined by its (*sic*) monopolistic supplies," (p. 228). The Fiscal Commission has pointed out the dangers "of such apparently well-entrenched monopolies as jute" and every year the address of the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association contains some remarks about possible competition. The authors are on still more debatable grounds when they speak of hides. The chief market for Indian hides has always been Central Europe, particularly Germany. Apart from competition with foreign hides in those markets, there is now an intense competition with local produce, which has not to bear the cost and risk of deterioration of long voyages, and which can be sold very cheaply with the increased consumption of meat. The rapid rise of motor transport has also reduced the demand for boots and therefore for hides, and thus the competition is all the keener between Indian and foreign hides.

Part II of the book closes with some general remarks about the difficulties of determining a representative price level for India, an account of the variation in prices between 1861 and 1920, and a discussion on the relation between currency and prices.

Here the authors support Gokhale's view that the pre-war gold exchange standard was partly responsible for the rise of Indian prices. "The stability of exchange-rate between 1900-1914" is, in their opinion, no argument "against the alleged inflation of prices." (p. 328). They draw our attention to certain peculiarities of the Indian price-level. They repeat their previous remarks about India's "exclusive monopolies" which "can bear a large inflation of prices without endangering their production. Besides, there are many important products in India forming a very large percentage of the total internal trade," prices of which "may rise very high without calling for any adjustment of the exchange rate." (p. 329).

We are afraid that the distinction between the price-levels in India and in the Western countries has been too absolutely drawn, for, it is difficult to see that India is singular in this respect. With regard to prices in Western countries also, as pointed out in a recent report of the United States Tariff Commission, "Articles having a free inter-

national market, such as silver, copper, wheat, cotton, have about the same gold price the world over, transportation and taxes aside, no matter whether the quotations are in dollars, francs, pounds or marks. On the other hand, many articles such as aluminum goods, pottery and china-ware or specialized chemicals and metallurgical products, which either do not enter largely into international trade or whose prices are adjusted slowly, show a great divergence of gold prices in the several markets of the world" (*Depreciated Exchange and International Trade*, second edition, p. 20.)

Even in the case of England the same disparity between sheltered and unsheltered prices, is noticeable, as pointed out by Keynes and other monetary theorists.

The authors have missed the obvious point that the assumption of special characteristics of the Indian price-level is not necessary to prove the thesis that relative redundancy of currency for short periods was quite likely under the pre-war system. Even the Hilton-Young Commission has observed, "the automatic working of the exchange standard is thus not adequately provided for in India...Under the Indian system contraction is not and never has been, automatic." (*Report*, para 16.)

Part III of the book deals with the three issues raised by the Hilton-Young Commission, *viz.*, the standard, the ratio (the authors put it as the unit) and the Reserve Bank.

With regard to the first question, the authors explain why Indian public opinion has been overwhelmingly in favour of gold standard with a gold currency. The introduction of such a system in India means that "India should negotiate for her gold requirements directly with the United States or through England" (p. 453). "The United States do possess large quantities of free gold: the withdrawal of a part of this gold to India would create no credit difficulty." But the introduction of gold currency in India would give a heavy blow to the American silver interest and naturally "we are welcome neither as creditors of our own gold from England, nor as borrowers of surplus gold from America." (p. 454)

This is the chief obstacle to the adoption of gold currency in India. The expense for introducing gold currency and the reaction of this measure on the world price of gold do not appear to be very serious obstacles. As to the argument of Mr. Kitchin and Prof. Cassel that India's additional demand will increase the "scramble for gold" and bring about a fall of prices, we may quote the opinion of an authority on gold standard like Prof. Lehfeldt that "on the whole, the chief risk of a disturbance that would be embarrassing and detrimental to trade throughout the world appears to be on the side of depreciation, *i.e.*, of rise of prices." (Lehfeldt—*Controlling the Output of Gold*, p. 20). The future course of the price of gold is so uncertain that it is unsafe to use it as an argument for or against gold currency.

The alternatives that are immediately possible under the existing circumstances are gold standard without gold currency and the gold exchange standard. The second was discredited during the War. The Currency Commission has, therefore, recommended the gold bullion standard, which, in its opinion, gives us all the advantages of gold

standard and avoids the difficulties of gold currency.

• Our authors approve of the Commission's scheme subject to the criticism that the gold reserve should be located exclusively in India,—an opinion, which is held by all Indian publicists. We endorse also the corollary to this proposition that "the Currency Authority shall do its work of buying and selling gold only in India." (P. 472).

We wish however that the authors had suggested closer buying and selling rates for gold. It is difficult to understand why it is necessary to prescribe the selling rate on the basis of $p+2n$, in order to preserve the Bombay bullion market, although the London bullion market is not affected by the very close buying and selling rates fixed by the Bank of England, viz., £3 17s 9d and £3 17s 10½d. per std. oz. (i. e., a difference of only 16 p. c.).

One fails to see how this gold bullion standard may be called a standard at all, when gold will admittedly vary from its par value by as much as 23 per cent. If a yardstick is sometimes equal to 36 inches and sometimes to 36.8 inches, no scientist would accept it as a standard for measurement. Exactly the same argument applies to monetary standards.

It has been suggested that it is a sop to Bombay which is unhappy over the 18d. rate. It seems that the powerful Exchange Banks, which finance gold imports as well as the wealthy bullion dealers of Western India have been appeased by sacrificing the interest of the country as a whole. At the same time the Reserve Bank's obligation to sell gold in India has been made a mere paper obligation. The Bank will ordinarily be the dearest market for gold in this country. The Commission's claim that its scheme "is an absolute gold standard" "since gold bars are to be given in exchange for notes or silver rupees, not for export only, but for any purpose," (*Report*, para 60) is therefore unfounded. We suggest that our currency authority should buy and sell gold in India at a reasonable difference, say one per cent. Not until this is done, can the new standard be an improvement upon the old one in this respect.

On the ratio question our authors express their opinion in favour of 1s. 4d. rate, mainly on the ground that "the standard unit of value, once fixed, must be regarded as sacred and should not be changed." This is certainly a good principle. But it must be borne in mind that during the currency experiment in 1920, the rate had already been changed to 2s. gold and the rupee left its old moorings as early as 1917.

As to the "sanctity" of the 1s. 4d. ratio, the following remarks of the *Statist*, which was by no means a blind supporter of the 1s. 6d. rate, may be quoted: "Given the fact that since 1914, the internal purchasing power of each rupee has been reduced by about 35 p. c., the claims of equity as far as outstanding contracts entered into before the war are concerned, would seem to demand a fixation of the rupee at a parity higher than that which obtained before the War." (*The Statist*, Sept. 11, 1926).

In this connection our authors strangely observe that "the question of price-adjustment is a mere truism and need not be raised at all" (p. viii). "The position is that the exchange has been determined

by the authorities at 1s. 6d. since October 1924, and that steps have been taken to maintain this rate, by controlling the internal price-level... The fact that these steps have been taken for a fairly long time, for more than two years, must result in the adjustment of the internal price level with the world price level" (p. 513) (italics are ours). This admission cuts the ground on which most of the arguments for 1s. 4d. rate are based.

We now pass on to the last question discussed in the book, viz., the problem of the Reserve Bank. The authors support the view of the majority of the Currency Commission that a separate Reserve Bank is desirable for India.

Doubts have been raised that the amount of rediscounting to be done in India being small, the Reserve Bank will not be a paying concern. Such doubts are wholly unfounded. The sole right of note-issue, the free deposit of Government balances and the compulsory deposit from the scheduled banks, will give the Reserve Bank sufficient funds which, even if employed at a very low rate of interest, will bring a handsome profit.

Our authors rightly oppose the special preference to the shareholders of the Imperial Bank in subscribing to the capital of the proposed bank. The Commission recommended that "the Imperial Bank's shareholders should be given the first opportunity of subscribing for the capital stock" of the Reserve Bank. The Bill provides for 30 p. c. of the capital to be subscribed by the Imperial Bank as an institution and not by its individual shareholders. This has led the Exchange Banks to ask that another thirty per cent. of the capital should be reserved for the scheduled banks, whose head offices are registered in India or the British Empire. If any such preference is conceded, there seems to be no reason for making any distinction between the British and the Foreign Banks included in the First Schedule of the Bill.

The basis for this preference therefore requires examination. It has been said that the Imperial Bank deserves some consideration as a sort of compensation for its alleged "sacrifice," for, it is going to be deprived of the greater part of the Government balances. We are further told that the Bank has been compelled to open a large number of new branches which do not pay.

But it may be noted that the Imperial Bank is not going to lose the prestige of being the custodian of Government funds. It will act as the sole agent of the Reserve Bank at all places in British India where there is a branch of the Imperial Bank and no branch of the Reserve Bank. The fact that substantial Government balances will still be kept in the Imperial Bank will give it sufficient prestige in the eyes of the public. How valuable this privilege is, may be realised from the fact that some Indian banks were anxious to have Government balances even by depositing adequate amount of Government securities.

During the last war, a Bengali Zamindar of some education, withdrew all his money from the district loan office and deposited it in the local Co-operative Central Bank on the ground that the latter "was a Government institution." If such be the prestige of a co-operative bank, the privilege of having Government balances which the Imperial Bank will still enjoy, must be a valued one.

It may also be said that a considerable part of the Reserve Bank's balances kept in the Imperial

Bank will be free of interest (see the Second Schedule of the Bill). The restrictions on the activities of the Imperial Bank, especially on foreign exchange business, are also going to be removed. These are sufficient compensations for its alleged "sacrifices."

As to the maintenance of unprofitable branches, it is difficult to believe that a considerable number of them is really unremunerative. The chief difficulty of bankers in the mofussil is to get sufficient deposits at a low rate of interest. The Imperial Bank has not to face this difficulty. There is no reason why its branches should remain unremunerative after the first few years of their establishment, unless the administrative charges there are too heavy. We think therefore that the proposed preference to the Imperial Bank in subscribing shares is unjustified. The case for preference to Exchange Banks is weaker still.

The Joint Select Committee of both Houses of the Central Legislature, which recently met in Bombay, apparently solved this question by advocating a state bank without share capital. The arguments advanced in favour of this scheme are, firstly, that the Reserve Bank, as proposed by the Government, will not command public confidence. Secondly, the profits earned by the Bank in dealing with Government moneys should go to the State and not to the shareholders. Lastly, it is problematical whether a capitalist-owned bank would serve the interests of indigenous trade and commerce.

It cannot be denied that the Government management of currency in this country has been on the whole a failure. We doubt whether the control of credit and currency by a State Bank of India would fare better. We fail to see how a directorate independent of Government control can be formed, if the State is to be directly responsible for the institution. It is curious that our politicians who were most vocal against state control of currency, are now the loudest in praising the virtues of a State Bank, involving as it does, state control of currency and credit.

The argument that a state-aided bank will not command as much public confidence as a state-

owned bank is not a strong one. The Indian public has full confidence as to the financial solvency of the Imperial Bank and there is no reason why the Reserve Bank will not command the same confidence. The truth appears to lie the other way about. As Sir Henry Strakosch rightly observes, "History furnishes abundant proof that the control of central banking institutions is more soundly exercised by private citizens than by Governments." (*Economic Journal*, June, 1920).

As to the argument that the profits of the bank dealing with Government moneys should go to the State, it may be said that in the Reserve Bank Bill, provision has been made for a very moderate dividend to the shareholders and the balance is to be paid to the State. As interest will have to be paid on the debentures of the proposed state-owned bank, we doubt whether this latter institution would bring more profit to the Government, especially when it is remembered that the management of a state-owned institution is apt to be extravagant, especially in India.

The question whether a capitalist-owned Bank would serve the interests of indigenous trade depends ultimately on the shareholders. If the majority of them is unsympathetic to Indian interest, indigenous trade may not get adequate facilities. But there is no ground for this assumption. The real reason why the State Bank is advocated is that Indian publicists are afraid that the Bank may be controlled by European capitalists, who, it is apprehended, have no sympathy for Indian trade and industries. It is difficult to suggest any practicable measure to allay this suspicion, except to ask patriotic Indians to invest in the shares of the Reserve Bank, although the yield will be low.

To conclude, the book before us contains a mass of useful information on Indian currency and prices, and its value to the student would be much enhanced by condensation and leaving out of matter not essential to the arguments of the authors.

THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN INDIA

By PROFESSOR GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH,

Banares Hindu University

I

POLITICAL prophets of the 18th century had become so much disgusted with the workings of autocracy in its various forms and distance had lent so great a charm to the picture of the Athenian democracy of the Periclean Age that they began to regard democracy as the one panacea for all human

ills. And though the actual working of democracy has not fulfilled the high expectations of its early admirers and has even disappointed some of its sincerest friends, it is still regarded by the vast bulk of the people all over the globe as the best form of government.

Democracy is of two kinds, of the direct type and of the representative character. Direct

democracy certainly appears more desirable but it is also more difficult of achievement. In fact, it requires a very high standard of development among the people. The people must possess a high sense of civic responsibility, a sufficient knowledge and understanding of local people and local problems, and a considerable amount of political education if they are to work the institution of direct democracy successfully. And so far all attempts to introduce it in large countries have proved abortive. Direct democracy may be possible in small city states or countries like Switzerland; but it is impracticable in places like America, Russia or India. The Russian experiment is, without a shadow of doubt, a complete failure from this point of view. The attempt to introduce direct democracy has actually resulted in the introduction of indirect representation and of unresponsive autocracy at the top. This is inevitable in a large country. When the number of citizens exceeds a few thousand, and when the inhabitants are scattered over a large area and cannot all be gathered in a big hall or a square to deliberate and to register their decisions one way or the other, some sort of representation becomes indispensable. It may be mentioned here in parenthesis, that initiative and recall cannot solve the complicated problems of to-day. As pointed out by Professor Laski:—

For what is, as a rule, urgent in the issues they raise is not the simple desirability of affirmative or negative response, but the much more complex question of the desirability of a particular solution stated in all its complex statutory terms. The difficulty, in fact, which direct government involves is the final difficulty that it is by its nature far too crude an instrument to find room for the nice distinctions inherent in the art of government."

And if a direct and responsible system of representation is not accepted—because that will convert direct democracy into indirect democracy—a series of federations has to be arranged as in Russia or in Miss Follet's scheme, the result of which is the adoption of indirect election—from the local to the city or district group, from the city and district groups to the provincial group, from the provincial groups to the national group, and in some cases from the national groups to the Imperial or international group. The members of the group at the top have really no living connection with the members of the local group at the bottom and thus feel no sense of responsibility to the people at large.

The defects of indirect elections are quite well known in India and may be described in the words of the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. While criticising the system of "doubly indirect" elections in force under the Morley-Minto scheme the authors observe:

"There is absolutely no connection between the supposed primary voter and the man who sits as his representative on the legislative council, and the vote of the supposed primary voter has no effect upon the proceedings of the legislative council. In such circumstances there can be no responsibility upon, and no political education for, the people who nominally exercise the vote".

The system of indirect elections was tried in the United States of America for nearly a century and a quarter and was in the end discarded in 1913, as it proved injurious to the local life of the States. It introduced national issues into local politics and vitiated the whole local atmosphere.

For large countries like India then direct democracy is altogether impracticable, and resort must be had to representative democracy.

II

In representative democracy attempt is made to create an Assembly which is, so to speak, the nation in miniature. As far as possible all sections of the people and especially all political interests and opinions should be represented in proportion to their strength in the country and in particular care should be taken that minorities are not placed absolutely at the mercy of the majority but are allowed an adequate opportunity of influencing the decisions of the Assembly. Several systems have been devised to give proper representation to minorities; but before referring to them, it is necessary to discuss the basis on which representation should proceed. Representation may be on territorial basis, on communal lines, on the group principle or on a mixed basis. One of these has been ruled out by the Western people as inimical to responsible or self-government. On the other hand, representation on communal basis is regarded by a large number in India as "an inevitable, and even a healthy, stage in the development of a non-political people." The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report demurred strongly to this view. They wrote:—

"But when we consider what responsible government implies, and how it was developed in

the world, we cannot take this view. In the earlier form which it assumed in Europe it appeared only when the territorial principle had vanquished the tribal principle, and blood and religion had ceased to assert a rival claim with the State to a citizen's allegiance..... We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

The principle of communal representation was carefully discussed and strongly condemned by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their classic report on Indian Constitutional Reforms; and it would not have been necessary to examine it here to-day if they had been strong enough to act up to their convictions and had followed the dictates of reason and experience. But the fact that the Reforms of 1919, instead of discarding communal representation, greatly extended its application and that one big community in India—the Muslim community—still continues to clamour for it and that it forms a centre of fierce controversy in the country makes a dispassionate consideration of it absolutely essential.

III.

The greatest defect of communal representation, one which is fatal to the growth of Indian nationality and self-governing institutions in the country, is that it makes the people think of their differences and divisions and prevents them from acquiring "the citizen spirit." As pointed out by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and as illustrated by the experience of the past few years and the state of affairs in the country to-day:

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

These are words well worth pondering over! There were not a few among the leaders of the Indian National Congress in 1916 and there are still some leading persons amongst us to-day, who hug themselves with the comforting belief that communal representation is a transitory measure in its very nature and that it will shortly give way, in some miraculous fashion, to a national system of representation. Such persons are expecting a crop of mangoes from a field of

thorns, and the words of the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report ought to prove an eye-opener to them. Communal representation is like a deadly poison which once introduced into the system spreads itself over the whole organism and eats away the vitals of the body. Like the snake it has to be killed as soon as it is born; if allowed to survive, it works havoc, as it has already done in almost all parts of the country. It has killed the delicate and young plant of Hindu-Moslem Unity and has created communal tension all over the country. Those persons who were prepared to drink from the same cup are breaking each other's heads and calling each other ugly names. And in a cosmopolitan city like Calcutta we have the spectacle of bloody riots lasting for days at an end and the unholy sight of the burning of temples, mosques and Gurdwaras! Communal representation has strengthened and spread the communal mentality. Communal spirit is rife in the country and everywhere one hears of *Tanxin* and *Tablig*, *Sangathan* and *Mahabir Dals*. National organisations are withering away for lack of interest and support, but communal organisations are multiplying and attracting crowds of supporters. One by one the national leaders are succumbing to the intoxication of the communal vaccine and one does not know where the process will stop if things are allowed to drift for long.

Communal representation is, however, not only injurious to the growth of the citizen spirit and the development of self-governing institutions, it is really harmful to the progress of the community whose interests it seeks to protect. As pointed out by the authors of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms:—

"A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority."

Another defect of communal representation is that under it "the give and take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself. The communal system stereotypes existing relations". On the other hand, under a system of common electorates there is chance for the development of good-will, toleration towards each other, friendly feel-

ings and relations, regard for each other's wishes, desire to study each other's needs and effort to please each other. There is an opportunity, at any rate, for the growth of the citizen spirit, which, as has been shown above, is so essential for the development of self-government in the country.

However, there is one fundamental point, which is almost always ignored in controversies on the subject, and to which I wish to draw special attention. Communal mentality has got so tremendous a hold over us that we cannot imagine a sphere where there are no divisions on communal lines. Because differences of religion have been made the basis of social and other distinctions we have taken for granted that they must also be made the basis of political representation. If differences of religion matter so much in other spheres they must matter in politics as well! And drugged with this mentality we have never made any serious effort to find out what exactly are our communal differences in politics. My conviction is formed after careful study—that in politics, in things that matter in politics, our differences do not fortunately run on communal lines; and it is only our communal mentality that is playing costly tricks on us, which has created a sort of mirage before our eyes and which makes us see differences where there are really none!

Let us examine the differences among Indians on important political questions, say on the need and kind of self-government, on the need for state help to industry and agriculture, on the maintenance of law and order, on the desirability of the Indianisation of army and other public services, on the questions of tariffs and transport, on educational development in the country, on matters sanitary and a host of other questions that come up for decision before the Legislative Assembly or a provincial Council. I make bold to assert that on none of these opinion is divided in the country on communal lines. And I cite the pages of the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council and the Assembly in support of my statement. There are, however two, questions which are generally put in a different category:—(i) the question of the distribution of loaves and fishes and (ii) the measures dealing with the peculiar problems of a particular community, like the abolition of *Sati*, the legalising of widow re-marriage,

management of the *Gurdwaras*, etc. Even in regard to these I submit there is really no communal difficulty.

(i) The question of the services—of the distribution of positions and privileges—is no doubt a ticklish one. Self-interest and greed often make persons blind and unreasonable. They care little for self-contradictions provided they gain their narrow selfish ends. Those who regard caste distinctions of the type prevalent in South India monstrous, inhuman and barbaric, for selfish ends of their own, begin to justify the Class Areas Bill in South Africa! Those who wax eloquent at the injustice of excluding capable Indians from higher positions in the country on grounds of race and colour and clamour for giving equal opportunities to men of all races and shades of colour, for selfish purposes of their own, begin to advocate the filling of all posts on communal grounds! When it suits their purposes they make efficiency the basis for constituting the services but when it does not satisfy their greed they give a back place to efficiency and put community in its place! Communal greed has really made us so blind and unreasonable that we care very little for such self-contradictions. And we have pushed matters to such ridiculous length that even admissions to schools and colleges are being regulated on communal lines. The zeal displayed by persons like Sir Fazli Hussain in affording educational facilities for their co-religionists is indeed admirable, but the methods used are abominable. If one medical college or one public First Grade College is insufficient for the needs of the province, to make provision for another one is not only right but noble, but to keep out a superior student, simply because he belongs to a particular community, and to make room for an inferior student of another community is, to say the least, unjust. Educational and other opportunities for full development ought to be provided for children and adults of all castes, creeds, communities, colours and races, and positions and privileges distributed on the basis of merit and efficiency. Such is the principle found by experience in the various parts of the world to be most just, reasonable and best suited to the interests of country and humanity. It has only to be applied to the case in point—the services question in India—and the whole difficulty disappears at once.

(ii) The other matter is a less difficult

one. And there is really no controversy on the point. Every one realises that the Assembly will be guided by enlightened opinion of the particular community in matters affecting that community alone. And in purely religious and social matters a composite state cannot afford to take the initiative or to have a positive policy of its own, except that of perfect neutrality, impartiality and toleration.

IV

After reading the defects of communal representation which are so clearly and in such a masterly manner described in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report one is strongly tempted to ask : Was it then to kill the budding spirit of Indian nationality and to give no chance to the development of self-governing institutions in the country that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford recognised the principle of communal representation and made it a part and parcel of their scheme of reforms? And it becomes very difficult for one to answer the question in the negative, especially in view of the following lines written by them by way of anticipation :—

"The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

In any case, one cannot help regretting that the authors of the Report and our gurdian, the British Parliament, were not strong and wise enough to say no to all representations for the recognition or extension of communal representation. As to the reasons given by the joint authors for their inconsistency, it is not necessary to say much, except that it is a case of adding insult to injury. With what ingenuousness do the joint authors ask :

"How can we say to them (the Muhammadans) that we regard the decision of 1909 as mistaken, that its retention is incompatible with progress towards responsible government, that its reversal will eventually be to their benefit, and for these reasons we have decided to go back on it?"

At any rate, let us hope that the authors of the next report on Indian Constitutional Reforms will have the courage to tell the truth to any community that is still short-sighted enough to ask for special representation for itself and that the results of the actual working of communal representation

since 1920 would have made the 'people of India wise and strong enough to refuse to have anything to do with any scheme of reforms which is based on the evil system of communal representation.

Since the point has been raised in the present-day controversy on the subject, it may be mentioned in passing that even the authors of the Montford Report did not feel pledged to support the Muslim claim for separate representation in provinces in which the Muhammadans were in a majority. They wrote :—

"But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form the majority of voters."

And to grant them special representation in provinces like Bengal and the Punjab and to ignore the claims of the Hindu Minority therein was not only wrong but very unjust.

Favouritism with one is almost always sure to lead to injustice with others.

V

In the Western World two principles are fighting for ascendancy in connection with representation. The group principle is making strong assaults on the supremacy of territorial representation. In India economic groups are still nebulous and unorganised, though certain religious, social, socio-economic, educational and commercial groups are becoming important and deserve separate representation. But still the territorial interests are overwhelmingly great. Land is still the chief asset of the people. The Indian is still very much of a fixture to the soil and is averse to migration. Under these circumstances representation must be based very largely on the territorial principle. On the other hand the organised group life must be given its due share of representation. And the religious groups, as groups, as organised entities, should be given representation in the same way as a University or a Chamber of Commerce is represented at present. As stated above, the legislative assembly should be the nation in miniature and if religious groups exist in the country they should be given proper representation. I recognise the necessity of representing the religious point of view in the Indian legislatures at the present time—as so-called religion plays a very important part in the life of our people. With the modernisation of India religious groups will cease to be

as important as they are to-day, then their representation can be reduced or even done away with. But as long as they continue to exist as organised entities and play an important part in the life of the nation, they have a right to be represented on the legislatures.

VI

It is thus a combination of territorial and group representation, with the territorial in the ascendance, that seems best suited for India at the present stage of its development and which offers a rational and scientific solution for the communal difficulty which is dominating the situation to-day. There is one other point that needs mention in this connection: it is the division of constituencies into urban and rural as has been done in some provinces in India, as, for instance, in the Punjab. Representation of Agricultural and Industrial interests as such is perfectly legitimate and a provision has already been made for their representation in the above scheme in connection with group representation. But to divide the neighbouring people, and to link together men totally unknown to each other as has been done in creating the urban and rural constituencies in the Punjab is absolutely unjustifiable. In some cases specially, urban representation is reduced to a farce, as for instance, in the case of the urban Sikh constituency. How can one person know the needs of voters situated as far apart as Ambala on one side, Rawalpindi on the other and Lyallpur on the third? And what are the points of contact after all between, say, the voters of Amritsar and those of Lyallpur town? And how troublesome and expensive an election campaign is bound to be in such a case? And who are after all the representatives sent from the rural constituencies? Are not several of them town dwellers, and some of them even members of that much-derided class, the Indian lawyers? And are the money-lending Zamindars greater friends of the rural population than some of their own relations working, may be, temporarily in the neighbouring town? Under such circumstances one cannot wonder that a British publicist accused the Punjab Government of gerrymandering!

In any case, it is earnestly hoped that when the system of representation is revised in the near future, this unnatural and unfortunate distinction between urban and

rural constituencies—in a country, where few towns have any urban life or peculiarly urban interests to protect and where there is little danger of agricultural classes being in a minority—will be removed and each province will be divided into more natural and rational constituencies.

VII

The work of dividing the country into constituencies is a very important, difficult and a delicate one, and one which must be performed with a due sense of responsibility and honesty. Unfortunately, an electoral system admits of manipulation and a government, if selfishly inclined, may arrange the seats in such a way as to place its opponents in an unfavourable position. This process of manipulation is known by the name of "gerrymandering"—an expression which originated in America, where this evil was greatly prevalent at one time. On the other hand, democratic principles require that the electoral system should be such as "to enable the legislative assembly to embody the opinions of the majority and the minority on the great issues of public interest," and to connect the voters in a real and living manner with the government in power.

It is held by several eminent writers on the subject that the electoral areas should be large, each returning not one but several members, so that minorities may receive adequate representation. There are some among them who would make the constituency as large as an Indian province or a small country like England, so that even a small and scattered minority may act together and poll enough votes to return a member. Large, multiple-member constituencies have been gaining popularity in recent times in the West. And in order to make them useful for minority representation various methods like those of limited and communal voting, or the two types of proportional representation—have been devised. The one which is favoured most at present is the system of proportional representation of the single transferable vote type.

Opinion is divided among experts as to the merits of proportional representation. Those who favour it stress the importance of giving representation to minorities and making the assembly a nation in miniature in the true sense of the term. Those who oppose it emphasise the necessity of maintaining the

two-party system intact and the need of preventing the growth of too many groups in the legislature. And for this purpose they favour the division of the country into small constituencies, each returning one member only.

It is not necessary to deal with all the merits and demerits of the system of proportional representation here, because, the system is, in any case, unsuited to Indian conditions of the present day. It is too complex a system to be worked in the present ignorant condition of the country. Even in advanced Western countries it places the voters at the mercy of party organisers and diminishes materially the civic interest of the voters. At any rate, for a considerable time to come, the Indian voter will not be in a position to understand the complicated nature of the system of proportional representation, much less will they be able to use it correctly and independently. On the other hand, the system of small, single-member constituencies is very well-suited to the present conditions of the country. It is simple and easily comprehensible and can even be used by illiterate voters. What I value most in small, single member constituencies is the opportunity of knowing the candidate for election in a genuine way by the voters and that of knowing the real need and wishes of the voters by the candidate. And there is the further chance of keeping

a close and personal relation between the candidate and the voters after the election. It is only by keeping up the close personal relation that representative government can be made truly democratic. If the large size of the constituency makes the maintenance of such close personal relationship impossible—if the member is neither well-known to nor very familiar with the needs and wishes of the people—the government of the country ceases to be democratic or according to the wishes of the people. But if along with the opportunity of maintaining a close personal relation, the voters are given a restricted right of recall, the danger of the representative going against the wishes of the people or that of the assembly getting out of touch with public opinion can be almost altogether eliminated.

VIII

A scientific study of the problem of political representation in India thus leads to the conclusion that the present system of communal electorates with the invidious and unnecessary distinction of urban and rural constituencies should be discarded and a system of small, single-member, common (non-communal), territorial constituencies, tempered with a certain amount of group representation, including that of the organised religious groups, be adopted in its place.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

The Pedigree of a Javanese Queen

In the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapala (Hiranda Shastri, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27 and plates; and N. G. Majumdar, *Monographs of the Varendra Research Society* No. 1, pp. 1-31) there occurs the following account (verse 30) concerning the queen of Samaragravira of Java :

राज्ञः सोमकुलान्वया सहतः श्रीवर्मा से तो सुता
तस्माद्भवानभुजोऽयमन्विषी तारं ताराद्वया ।

This I formerly translated as : "The lady named Tara who was like Tara (Goddess) herself, a daughter of the great king Varmasetu of the Soma lineage became the chief Queen of that lord of the earth." But I now propose to substitute in the place of 'the great king Varmasetu of the Soma lineage' the following : 'that great king who was the very dam of the (riverlike) Varman family and belonged to the Soma lineage.' In the compound 'Varma setu' the word 'Varman,' which denotes some family bearing this name is evidently conceived as

a powerful stream for whose restraint or preservation a dam would be a great necessity. The king, to whom this epithet has been employed, is thus represented as the main support of the Varman family to which he belonged.

From the above passage it is clear that (1) the father of queen Tara was a king; (2) that he belonged to a Varman family; and (3) that he was born in a line known as the 'Somakula'. These three points, as also the fact that the Javanese queen lived about the 9th century A.D., which is the approximate date of Devapala, a contemporary of her son Balaputradeva, are probably sufficient to connect her father with the dynasty ruling over Cambodia in this period. For kings of that dynasty bore the surname 'Varman' and most of them traced their pedigree to Kaundinya and Soma or styled themselves as belonging to the 'Somavamsa' (R. C. Majumdar, 'Indian Colonisation in the Far East,' *Proceedings, Madras Oriental Conference*, 1921, p. 343). One of the greatest kings of this dynasty, Jayavarman II, who ascended the throne in 802 A. D. 'hailed from Java (Malay Peninsula)' and was a Buddhist, at least in the beginning of his reign, (Finot, 'Hindu kingdoms in Indo-China,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925, pp. 614, 615-16). The passage in question, therefore, very probably refers to the matrimonial relationship existing in the period between the Varmanas of Cambodia and the Sailendras of the Malay Peninsula. I am not aware whether this suggestion has been already made by any other scholar. In any case I take this opportunity to publish my views in the hope that those who are better acquainted with Far Eastern Archaeology may be able to throw fresh light on this important passage of the Nalanda copper-plate.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

Media of Instruction in the United Provinces

You have done a piece of useful service in drawing attention, in the current number of your journal, to the hardship caused to non-Hindustani Communities in the United Provinces, by the proposal to insist on Hindi or Urdu as the medium of instruction and examinations in the High Schools with effect from the year 1929. There are many institutions affected adversely by this decision and I enclose a copy of a representation I have sent to the Board of High School and Intermediate Education on behalf of the Bengali-Tola High School, Benares City, of which I am President. Nearly 75 p.c. of the pupils of the institution have Bengali as their mother-tongue and in accordance with the new rule, they will be compelled to study and answer examination papers either in Hindi or in Urdu. Owing to the presence of great centres of pilgrimage in the Provinces, like Benares, Prayag, and Ayodhya, a number of non-Hindustani-speaking Hindus have settled here and if they cannot have the privilege of having their own mother-tongues recognised as the media of instruction and examination, they can at least be allowed to continue to use as at present English, which they have to learn in any case. The study of additional languages besides the mother-tongue, English and

sometimes also Sanskrit, is not a very educational proposition.

P. SESHADRI,

President, Bengali-Tola High School, Benares City.

From

Prof. P. Seshadri, M. A.,
President, Committee of Management,
Bengali-Tola High School,
Benares City.

To

The Secretary,
Board of High School and Intermediate
Education, United Provinces, Allahabad.
No. 190

Dated Benares, the 26th April 1926

Sir,

On behalf of the Committee of Management of the Bengali-tola High School, I have the honour to request the Board to exempt this institution from the operation of the rule making Hindi or Urdu the medium of instruction in all recognised Secondary Schools with effect from 1929.

The Bengali-Tola High School was founded so far back as 1854, to meet the educational requirements of the local Indian community. Ever since that time, the school has scrupulously avoided any kind of exclusiveness and has opened its doors to all, irrespective of race and nationality, so that on its rolls boys of all provinces have always found a place. But having regard to the situation and the surroundings of the institution in the City Bengali pupils have always also formed the majority. In fact, at present they constitute 74 p.c. of the total number. The introduction as required by the Regulation of Hindi or Urdu as the medium of instruction in classes IX & X will prove seriously detrimental to the interests of the Bengali pupils and mar the educational progress of the Bengali community here.

Having regard to the special circumstances in which the Bengali-Tola School is placed, I am compelled to request you to allow us to employ English as the medium of instruction in classes IX & X (and also as the medium of examination at the High School Examination. In fact, any other course will render the work of the school impossible.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
Sd. P. SESHADRI,

President, Bengali-Tola High School,
Benares City.

Marriage Customs of Kadva Kunbis

An article on Kadva Kunbis and their awkward marriage customs has appeared in the January issue of the *Modern Review* of the current year. It contains some misunderstandings or mistakes. The total population of Kadva Kunbis amounts to about 14 lacs. They are found in Gujarat, Kathiawar, Nimad in Mewar, Yevla in Nasik District, Central provinces and Aurangabad. Their Chief occupation is farming but some of them

are tradesmen, artists, industrialists and mill-owners. Up to Samvat 1966 (1910 A.D.) the date for marriages was announced, every ten years, from the temple of Goddess Uma at Unza. But after that year the system is being reformed and day by day the system of one-day-marriages is dying out. In Samvat 1966 one couple was married on a day other than the one declared by the Goddess, with the result that the marriage season lasted for 2 months—Vaishakh and Jaistha, in that year. Three years thence (i.e. in 1913 A.D.) one girl was married in Sardhav, a village in Kalol Taluka of Kadi Prant in Baroda State. R. B. Govindbhai Hathibhai Desai, the then Suba of Kadi Prant (Nayab Divan of Baroda State at present) and the police Superintendent Mr. Rupshankerbhai attended the marriage. After that marriage every year marriages have been taking place in villages as well as in cities. On the last 'Vasant Panchami' two couples of high families of Ahmedabad (who took the leading part in announcing and receiving the date of marriages declared from Unza) were married. In Kathiawar also such marriages have been performed. Thus

marriages are being celebrated on any day of the year. And there seems no possibility that the date for one-day-marriages will be announced from the temple of Goddess Uma in the ensuing years of Samvat 1986 (1930 A. D.).

His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda has appointed a commission to enquire into the 'Child Marriage Prohibition Act' and to readjust it. Many educated members of our community (Kadva Kumbis) and certain institutions, such as Kadva Patidar Hitkarak Mandal, have recommended to the commission to make the Act more strict, to give such defaultees some physical punishment above fine and to sentence the priest and the persons who partake in the marriage. Also they have recommended that the persons who announce the date from Unza should be punished with rigorous imprisonment. From the above facts one can see that the custom of one-day-marriages has been removed and marriages take and will take place as in other Hindu communities on dates suitable to both the parties.

Ahmedabad

HIRALAL VASANTDAS MEHTA¹

GLEANINGS

Why do we Weep ?

Weeping is fundamentally an expression of helplessness, we are told by Cecil E. Reynolds of Los Angeles, writing in *The Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology* (Chicago). Tears were originally



"NORMALLY, INFANTS YELL"

They "come into the world to weep, and not to laugh at the streaks of sunrise"

a response to fatigue or irritation, impairing one's ability to act : but they are now an elaborate counterfeited developed in the course of ages. He presents this theory in the following terms :

"Weeping is primarily egoistic, whereas laughing is normally social and altruistic. Infants come into the world to weep, or at least with that facial expression, and not to laugh at the streaks of sunrise or flickers of a tallow candle. Also, normally, they yell vociferously. We are not, for the moment, concerned with the yell, but we are deeply interested in the facial expressions which suggest tears. Physiologically, the facial expression is adapted to protecting the eyes against irritation and stimulation as well as against increased tension (according to Darwin), and the tears off and when they make their appearance) to wash away irritants from within the lids, and to moisten the cornea. Now in the lower animals, such as the dog, excessive lachrymal secretion is indicative of (1) fatigue, especially from prolonged vigilance on behalf of the pack ; (2) certain diseased states ; (3) foreign matter within the lids. All of these conditions are disabling from the hunter's view-point, and also of temporary duration. Especially is fatigue common to all members of the herd at times, and the presence of lachrymation is probably the first indication to the herd that one of their members is on the verge of exhaustion, and needs relief and forbearance. Now, what holds good for the dog and wolf pack should also hold good for our anthropoid ancestors, who were also gregarious, aggressive hunters, almost certainly carnivorous. It may be remarked, too, that in yawning, even without forcible closure of the eyes, tears may be produced at times—a fact which suggests a central origin for the phenomenon and lends some support to the 'fatigue' theory here outlined.

"Hence it appears that a function of the nervous system, originally intended as a response to physi-

cal disorder, has gradually evolved into an expression of psychological helplessness."

Highest Paid Chinese Actor

In the Chinese theater the play is essentially the thing and nothing is on the stage that does not directly contribute. But decoration becomes an essential owing to the national disposition to symbolism and this is a rather curious fact in a country where the stage has no scenery. Their theater is not imitative and therefore a landscape or an interior is created for an audience by suggestion; by emotion, and it must be confessed of the theater habitue of to-day by drama tradition.



A PROSPECTIVE CELESTIAL VISITOR

Mei Lan-fang, one of the highest paid actors in the world, who is reported intending to visit and play in America

Mei Lan-fang, a Chinese young actor is finding favor with a group of literary men and a discerning theater public in Peking. Altho his celebrity has developed since the fall of the empire nine years ago, the plays in which he appears and the manner of his acting belong to the Imperial Stage tradition. Mei Lan-fang limits himself to about twenty plays and presents each role with re-

markable intelligence and sympathy; his songs have been rewritten for him by celebrated poets in order that they shall be of literary merit.

Literary Digest

"Force" China's Only Way

By force alone can China obtain what is due to her, it is now claimed, and this is said to prove



IT'S A LONG WAY FROM SHANGHAI TO CHINATOWN, NEW YORK

But the Chinese Nationalists in Manhattan and in other sections of this country seem to have the same strong opinions as their fellows in China,

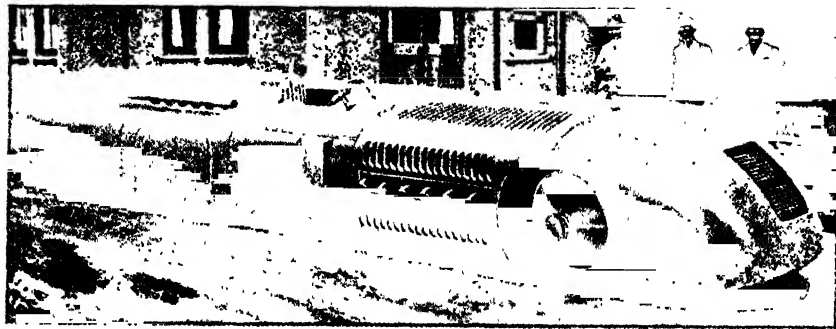
what a failure Western diplomacy has been in China, just as it was previously in Japan. Yet by "force" in China is not necessarily meant military force, we are told, but "force" as exerted through the political and economic boycott and through mob action.

Motoring Two Hundred Miles an Hour

No man ever traveled on the surface of the earth any where near so fast as did Major Segrave on Daytona Beach. His official speed of 203.79 miles an hour beats the previous record by forty-seven miles, and his instruments showed that at times he was going at the rate of 211 miles.

WINNERS OF THE BATTLE OF SPEED (World Records)

Airplane, Bonnett, France	278.48 miles per hour
Motor-car, Major Segrave	203.79 " " "
Railroad, Plant System in Florida	120 " " "
Motor-boat, Maple Leaf, English	80 " " "
Destroyer, U. S. S. Cole	43.75 " " "
Running horse, Roamer, American	1 mile in 1 min. 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ sec.
Trotting Horse, Peter Manning, American	1 mile in 1 min. 56 $\frac{3}{4}$ sec.
Running man, P. Nurmi, Finland	1 mile in 4 min. 10.4 sec.

THE FASTEST DRIVER AND MOTOR-CAR IN THE WORLD—(*Lit. Digest.*)

A Pallava Relief: Durga

Goddesses, perhaps with the exception of Usas, the Dawn, play a very unimportant part in Vedic mythology, where we find little more than a naive



Durga-Mahisamardini, Singasari, Java
13th century
Ross Collection

tendency to provide each god with a wife; for example, Indra with Indrani. In the popular non-Aryan cults, which provided the greater part of

the mythology of mediæval Hinduism, on the other hand, goddesses are of great importance, even outnumbering the masculine deities. Perhaps this difference is to be associated with the patriarchal character of Aryan, the matriarchal character of Dravidian culture. We do not know very much in detail about the native goddesses at a very early period, except that they included types of beneficent powers of fecundity and prosperity, as well as malevolent demons. In the development of theistic and devotional Hinduism all these feminine powers could be and gradually were, incorporated into a consistent theological scheme as manifestations of one goddess, who is either Herself the Supreme Power (Energy) or the power (energy) inherent in a male deity. As Power, the goddess (Devi) is called Sakti (Energy) her manifold forms Saktis; and from this word is derived the adjective *sakta*, designating the cults of the Great Mother and feminine powers characteristic of Tantrik Hinduism. Thus in her own right the Devi is the Absolute in action, manifestation, and variety; Nature, in all her multiplicity, violence, and charm, dispensing impartially birth and death illusion and enlightenment. In relation to a particular cosmic deity, such as Siva, she is, in a popular sense, his wife and also in specific forms engages in activities on behalf of gods or men; and this relation and these activities form the theme of innumerable Pauranik legends.

No form of the goddess is more devotedly worshipped than she who is known as Durga ("Inaccessible") Camunda, Candika, Candi, Katyayani and as Kali or Mahakali, the "Dark one" or "Great Dark One." This Kali is at the same time the Great Mother, lovingly adored, and a dread power delighting in death and destruction, and even in human sacrifice; as Bhavani in the days of *thagi* (thuggee), the patron deity of robbers and murderers.

To Durga is attached one of the best known of Pauranik legends, that of the slaying of the Asura (demon) Mahisa, whence she is known as Mahisrura-mardini. As such she is often represented both in sculpture and painting in a fierce many-armed form, engaged in victorious conflict with the demon, whose natural form is that of a buffalo, but who, at the point of death emerges in human form from its severed neck. Of this type the Museum already possesses (Ross Collection) a fine example of late Javanese origin.

In another type she is represented more

pacifically, though still armed and many armed standing upon the severed head which serves her as a pedestal. It is of this type that the Museum has just acquired, through the generosity of Dr. Denman W. Ross, a magnificent example of seventh century date and South Indian origin.

The sculpture, in the usual dark coarse granulite of the South, is in very high relief; it is weathered in parts as though by sand erosion, and lacks one arm, but it is otherwise well preserved and may well be regarded as the most important example of Indian sculpture in the Museum. The goddess is eight-armed and stands, as already mentioned, on the severed head of the buffalo. The figure is balanced on one hip (French, "hanché") the other leg being bent at the knee and slightly advanced the body "swayed." The lower right (normal) arm originally a separate piece of stone attached by two iron rivets is missing; the hand was originally raised, probably in the *abhaya hasta* pose (of encouragement to the worshipper), possibly in the *tarjani hasta* pose of threatening the enemy. The remaining arms on the right bear the sword (*khadga*), dart or arrow, discus (*cakra*) and trident (*trisula*). The lower left (normal) hand is held gracefully on the hip (*katyavalambita hasta*) the others hold a shield (*khetava*) conch, (*sankha*), and bow (*bhanus*). Behind each shoulder appears a quiver. The goddess wears a narrow breast band (*sthanottariya*) and a *dhoti*, the latter hardly perceptible; a crown (*karanda mukuta*) elaborate, girdle, and other usual jewelry.

It may seem rather curious that Durga, or Mahakali, should often, as in the present case, be represented as carrying the two distinctive weapons of Vishnu (discus and conch), in addition to those of Siva, of whom the trident is especially characteristic, and with whom she is more closely connected. But this is often explained by the story as related in the *Vamana Purana* where it is stated that when Katyayani came forth to do battle all the great deities lent her their weapons—Siva his trident, Vishnu the discus and conch, Varuna the noose, Agni a dart, Vayu a bow, Surya a quiver and arrows, Kala a sword and shield, and other gods various arms and ornaments. It may also be observed that in the *Devimahatmya* of the *Markandeya Purana* the Supreme Devi is called Mahalaksmi, and all the cosmic deities, both male and female, are derived from her. In the *Suprabhedagama* the goddess is called the "dear younger sister of Vishnu." In any case, in the last analysis the relation of Vishnu with Siva becomes very close, and it will not be forgotten that a well-known conception (Harihara), often realized in images, unites in one figure the forms of both.

In South Indian structural Saiva temples of various dates the image of Durga standing on the buffalo's head, as described above, usually occupies a niche on the outside of the north wall of the main shrine: an example to be seen at the Pasupati (Siva) Kovil, Tanjore District, of perhaps ninth century date. It is possible, of course, the figures (of which other examples are known) may have accompanied our relief. Other examples of Cola and later date are to be found at Srirangam and Dharasuram, and on the outer wall of the well-known Subrahmanya temple at Tanjore.

Figures of the same type, but older in date and nearer stylistically to ours than are those above

referred to, are met with at Mamallapuram, thirty miles south of Madras, and popularly known as the Seven Pagodas; one, four-armed, on the outer back wall of the monolithic Draupadi Ratha;



DURGA Height 1.5 m.

SOUTHERN INDIA, 7th CENTURY

Ross Collection

another, iconographically identical with our example (except that the pose is symmetrical), in the rock-cut Trimurti Mandapam.

The Pallava dynasty, to which these monuments

are due, was one of the most glorious in the history of India and Farther India. Originally vassals of the Andhras in Vengi, the Kistna-Godaveri delta (where the Amaravati stupa was completed at the close of the second century A.D.), they succeeded the former in the third or fourth century. In the sixth century they lost Vengi to the Calukyas, but extended their dominions southward to Tanjore, with a capital at Conjeevaram (Kancipuram). The greatest rulers of the dynasty were Mahendravarman I (A. D. 600-625) and Narasimhavarman I (625-645); the former, one of the greatest figures in Tamil history, appears to have introduced into the South the excavated cave temple style (Dalavanur, Trichinopoly, etc.). To him and to his successor, Narasimhavarman, surnamed Mamalla (whence the name Mamallapuram, "City of Mamalla"), are due the excavated and monolithic temples, and the great rock-cut composition of the Descent of the Ganges (Gangavatarana, formerly known as Arjuna's Penance), on the seashore at the "Seven Pagodas"; the structural temples at Conjeevaram, and the beautiful "Shore Temple" at Mamallapuram, dating from the early part of the following century. The Pallavas, originally Buddhists, had already at the beginning of the seventh century become devoted Saivas, though Buddhism survived in the South well into the Cola period. The Pallavas, too, in succession to the Andhras and Kalingas (Indians are still, in the Malay Archipelago, called Orang Kling, men of Kalinga), were the chief transmitters of Indian institutions, and art to Farther India and Indonesia (Sumatra "the Land of Gold," and Java).

Although representing a fully developed and sophisticated style, these Pallava monuments, equally significant as historical documents and as art, are the oldest extant remains of Dravidian

art; all that preceded them must have been constructed of impermanent materials. It is very easy, indeed, to recognize in the lithic forms the reproductions of the features of a fully evolved art of timber and brick construction, such as Mahendravarman refers to in the old Kancipuram pillar inscription referring to temples of brick, timber, metal, and mortar; and it is noteworthy that Primitive Khmer art, which is very closely related to that of the Andhras, Calukyas and Pallavas, is almost exclusively one of brick construction. Thus neither in construction nor in sculpture have we to do with anything that can be called primitive: the earliest monuments are classic, and establish almost all the main types of Dravidian art as they still survive. From the Pallava period onwards the tendency is towards greater and greater elaboration, and to a less and less reserved phantasy; and because most visitors' experience of Dravidian art is limited to the seventeenth century style of Madura, an impression is current that all Dravidian art is necessarily wild and extravagant. On the contrary, the earlier work, expressing an intense and militant energy, combines with this energy a serenity and tenderness, and attains an epic quality that compares favorably even with the exquisite, abundant, and voluptuous, but in the last analysis less consistent, Northern art of the Gupta period. And these qualities are to be recognized not only in the art preserved in India proper, but in the character of early Farther Indian (Khmer, etc.) art at the time when it is nearest in form to its Indian sources. The Museum is fortunate in possessing a magnificent and typical example of the classic phase of the sculpture of the Dravidian South.

(ANANDA COOMARASWAMY in *Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin, Boston*)

OUTLAWING WAR

In our efforts to rid the world of the war-curse, outlawry is the only road that really gets anywhere.

Our everlastingly timorous attempts to accomplish something by inches, by limiting armaments a little, by trying to make war a little more merciful, and the like, is mere futile "pottering," "tinkering," "fiddling," pulling out a few hairs from the tiger's tail or trimming down one or two of his claws. We have got to SHOOT THE TIGER. OUTLAWRY DOES IT. *Nothing else does or can.*

What could we accomplish in trying to prevent murder or arson, if both were legal? In the days of dueling and slavery there was no possibility of stopping those terrible and long-standing evils until they were outlawed. The absolutely necessary first step was to make them crimes. Then they soon disappeared. If we would stop war, we must

make it a CRIME, as we ought to have done long ago. *This takes away its legal support, makes any nation engaging in it a felon and arrays all the powerful machinery and influences of law, of law courts, of recognised order and justice and of public opinion, against it. That means death.*

Everything else is mere playing with the tiger—trying to tie him with little strings, as if he were a pet lamb which we must not hurt. He laughs, snaps the strings whenever he pleases, remains exactly the same old insatiate man-eater that he has been for ten thousand years, and is ready at any moment to spring on the nations from behind any petty national quarrel in the world. Let us SHOOT him, in the only possible way, that of *outlawry*, before he devours another thirty millions of men, women and children, as in 1914 to 1918.—J. T. SUNDERLAND.

V. KHARE

(1859-1924)

By JADUNATH SARKAR

I

VASUDEV Vaman-Shastri Khare was born on 5th August, 1858, at the village of Gubagar, in the Ratnagiri district of Bombay. He belonged to a family of learned but poor and simple Brahman teachers of Sanskrit of the good old type which is now rapidly becoming extinct. Young Vasudev, however, did not take kindly to the ancestral way of life. Though naturally very intelligent and possessed of a keen memory, he disliked regular work and loved to roam about and play with the truant boys of the village. At this time he lost his father, and the burden of supporting the entire family fell upon the shoulders of his aged grandfather, Mahadev Appa. The young man acquired a good command of his mother-tongue, read Marathi books extensively, and even wrote some poems and dramatic pieces to be staged by the local amateurs on festive occasions.

When reproved by his grandfather, young Vasudev used often to stay away from the house for days together and range about the surrounding hilly country or lounge about the adjoining beach watching the waves of the Indian Ocean. A small incident now turned his career most opportunely. While playing naughty pranks at the Shimaga festival, he was caught with other village urchins and a housewife poured a volley of abuse on his revered grandfather for letting him run wild. This set him thinking, and the boy left his village, walked eighty miles over the hills to Kolhapur, and set himself, though penniless, to learn Sanskrit in that ancient capital. A Brahman student is often given free board and lodging by orthodox Hindu families that can afford it, and Khare eked out his living by composing Marathi verses, for which he had a natural genius. After returning home, he was married in 1873.

Goaded by the increased want of his family, the young husband of fourteen, left his village for Satara, where he joined the home-school of the famous scholar Anant Acharya Gajendragadkar and devoted himself to Sanskrit studies, earning his bread by

writing for the local Marathi newspaper, the *Maharashtra Mitra*. In three years he mastered Sanskrit grammar, literature and logic. Next he migrated to Poona in search of work, and was taken into the New English School recently started. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the founders of the school, became his friend for life, and in 1880 secured for Khare the post of Sanskrit teacher in the High School of Miraj.



Vasudev Vaman-Shastri Khare

II

It was at Miraj that Khare's life's work was done. Here he lived till death, serving the school on a monthly salary of Rs. 30, which rose to Rs. 45 after 32 years of service. One of his former pupils thus writes his impressions about him :

"As a teacher, his impressive personality and erudition at once commanded the respect of his students. His manner, though outwardly strict, was characterised by that milk of human kindness which is found typified in the Village Schoolmaster of Oliver Goldsmith's poem. The prescribed lesson, in Sanskrit or Marathi, was supplemented and diversified by his witty remarks, choice

quotations and apt illustrations. He explained the famous poets with a natural zest. Very often the students glowed with enthusiasm caught from him or were convulsed with laughter at his comic sallies. Many of his old pupils are now well placed in life and they retain the highest esteem for their beloved *Shastribao*, as he was lovingly called."

At the Miraj High School he keenly felt how his ignorance of English placed him on a lower footing than the other teachers. Khare at once set himself to the task of learning this foreign tongue with his characteristic vigour and perseverance. Within one year he picked up so much knowledge of it that the Educational Inspector of Dharwar, who had found him entirely innocent of English at his previous annual visit, was surprised to see him using English correctly and freely next year. Khare kept up his English studies and widened his mental outlook by reading a number of works on history and literature in that language.

To the Maratha public he was best known as a poet and dramatist of rare power. He broke away from the conventions of the old school of poets, by choosing new themes, such as the ocean, patriotism, &c., and using blank verse. All his poetical works were popular, especially the *Samudra*, *Yashwant Rao Mahakavya* (epic), *Phulkaal Chutke* (stray poems, 1881-1888),—the second of which is now a text-book for the B.A. students of the Bombay University.

Vasudev Vaman Khare's dramas brought him fame and some amount of money. *Gunotkarsha* (1880), which brings the great Shivaji on the stage, passed through five editions in the author's life-time. After 33 years of silence, he resumed this class of composition in 1913 and produced *Taramandal*, *Chitra-ranchana*, *Krishna-Kanchan*, *Shiva-Sambhar* (the birth of Shivaji), and *Ugra-Mangal* (this last not yet published). In several of these pieces, songs set to various tunes enchant the audience. The public patronage of the dramatist enabled the historian to meet in part the heavy cost of his twelve large volumes of historical records, which have not paid their way.

III

Popular as Khare the dramatist and nationalist poet was and still continues to be, his title to the remembrance and gratitude of posterity is his service to Maratha history. When he first went to Poona as a young

school pandit, he was thrown into the company of Sane and Modak and helped them in editing their historical magazine *Kavya-etihas Sangraha* at its start. In 1888 he published a life of Nana Fadnis, in which; however, he could not utilise unpublished records. But at Miraj his attention was drawn to the vast and unimpaired collection of old historical documents in the possession of the nobles of the Patwardhan family who had occupied places of great importance in the Maratha State in the Peshwa period. Of this family 13 members had been slain and 16 wounded in the wars of the Marathas, and many others had distinguished themselves in the civil service as well. The letters they wrote from the scene of their operations or the Poona Court, to their masters or to their relatives, form a priceless treasure of the raw materials of Maratha history.

The Patwardhan family is now divided into many branches, having their fiefs in the South Maratha country,—at Miraj (two houses, senior and junior), Kurundwad, Tasgaon, Jamkhandi. Their geographical position on the road from Mysore (under British occupation after the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799)—as well as Baji Rao II's foolish hostility to his vassals,—made the Patwardhans court British protection for saving their patrimony. A Patwardhan was in command of the Maratha army that co-operated with the English in the last war with Tipu. (See Moore's *Operations of Little's Detachment* for many interesting details.) The Patwardhans assisted the English in the operations following the treaty of Bassein, as readers of Sir Arthur Wellesley's despatches know. Thus, their homes were saved from war and ravage, and their records have remained intact.

Napoleon I has truly remarked that in war it is not men that count but *the man*. The same truth was now illustrated in the domain of history. Khare's employment at Miraj and settlement in that town was a divine dispensation to all lovers of Maratha history.

Here was the work and here was *the man*.

Khare obtained permission from the Miraj Junior State (and afterwards the Inchalkaranji Chief) to read their papers, and seriously applied himself to the task which was destined to be his life's work. With tireless patience he made his way through these chaotic masses of old papers written in the difficult cursive Modi hand, and picked

out the writings of the makers of Maratha history,—State-papers, despatches, reports, private letters and accounts,—letters from the Peshwas or the Patwardhan officials. Khare selected the really valuable documents, transcribed them in Deva-nagari for the press, chronologically arranged them and wrote historical notes to serve as the connecting tissue and necessary introduction,—and then went to publish them. The prospect was at first hopeless. As his old pupil writes :

"He had so many other obstacles in the way of publishing this material that a man of lesser stuff would have given up the attempt in despair. At that time very few of our people recognised the importance of history, much less that of historical letters. The educated men disdained vernacular publications. The author lived at a place without a Printing Press and remote from the world of letters ; for the sake of his daily bread he had to spend the greater part of the day in drilling dull boys in Sanskrit grammatical forms. Then, there was the official opposition to the publication of these papers. He had none to help and few to sympathise with him. Above all, money was a factor too significant to be ignored."

Still, with the courage and confidence of a religious devotee, he began the publication of these select historical documents in June 1897, in a monthly magazine named *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha* or Collection of Historical Letters (printed Kurundwad.) After the fourth year, issue in monthly parts was discontinued and only complete volumes of 500 to 600 pages each were issued at intervals of one, two and even three years, according to the state of his private income, because the support of the public (and even that of the Patwardhan Chiefs) was extremely slow and meagre. The author had to meet the printer's bill for the preceding volumes from his own pocket before sending a fresh volume to the press !

However, the perseverance of this poor school pandit—whose salary never rose above Rs. 45 a month—triumphed. Before his death in June 1924, he had completed 12 volumes covering 6843 pages. And after his death, his son Yashawant published the 13th volume, bringing the collection up to 7320 pages.

The letters begin in 1739 and become

most copious from 1761, the fatal year of Panipat. It was Khare's desire to carry them on to 1802, when Maratha independence ceased in all but the name. In the twelfth volume, the actual publication of which was preceded by his death by a few months, he had reached November 1800, and his son has brought the records down to June 1802.

Khare's most striking characteristics were his systematic arrangement, judicious spirit or strong common sense, and terseness,—in all of which he presents a pleasing contrast to V. K. Rajwade. His *Lekh Sangraha* will stand as a model for other workers among historical archives and editors of documents. His introductions are most helpful to the reader and admirably concise and free from irrelevant digressions.

He retired from his school in 1913 and lived for eleven years more. But his originally robust constitution was broken by poverty, household worries and overwork. On 11th June 1924, he breathed his last, after two years, suffering from dysentery. The Poona Itihas Mandal had elected him its President for one year, and a building has been erected at Miraj in his memory.

Among his other works are the *Hari-ramsha Bakhar*, *Inchal-karanji Samsthannanacha Itihas*, *Maloji wa Shahji*, and *Adhikar Yoga*. As a man he was truly adorable. His loving pupil writes :—

"Though for the greater part of his life he was forced to live in poverty, what Fortune denied to him was supplied by his innate contentment and simplicity. A self-respecting man, he would never stoop to abject means to enrich himself. Gifted with high brain power as he was, he never shunned hard work. He preferred silent work to platform speeches. His labours at the history of the past, did not blind him to the present, and he kept himself in touch with current literature and newspapers. He was social in his manners, and never was a man more witty and humorous in private talk." *

JADUNATH SARKAR

* Based on materials supplied by Mr. T. M. Bhat, M.A., of Shahapur (Belgaum) and Vol. XII of the *Lekh Sangraha*.

GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By KALIDAS NAG

EASTWARD HO !

IT was August, 1924. The Eastern Ocean between Saigon (Indo-China) and Singapore, normally trying for tourists, became abnormally exasperating. All the passengers in the small, old-fashioned French mail boat *S. S. Donai* were keeping pace as it were with the wild dance of the waves. How every one of us got sick of the sea and dreamed, with a pathetic longing, of Land,—we the children of the soil ! I was trying to get relief by dipping occasionally into the pages of Frederic Mistral, the Peasant Poet, weaving his grand Earth epic.

"Dans le sol, jusqu'au tuf, a creusé ma charrure".

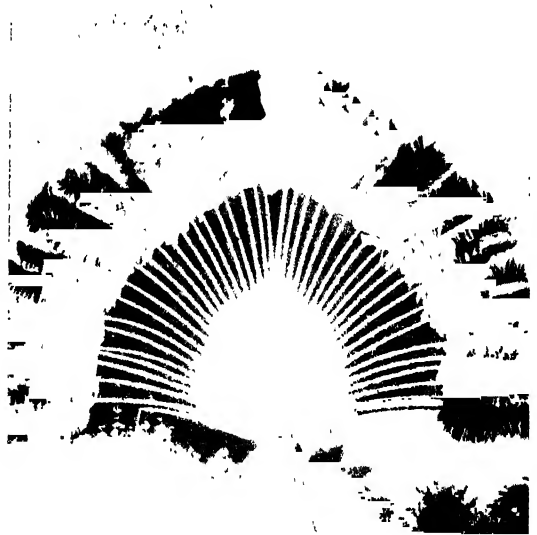
Our 'earth-hunger' grew in an inordinate measure. Three days and four nights of continuous voyage brought us finally to the grand harbour of inter-oceanic commerce, Singapore.

Singha-pura, the city of the Lions;—what a magic in the name evoking the memories of millenniums ! How Indian "Sea Wolves" and "Sea Lions" have roared here while passing through this gate to the Eastern ocean and have left permanently to this harbour, the legacy of their names in the native dialects of India. The son of king *Singhabahu*, becomes sick of land ; he leaves India and plunges into the unknown waters. He lands in an island which he conquers and colonises and becomes known as King *Vijaya of Sinhala* (Ceylon). The first Poet of India, the author of the Indian epic *Ramayana*, sings of the curbing of the ocean by Prince Rama and his conquest of Ceylon. Valmiki betrays another preoccupation of the Indians of yore, their dream of the Goldenland, *Surarnabhumī*, the Indian Chersonese :

"सुवर्णरूपकदीपम् सुवर्णकर मण्डितम्" ।

Be it Ceylon (Lanka) or Malay or Sumatra or Java, according to various schools of antiquarians, the fact remains undisputed that *Singhapura*—Singapore, is a symbol of that movement towards the sea and of that hunger for the unknown, that make up the

marvellous history of ancient Indian colonisation. This epic of the Indian Vikings, this golden legend of the Indian Eastward Ho ! Would it remain unsung and unwritten for ever ? Should we never enquire why the legends of the reign of the Emperor of Peace, Dharmasoka,



Nature's Fan. The Traveller's Tree.

tend towards Ceylon and Burma as early as the 3rd century B. C. ; how the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (64 A. D.) and the *Geography of Ptolemy* (2nd century A. D.), contain indisputable evidences of Hindu commercial and colonial activities ; how the *Yaradripa* of the *Ramayana* is equated with *Ibadru* of the Geographer of Alexandria and *Ye tiao* (Yap-div) sending tribute to the Chinese court in 132 A. D. (Vide Dr. P. C. Bagchi, "India and China", Greater India



Scenes from the Ramayana.

(Left) Ravan carrying off Sita and fighting with Jatayu. (Right) Ram in sorrow for the loss of Sita.
(Prambanam Bas-Relief)



Scenes from the Ramayana
Hanuman goes to Sita in captivity in Lanka and interviews her.
(Prambanam Bas-Relief)

Society Bulletin No 2, pp. 37) ; how the chapter of commercial expansion was balanced by that unique chapter of cultural colonisation inaugurated by Dharmasoka and continued magnificently by the Prince Monk Gunavarman, the painter missionary of Kashmir, passing through Ceylon to Sho-p'o (Java or Sumatra) which was thoroughly converted to the faith of Fraternity (Maitri) ; and how the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien touched Ye-po'ti' (Yavadvipa) on his way to and from India in the 5th century A. D. ; how the great naval empire of Srivijaya (the She-li-fo-she of Chinese writers) with Sumatra as its base, wove India, Indo-China and Java into a grand scheme of cultural harmony, connecting the Imperial architects of Borobudur with the Palas of Magadh and Bengal and the Cholas of South India ; lastly, how the Hinduised Majapahit empire of Java continued to shape the destinies of the Malay Archipelago down to the very end of the 15th century (1476), claiming the vast expanse from Malay to the Polynesian world as the cultural domain of India, naming it as *Insulinidia* ? All these questions, together with the dim visions of the far-off empires of Champa and Kamboj which I had just left behind on my way to Java, and the shades of the cultural pioneers Kaundinya and Paramartha, Amoghavajra and Dipamkara, haunted me while I landed in *Singhapura*, the gateway to Java.

SINGAPORE, THE GREAT EASTERN GATE

But other lions are roaring here while the Hindu lions are almost forgotten, save and except in the name which still clings to this cosmopolitan harbour. My claiming descent from my great ancestors Sakya Nagasena, Gunavarman, etc., did not spare me the purgatory of the Passport Office. I had the British visa all right, but I was informed by my friend Dr. Parimal Sen of the Tan Tok Sen Hospital, who was all attention to me during my stay in Singapore, that I had better show my face before the Dutch Consul, who was the final arbiter of my destiny. Entering the dingy office, in the stuffy steaming atmosphere, I felt all my pride as a descendant of the great Hindu pioneers, dissipated into vapour. I had to offer all sorts of explanations as to why I was proceeding to Java, how long I was going to stay there, etc., etc. Thanks to my credentials and my previous visit to Holland which earned me some friends amongst the Dutch Orientalists, I managed to satisfy the

passport officers, who duly sanctioned my visit to the "Queen of the East" without paying the 200 guilders or so as *toelatings kart*, admission fee or deposit money generally exacted as a security against incorrect behaviour. I heaved a sigh of relief when my passport was regularised, although I was a bit crestfallen, thinking how History with relentless justice has written "barred by limitation" on the title deeds of my Hindu ancestors who were really the first to reclaim this part of the world from barbarism



Belles of Malay

to civilisation : but they slept for nearly half a millennium (modest when compared with the sleep of their Gods who sleep through aeons), and I, their humble descendant, must pay the penalty for that luxury.

The penalty was not very heavy. I had to pay five Singapore dollars for the Dutch visa. Then enquiring about the ticket to Batavia I came to know that return passages from Singapore to Batavia and back would cost me 90 Singapore dollars. The steamers plying in that region, belong to *Koninklyke Paketvaart Maatschappij*—a Dutch shipping agency enjoying practical monopoly in that service. To the credit of this company it must be said that the steamers, berth arrangements, and other comforts are the very best that one can get during one's tour through the Far East. Neither the British Indian Steam Navigation Co. (Calcutta-Singapore line), nor the shipping lines of French Indo-China, both of which meet here in Singapore, can stand comparison in any way with the beautiful, clean, well-ventilated steamers of the Dutch Company. This contrast appealed to me the more sharply because I had just then had the bitter experience of travel-

ling in an antedeluvian French boat coming from Indo-China.

Before leaving Singapore I visited the nice little museum built in memory of Sir Stamford Raffles, who, during the Napoleonic wars, occupied Java for five years (1810-1815), lest that island might fall into the hands of the French. With the fall of Napoleon that fear was dissipated and Java was restored to the Dutch (1815). The British were thinking of establishing a commercial emporium in Achin, north of Sumatra; but Raffles recommended Singapore as the better site and he turned out to be a good prophet. For, thanks to Raffles, Singapore is now the very *key to the Eastern ocean*, commanding its extensive trade relations. Here the Ceylonese are jostling with the Chinese, and the Tamil bullock-cart drivers are bravely blocking the way of the up-to-date automobiles of the Westerners. Passing through the streets, looking at the huge commercial buildings and banks, I felt that slow yet mighty undercurrent of Dollars rushing under this superficial civilisation that the West has reared up here. The wealth of the East, vaster than what the epic imagination of Milton could have visualised, is passing to the Occident through this gigantic Mammon's mart, Singapore.

THE RAFFLES MUSEUM

The only cultural oasis in this desert strewn with dollars, is the Raffles Museum. The collection is made with a view to give a general idea of the fauna and flora, the geology and ethnography of the Malay Archipelago. I found specimens of dwelling houses and domestic things, weapons and implements, dress and decorations, from the various islands of the Dutch Indies. A Javanese theatre in miniature with the puppet heroes and heroines, the special musical instruments, the variegated types of masks, rich in suggestion and decoration—all gave me a foretaste of Java that was drawing me with an irresistible fascination.

In a corner I found a few things which seemed to me of great interest to the students of Indian culture history. A series of terracotta plaques with Buddhist figures in low relief, some containing religious texts in clear old *nagari* character (as we find on some later Javanese sculptures), testify to the migration of north Indian (possibly Magadha—Bengal) Buddhism along this land bridge of Malay

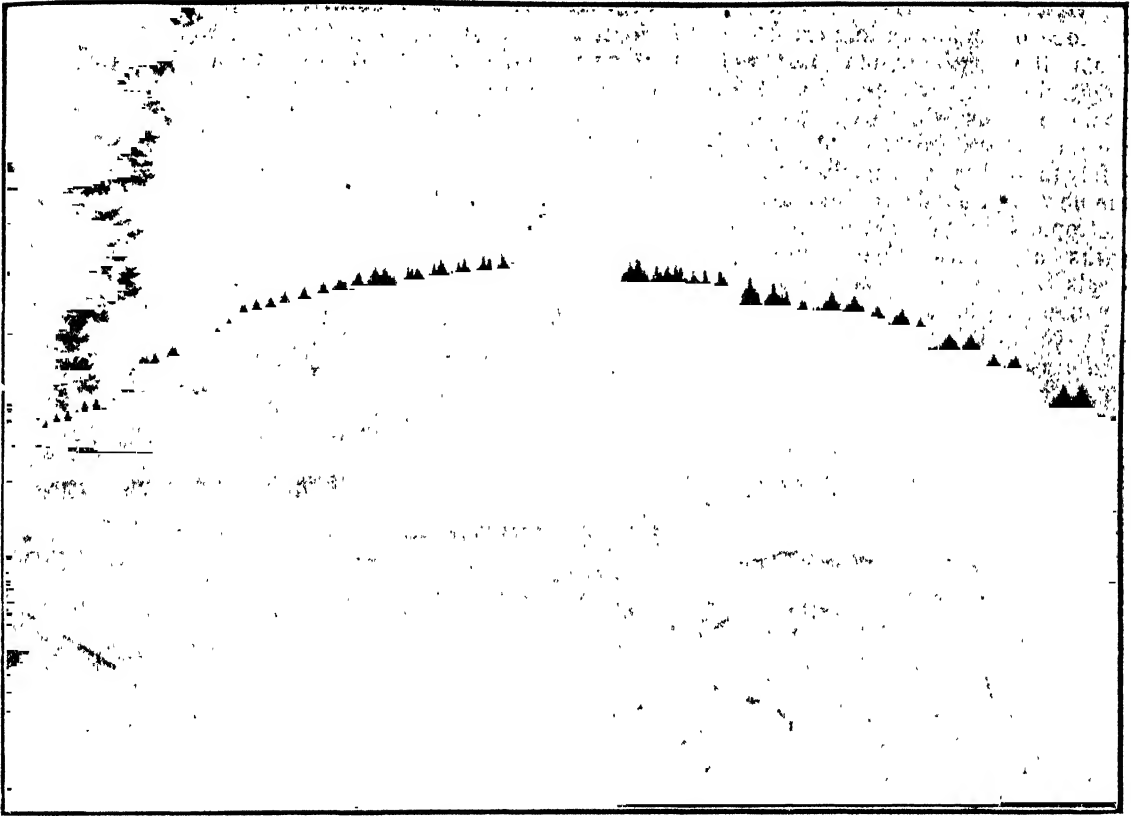
to Insulindia. Most of these things have been discovered in a cave of north Malay, touching Siam. The great Dutch Indologist Prof. Kern had deciphered some of these documents and had ascribed them to the 9th and 10th century A.D. Another important relic is a mutilated pillar containing fragments of an inscription in old-Javanese (Kavi) language. It stood there as a forlorn monument of a submerged civilisation—the once glorious Hindu culture, overwhelmed by the later Islamic and Occidental inundations.

SAILING FOR JAVA

I sailed for Java on the Dutch steamer *Plancius* in the afternoon. Singapore slowly melted away in the distance. The dull gray sky and waters of the harbour were suddenly transformed with the crimson glow of the setting sun. In that mystic blending of colours I lapsed into an uncanny mood. I seemed to witness the sunset of Gods, *Le Crepuscule des dieux*, with its Wagnerian grandeur, the slow sinking of millions of Gods and heroes of the Australasian and Malay-Polynesian peoples, of the Brahmanical and Buddhistic congregations—all disappearing behind the curtain of the Unknown! The ship sailed in the night and innumerable dreams kept rhythm with the palpitation of the stars.

THE ISLANDS OF BANCA AND SUMATRA, THE THEATRE OF THE SRIVIJAYA EMPIRE

The next morning we were passing through the Straits of Banca with the great island of Sumatra on one side and the island of Bangka or Banca, on the other. Banca with Sumatra is rich in minerals. Gold, silver, iron ore, lead and amber are found, while tin is its chief product. Sumatra, Banca and other islands must have been explored by the early Indian adventurers, for we find very accurate descriptions of the islands in the *Ramayana* and other texts, "islands strewn with gold and silver." These were the halting stages in the onward march of the Hindus towards Java, Bali and Borneo. When Fortune smiled on every adventure of those intrepid Hindu colonists and Victory crowned them with her laurels, they founded here the great Sumatran empire of *Sririjaya*, which for nearly a thousand years maintained its proud title as the sentinel of the Southern seas, sweeping these waters of pirates and enforcing peace and fairplay. It was the Hindu kings of the Shailendra Dynasty of Sumatra



Boro-Budur

that reared up that architectural epic, Borobudur in Central Java (8th-9th century). The Sanskrit inscription discovered in Kota Kapur in the island of Banca, informs us that in 686 A. D., Srivijaya sent an expedition to Java. It was exactly then when the learned Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing was studying Indian texts in the Sumatran centres of learning (685-689). The emperors of Srivijaya had relations with the Palas of Bengal, the Cholas of South India and the Khmer kings of Camboj. As late as the 11th century A. D., the great Buddhist reformer of Bengal Dipankara Srijnana (Atisha) went to meet Acharya Chandrakirti in the Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra); the Sumatran schools of study were in close touch with the great Indian University of Nalanda. The power of Srivijaya was eclipsed by the great Javanese empire of Majapahit founded in 1294 by Sri Krtarajasa, which in its turn collapsed before the onrush of Islam in the 15th century (vide Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee's "Java and Sumatra," Greater India Bulletin No. 3.)

Now this area haunted by great historic

memories looks savage and deserted. The 100,000 population of Banca, shows over 50,000 Chinese, who are now dominating the whole of the Southern ocean right up to the Malay States. And Sumatra, the proud throne of the Shailendras, is covered with dense jungle. The whole day I listened to the sonorous music of desolation from the dark green forests of Sumatra, lamenting her past glories under the Hindu emperors of Srivijaya. How much of history is entombed within this sepulchre of greenery! How Nature tries to hide under the cover of her smiling forests, the ravages of Time and how Man with an uncanny instinct digs up the skeletons of his ancestral glories!

FROM SINGAPORE TO BATAVIA

Our fine little *Plancius* (6000 tons) floated from Singapore with a splendid weather. The sea was calm and placid like a pond. The *Plancius* crossed the Equator, gave us a superb view of Sumatra and Banca and brought us to Tandjong Priok, the harbour

of Batavia, in the morning, covering a distance of 532 nautical miles in 40 hours. From the harbour one can reach the city by train or by car in twenty minutes. Some friends who expected me, kindly met me on board the steamer and brought me safely to Weltevreden (well-content in Dutch) or the new city. Really it looked a well-contented metropolis with large clean streets, fine parks and sumptuous buildings. Batavia rivals Singapore as an emporium of Asiatic commerce. It is the capital of the Dutch possessions in the East—The *Nederlandsch-Indie* as it is called by the Dutchmen.



Kalpa-taru of Hindu Mythology.
A Specimen of Indo-Javanese Bas-Relief

I had the good fortune to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Corporaal, the Principal of the Training College, "Gunung Sari." It is a "new model" school run on co-educational lines. Its fame for efficiency, order and peaceful atmosphere has attracted boys and girls from every part of the Dutch Indies. Students from east and west Java, from Bali, from Sumatra and other islands, greeted me

with their variegated native costumes and refined courtesies. At a glance I could discover the wide range of variation in features, in dresses, in gestures—a *tableau vivant* of the picturesque types of Indonesia greeting my eyes. How thankful am I that the Principal and his fellow teachers kindly arranged to keep me in the very heart of this community of Indonesian youths. How much would I have lost (as the tourists in general do) by entering an up-to-date hotel with its modern comforts !

A MODEL SCHOOL OF BATAVIA

The whole day, my first day in Java, passed away like a dream. The teaching staff, composed of Dutch and Javanese teachers, impressed me with a spirit of rare devotion and idealism. Mr. Corporaal struck me as an ideal captain ; then Mr. Maatman, Mr. Post and other Dutch scholars were splendid lieutenants, with true instincts and sympathy as teachers. The wives of the teachers were also in active service, some as superintendent of the girls' boarding, some as kitchen queens ! I was taken round the whole establishment, not excluding the washing department ; for, as Mrs. Maatman humorously said, I must be convinced that they observe Dutch cleanliness right through the institution. Really it seemed to me that I had come to a model school the like of which is rarely to be met with in India.

What intensified my joy was the discovery that our Poet Rabindranath had, from a distance, thoroughly captivated the heart of the professors as well as of the pupils. They asked me many things about the Poet and his Shantiniketan. I found here for the first time some of the Dutch translations of his works which, I gathered, were keenly appreciated. The special favourites were : *De Leerschool van den Papagaai* (Parrot's Training) *Oprocdingsidealen* (The Crescent Moon) translated by the Javanese writer Noto Soeroto. Rabindranath's "The Centre of Indian Culture" (*Het Centrum der Indische Culturer*), has roused great enthusiasm for India in the heart of many serious-minded people.

I was introduced to the Javanese Pandit whose family name was *Shastra-viryya*. He taught the Javanese language and literature in the school and he furnished me with valuable information about the present state of scholastic learning in Java along indigenous lines. He lamented like our own Pandits that the traditional method

of study was decaying. I humorously asked if he knew the original significance of his family name शास्त्रविर्य. He did not know Sanskrit and got a little confused. I complimented him by saying how his name paid a glowing tribute to the Indians, who believed that real strength was not in brute force but that it lay in the stored-up wisdom, the Shastras of our ancestors. Mr. Shastraviryya was highly flattered and requested me to recite a few slokas from the *Bhagavad Gita*, which I found to be the universal favourite here.

AN INDO-JAVANESE EVENING

So I had the joy of discovering the very first day of my stay in this ancient Indian colony that India still had some place in the heart of the Javanese people. I spent the afternoon describing the Shantiniketan school and the Poet's original method of teaching music and acting. I did not know that I was touching sympathetic chords and that my young Indonesian friends were preparing a most delectable surprise for me that evening. Scenting my weakness for music and drama and noticing my eagerness to know something of the famous Javanese theatre, boys and girls of the school conspired to overwhelm me with a suddenly improvised programme. I began to suspect it late in the afternoon when I found the boys running about, carrying foliage and flowers and other beautiful things towards the central *Pandapa* (Mandapa) in a corner of the spacious play ground. Then I was duly informed and taken to witness the performance. The students organised the orchestra (*Gamelan*), the chorus, the dance-drama, everything. They showed inborn taste and talent. In vocal music they did not show much individuality. The cosmopolitan music with imported European tunes, seemed a little queer; but the moment the indigenous orchestra, the *Gamelan*, started playing, all sense of discrepancy vanished and we felt transported to the age of classical Javanese drama. The girls were naturally shy; yet they contributed their quota by singing a few pastoral songs. There is a distinct regional character in their melodies. The Sundanese and the Balinese tunes seemed well differentiated.

Suddenly we were snatched away from our musical musings to vigorous action. The boys of Sumatra possessed the stage. They gave a splendid show of the Sumatran

dagger-duels. The most thrilling part came when one of the combatants charged furiously with a dagger while his rival,



A Javanese Mahayana Sculpture

completely unarmed, defended himself with a sureness and rapidity that seemed phenomenal. The Sumatrans enjoy even to-day a reputation for fight. A section of the

Sumatran people, those inhabiting Atchin, in the northwest, maintained their independence down to 1873, when the inevitable war with the Dutch broke out which resulted in the subjugation of the province. But the resistance offered was so strenuous that it cost 80,000 lives and £20,000,000 to the Dutch. It was only in 1908 that these people were completely subjugated. Naturally I found in the tense agile musculature and flaring looks of these Sumatran youths, vestiges of the old fire.

Then followed a comic interlude to relieve the tension. My friends explained how the boys were giving us an oral caricature of current politics, through brilliant dialogues in the cultured dialect of Central Java set against the boorish idiom of the unorthodox provinces. I was reminded of a similar *dialectal* duel between the aristocratic Castilians (of Madrid) and the upstart loud-tongued Catalans (of Barcelona) which I had witnessed in a modern Spanish comedy while I was in Madrid. The people of Central Java (Soreakarta-Jokjakarta area), consider themselves as the *Aryas* of Java, enjoying the monopoly of all refinement and artistic tastes, and their superior airs were excellently rendered, to the great joy of the audience.

A MAHABHARATA DANCE

I was convinced that the Javanese were born actors, but I did not realise how great they were in *dance* till I witnessed the representation of the *Brata joeda* (Bharatayuddha) by these amateur dancers of the school. Dancing is as natural to the Javanese as swimming to the swan. I wonder who teaches them the extraordinary expressiveness in rhythmic gestures---dumb yet so much more eloquent than the loud rantings of our

modern theatrical dialogues! The teacher, so far as I could gather, was tradition. So much the more reason for us Indians to enquire how old was that tradition and if it emigrated from India along with those recensions of the great Epics which were taken over to Indonesia by the early Indian colonists.

The episode given to us by the boys was that of the fight between Karna and Ghatotkacha during the fight of Kurukshetra. These boys, who seemed so quiet and docile in ordinary life, were transformed with an epic grandeur, the moment they donned their traditional costumes of the Heroic Age. On the one side, Ghatotkacha, the *non-Aryan* warrior with his wild and uncouth gestures, his violent methods of attack---an incarnation of brute force, on the other side Karna, the Aryan hero, moving with grace and self-confidence, restraining passion, calm and self-possessed, yet quick as lightning, stunning his adversary with one unerring blow---without the least sign of cruelty disfiguring his noble visage---a very picture of chivalry and heroism, standing out of the pages of the Mahabharata. The whole interpretation of our Great Epic through rhythm and dance in accompaniment to the highly suggestive Polynesian orchestra, *Gamelan*, overwhelmed me with their conviction and verisimilitude. I thanked my Javanese brothers, these boy actors who are keeping up the great tradition of the dance-commentary on our Epics. How thankful should we Indians be to our friends of Greater India for this unique contribution to our Mahabharata! Throughout the night---my first night spent in Java---these dance rhythms whirled in my brain and I seemed to live again in the hoary heroic days of the Great Epics.

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

X

AT Vienna Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. and Mrs. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis and myself put up at Hotel Imperial. So far as I was concerned, I felt less comfortable in this hotel than in any other in Europe. Some of my requirements were attended

to rather tardily. The charges, too, were rather high.

I have already said that on the way to Vienna from Prague, Rabindranath felt indisposed. On reaching Vienna it was found that he had fever. Professor Dr.

Wenkebach, the leading physician of the city, was called in. He at once cancelled the Poet's lecturing engagements in Vienna for the time being and strongly advised him not to visit Poland and Russia in his weak state of health. So the visit to Russia was definitely given up. When he was at Berlin an invitation had come from Russia to him and his party, eight persons in all, including myself, to visit and tour in Russia, which was accepted. Passports had been obtained for the purpose from the British Consulate at Prague. As the Poet had to omit Russia from his tour programme, I, too, had to forego the advantage of seeing that most interesting country. I ought to add that, even if the Poet had not fallen ill, my own illness, which followed in the course of a few days, would have prevented me from continuing my travels.

Dr. Wenkebach is not a mere physician. He is a man of wide culture, as his conversation showed. He is a good conversationalist. In fact, he used to spend so much time in talk with the Poet that if one did not know that he was a physician having a most extensive practice, one would take him to be a man who did not know what to do with his abundant leisure. He is verging on seventy but looks younger. He confessed that he had been successful in his profession, but said he would have liked to be a poet, to have the vision of the good, the true and the beautiful. He added that his own desire had been to some extent realised in the person of a son of his who was an artist, a sculptor. "He has prepared a bust of myself," the doctor told us, adding humorously, "Even my wife says it is good!" When the conversation turned on the fame and pecuniary rewards of poets, Rabindranath said: "Poets should not have two rewards for one achievement." I am sorry I do not remember his exact words. But if I am not mistaken, I understood him at the time to mean that a poet's "vision" being in itself a sufficient blessing and reward, he need not feel dissatisfied if he had no fame or pecuniary reward. Similar dicta, though falling from Rabindranath's lips only as casual remarks in the course of ordinary conversation, impressed Dr. Wenkebach very much, leading him to dwell on the Poet's power of saying things of "tremendous significance" in the course of ordinary conversation.

One day Dr. Wenkebach gave the Poet

a comparatively big dose of some strong medicine, and expected that it would weaken him. But to his surprise, he found the next day that, though the medicine had produced its desired effect, it had not weakened him at all. So he thought the Poet's physique to be exceptionally strong. This gladdened us all.

I wanted to consult this eminent medical authority to get cured of my night sweat. He told me not to go to his clinic, as there was a long waiting list of patients there. If my name were put down at the bottom of the list, I might, he said, leave Vienna before my turn came; and if my name were interpolated somewhere near the top, the other people would get angry! So he promised to examine me at the hotel some day. And this he did, and prescribed some pills, though he could not find out the cause of my illness. He asked me many questions, two of which were, "Have you any worries?" and "Are you homesick?"! He said my internal organs were perfectly sound, but advised me to return home early. If I wanted to remain longer in Europe, I should in his opinion, spend the time in the south of France or in some other region where the climate was mild. I said I had friends in Geneva, not in the south of France. So he agreed to my going back to Geneva.

For an aural defect I consulted Dr. Neumann, who is the greatest throat, ear and nose specialist in Vienna. On the first day, when he had done what he had to do for my right ear, he suddenly thrust a lozenge into my mouth! I at first thought, was it part of the treatment? But when immediately afterwards he did the same to Mr. Prasanta Mahalanobis, who had taken me to his clinic, I understood it was perhaps meant to console me for the trouble (!) he had given me! I was amused to learn afterwards from Rabindranath that when he went to the doctor's clinic for treatment, he, too, was consoled (!) like a child in the same manner.

There are in Vienna 38 clinics for ear, nose and throat troubles. We heard this from Dr. Neumann when he came to our hotel to see Rabindranath at his request. When the Poet told him how he had in youth injured his vocal organs by excessive strain, the doctor said he had a class for teaching "voice production" or "logopedy", as he called it; and if Mr. Mahalanobis would go there for a few days, he might learn the method and tell the poet what to

do ;---that would help him to avoid injuring his vocal organs in future. So one morning Mr. Mahalanobis and myself went to Dr. Neumann's clinic, where one of his assistants was treating patients. There was, however, no logopedy class that day. But we found some very interesting cases there. One elderly man of about 50 had to have his vocal organs removed some time ago owing to some disease. Artificial organs were substituted for these, and he was being taught to speak with the help of these organs. He had begun with uttering single syllables, and at the time of our visit was able to utter six syllables at a stretch, and then gasped. His vernacular was German, but he knew English also. He spoke a few words to us in English. Dr. Neumann's assistant told us that in course of time this patient would be able to utter comparatively longer sentences. Another very interesting case was that of a family of five boys all of whom could not pronounce the *r* sound, but made a nasal sound instead. The eldest boy was about 10, the youngest about 2. Their father had this defect, but had got cured before the birth of the eldest boy. So the defect, we were told, was not imitative in origin but hereditary. The doctor made the boys speak through a rubber pipe and got records on pieces of smoked paper wrapped round a revolving cylinder. He would apply the remedy after finding out the cause of the defect. I had some conversation with him on the connection between the *r* and *n* sounds, in the course of which I told him that *l* and *r* were interchangeable in many languages and dialects, as well as *l* and *n*, and that in our Sanskrit alphabets one *n*, the celestial (*murdhanya*), had a sound which was partly akin to *r* through an intermediate hard sound of *ṛ* (ॠ). He was much interested in all this. Of the five brothers the youngest refused to speak through the tube. The doctor took him in his arms and coaxed him, but he refused to be obliging! From the dress of the mother and the five children, it was plain that the family was very poor. But in Austria there is no caste and no "untouchability" of the kind which we have in India, and so it was quite natural for the doctor to be affectionate and kind to a poor infant who had been brought to him for free treatment. Another case was that of a young man who was quite healthy in other respects but who naturally spoke in a high-pitched voice. He was being gradually

cured of this defect. The last case we saw was that of a young woman who also was very healthy but naturally spoke in a husky voice. She also was being gradually cured. I mention these cases to show that in Europe people do not resign themselves to fate but try to find remedies for what we in India consider incurable or irremediable.

It was in Vienna for the first time in Europe that I saw in the streets and public gardens children who were comparatively anaemic and thin, though even they were healthier than the generality of Indian children. In Vienna, too, for the first time in Europe I found beggars in the streets. They all had cylindrical tin boxes with a slot at the top and with a piece of paper attached to the side describing the charitable object for which money was wanted. It is possible that some at least of these men and women were making collections for charitable objects. One collector of small donations for an institution for the blind, a Catholic priest, came to our hotel also. A waiter bore testimony to his bona fides.

Among the countries in Europe through which I passed, Austria seems to have suffered most from the world war. It has been dismembered, and is at present a small state. But signs of its former greatness and magnificence linger in Vienna. In fact, of all the towns I have seen in Europe, Vienna seemed to me the most beautiful, Paris not excepted. Mr. Mahalanobis had seen it before, and so he showed me round. Ring Strasse, the principal public thoroughfare, with its three roads for motor and other vehicular traffic and four footpaths, is magnificent. The two central footpaths are bordered by avenues of trees, and the trees are encircled by beds of flowers. The lamp-posts in Ring Strasse are decorated with flowers growing and blooming high up from the ground in wire (?) baskets attached to them. The palaces of Vienna are now used as museums, art galleries, etc. The grounds of the old Imperial palace, where the Emperor Franz Josef, the last monarch of the Hapsburg line, lived, had always been open to the public even when the emperors lived there. That showed a wise and friendly attitude to the people in this respect. The new palace, adjoining the old one, which was built for the Crown Prince and which was larger, more comfortable and more splendid, was never occupied by any member

of the royal family ; for, before it could be completed, the great world war broke out. I went inside only one of the palaces, the Belvedere. With its terraced gardens, fountains and small artificial lakes, and the large paintings hung on the walls of its numerous rooms and halls, it looks grand even in its present untenanted condition.

The art galleries, I was told, have been denuded of some of the best paintings as the result of Austria's defeat in the war. Still, what remain make them worth a visit. The buildings in which the works of art are housed are very beautiful. Their interior showed of what costly materials they were built. The parliament house has an imposing frontage. I have no mind to describe one by one all the edifices I saw, nor did I see all of them. But I must refer here to the University. It provides for studies in all faculties. Medical education here, I was told, was particularly excellent. I calculated when I was at Vienna that an Indian student could get education there by spending Rs. 120 to Rs. 150 per month. There is only one difficulty, that of language. But German can be learnt in a few months. I have always thought that some of our students should go to the best continental universities. This has now become imperative and a point of honour with us, owing to the outbreak of colourphobia in an almost epidemic form in Edinburgh. During my outward voyage to Europe, a senior I. M. S. officer who was a fellow-traveller on board the *Pilsna*, told me that he was going to Vienna for study in order to specialize in diseases of the ear, nose and throat. I inferred therefrom that Vienna was probably the best centre of education for that kind of specialization. What I saw there in the very large buildings in which the clinics were situated, confirmed my impression. One Sunday morning, Mr. and Mrs. Mahalanobis and myself went out to see some of the best cathedrals. As none of us know German, we had no mind to listen to the divine services ; we wanted only to see the exterior and interior of the buildings, observe how the services were conducted and listen to the music. What we saw was certainly impressive. But we found that in every one of these places of worship, where the worshippers were Roman Catholics, the attendance was very poor.

One evening we four Bengalis in the Imperial Hotel fell to talking of the early days of the anti-partition agitation in Bengal.

It was a fascinating story which Rabindranath told of those days of unparalleled enthusiasm. I was then in Allahabad, and could not therefore take part in the movement before April 1908, when I came back to Bengal. At the time when we were engaged in conversation it did not strike any of us that it was the 30th of *Aswin* and 16th of October, the *Rakhi-bandhan* day, on which our thoughts had accidentally reverted to the first stage of the anti-partition movement ; it struck me some days afterwards.

One day a young man came from Hungary to the hotel to invite the Poet on behalf of the citizens of Budapesth to visit that city and lecture there. Dr. Wenkebach did not allow him to see Rabindranath, but told him himself that the Poet's health was such that nothing definite could be said. In Vienna itself the cancellation of the Poet's first engagement, for which Dr. Wenkebach took the entire responsibility of his own accord, caused keen and widespread disappointment. The Poet was able to lecture there subsequently, and also to visit Budapesth, where, I learnt at Geneva, he received an ovation oriental in its warmth and magnificence. The Hungarians, being of Asiatic extraction, claimed him as their own.

The time came at length for me to return to Geneva. I left Vienna one day at about 7 in the evening and reached Geneva the next day after 9 o'clock at night. Mr. Mahalanobis came to see me off at Vienna station and gave the conductor of the train five shillings from me to give me a cup of cocoa in the train next morning and some mineral water. He did so, but when at Zurich at midday I had to leave the vienna train and board another, he told me that those five shillings were his tip and that I owed him three shillings for the cup of cocoa and one small bottle of mineral water ! I gave him what he wanted, not feeling disposed to haggle with that specimen of humanity.

I have already said that I reached Zurich at midday. Very early in the morning the same day I had seen for the first time in my life snow falling. In the dim light of dawn I saw that the hill-sides were white. When it became clearer, I found that the branches of the pine trees also looked white. It then occurred to me that it might have snowed during the night. But as it was only the latter part of October, I could not be quite sure that it really had. But when the train stopped at a station named St. Anton-am-Alleberg, I

saw snow actually falling on the long black coats of the railway men. Then I had no more doubts. It was through an Alpine region that I had been passing.

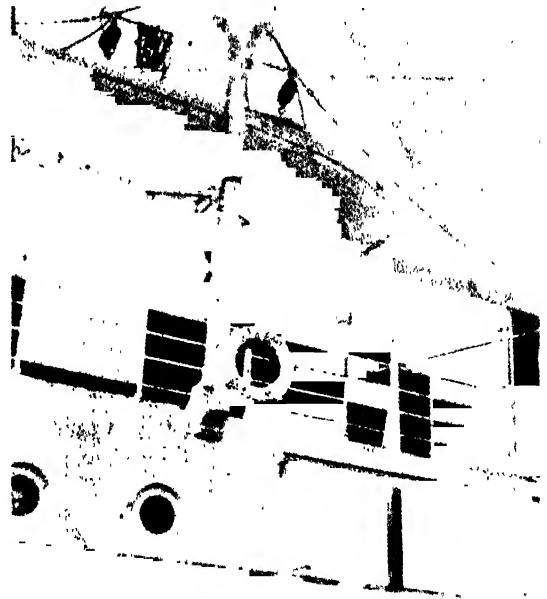
As usual the train from Vienna was artificially heated. When it stopped at Zurich and after half an hour or so started towards its destination, leaving me in a through carriage to be picked up by a train going to Geneva, I remained in that carriage in the midst of the large wind-swept railway yard for more than an hour. Not being connected now with any source of heat, it soon became intensely cold. After spending so many hours in a heated carriage, to remain for more than an hour in such a cold one was not good. When I reached Geneva, it was raining, and my carriage was near that part of the platform over which there was no shed. So in alighting from the carriage and going to my hotel, which was near by, I got wet. This, added to the intense cold at Zurich, was perhaps the reason why I fell ill soon after my arrival at Geneva.

I had influenza with double pneumonia. The hotel where I was, was the same in which I had put up during my first visit to Geneva. During my illness the hotel people were very kind and obliging. My esteemed friends Dr. and Mrs. R. K. Das did all that was necessary for my speedy recovery. They called in a good doctor and engaged a nurse to remain in the hotel throughout the day and night. But the nurse could not have done much for me without the help of Mrs. Das, who, during the entire period of my illness, remained in the hotel day and night with the nurse in a room adjoining mine. This adjacent room was the hotel-proprietor's own room, which Mrs. Das prevailed upon him to vacate. If my daughters had been at Geneva with me, they could not have done more for me than Mrs. Das did. Such was her unremitting care that when she went downstairs the hotel people would ask, "How is your father?" They must have thought that one could do so much only for one's father or some such loved and honoured relative.

Rabindranath Tagore enquired of the hotel proprietor by telegraph from Vienna how I was. Mr. Rathindranath Tagore from Berlin and Mr. Prasanta Mahalanobis from Vienna made similar enquiries and helped me in other ways. I am grateful to them all for their kindness. When I was convalescent, the good doctor advised me to sail home by

the first available steamer. He is a French Swiss, and can speak a little English. When I recovered, he was good enough to say in his own interesting English, "Your heart [he meant the bodily organ] is too young for your age," and also, "You have recovered wonderfully quickly." His fee, considering his knowledge and skill and the cost of living at Geneva, was quite moderate. It was only ten Swiss francs per visit, equivalent to about Rs. 5-8.

I engaged a berth by telegraph in the Messageries Maritimes steamer *Amazonc*,



The Editor on the deck of the *Amazonc*

which was to sail from Marseilles to Colombo on the 5th of November, 1926. As I was then too weak to travel alone by railway, Mr. Satyendra Chandra Guha, who was carrying on researches in plant physiology at Geneva University for a doctorate, was good enough to accompany me to Marseilles. In the train I met Mr. B. C. Sen, I. C. S., who was returning with Mrs. Sen, after travelling in Europe for months, to take up his duties as Commissioner of Orissa. We knew one another by name, though we had never met and conversed before. As they were also going down to Marseilles to sail by another steamer, we had a long conversation in the train on various topics of the day, including last year's riots in Calcutta

and other places in Bengal. As befitted his position, Mr. Sen spoke with reserve. Mrs. Sen, eldest daughter of the late Sir K. G. Gupta, spoke in a way which showed that she had the high spirit of a true daughter of East Bengal.

We arrived at Marseilles after nightfall on the 4th November. As several steamers belonging to different lines were to sail the next day, the hotels were rather full. Mr. Guha telephoned to several from the railway station with no encouraging response. At length we decided to go to Hotel Bristol, of which an omnibus was waiting at the station with a canvasser. Mr. and Mrs. Sen went to a different hotel, where they had engaged rooms by telegraph from Geneva.

Next day I went on board the steamer with Mr. Guha. As I do not know French and only a few employees of the *Amazon* know English, Mr. Guha's knowledge of French was of great use. Just before the ship steamed off from the harbour, Mr. Guha photographed me from the jetty. I had telegraphed from Geneva for a single-berth first-class cabin, but had been given an upper berth in a three-berth cabin. They had given me the upper berth in it in spite of the fact that a lower berth was vacant. However, on speaking to an officer, I was allowed to occupy this lower berth, so long as it remained unoccupied. So throughout the voyage, whenever the vessel neared some port, I was anxious lest some one should come on board to occupy this lower berth. If I had been in my usual state of health, an upper berth would not have much mattered. But as I was weak, it would have been risky to have to get up to and come down from the upper berth many times during 24 hours. This would have been necessary, because, though the cabin was a first-class one, there was not a single chair in it. One could take rest only on the bunk. The other arrangements of the ship, too, were far from being up-to-date. Only a limited quantity of water for washing was given in a bucket. There were no hot and cold water pipes and taps in the cabins. One might ring any number of times without the waiter coming. I rang one day in the afternoon many times for a cup of tea. The waiter came at length and gave me a cup of cold tea, telling me at the same time in French and with his fingers that it was 5 o'clock, and if I wanted tea on any other day I must take it at 4. It was not my habit to take tea or any thing else in

the afternoon. I took it only on that one day, and was served with unusual politeness indeed! The French are said to be very polite. I do not doubt it. But in the ship *Amazon* there was no superfluity of that commodity. The purser, or controller, as they call him, of the ship was entirely wanting in politeness. Nobody seemed in the least anxious for the comfort of the passengers. At least, that was my experience. I must here say that my fellow-passenger in the cabin, a French military officer, was very polite. He knows only one English word, "finish." He told me by gestures, when it was time to go to the dining saloon, when to sleep, etc. As there was no other Indian passenger in the first class, and as a third class Indian passenger named Mr. Balsara was rudely told by the purser on the second day of the voyage not to come to me, I was practically companionless throughout the voyage and I felt lonely and miserable, most probably because of my physical weakness. I constantly prayed for solace and strength and for faith in God's presence with me. On the 16th of November after nightfall, when it was very dark, I seemed to feel His presence.

The only respect in which the arrangements of the *Amazon* appeared to me superior to those of some other lines which I know of was that there was not the least trace of colour distinction in it. The passengers all sat at table for their meals without any distinction of race, creed, complexion or nationality.

There was a Japanese passenger on board whose ways were very amusing. He officiously introduced himself to the French-speaking passengers, who formed the majority, both men and women, and to the few English passengers also, and would hold long conversations with them. But, though on some days he sat next to me on the same bench on the deck for a long time, he did not speak to me. This snobbishness of his and his superior airs were quite amusing. But I also thought, why should people seek to cultivate the acquaintance of an inhabitant of an enslaved country? A funny little Chinese passenger came up to me one day and solemnly assured me that up to 133 years ago India was a dependency of China, and had only since then become a British dependency! He should not of course be

taken as a specimen of the educated Chinese. His pronunciation was such that it was difficult to make out what he said. But perhaps there are people in China whose knowledge of the history of India is like his. At one of the intermediate ports, on the African coast, a Bombay Musalman trader came on board with carpets, &c. I enjoyed a talk with him in Urdu for some minutes. I learnt from him that he had left home 12 years ago and was not inclined to visit India again. "I have neither father nor mother in India," said he. "I have married here, and have had children. There is British rule there, too, in India. Where is happiness to be found on earth?" That was the gist of what he said in Urdu.

At long last, I arrived at Colombo. It was still quite dark when I got up from bed in the small hours of the morning of the 23rd November and saw the rows of lights in Colombo harbour at some distance. At the suggestion of Mr. Mahalanobis, I had written to Mr. Sinnatamby of H. M. Customs at Colombo to kindly meet me on board. He did so as soon as it was possible, for which I thanked him. There was no delay or trouble at the Customs office. I found Mr. Manindrabhushan Gupta, art teacher, Ananda College, waiting for me there. As arranged by him, I was taken to the residence of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu of the Spinning and Weaving Mills. With the utmost cordiality he and Mrs. Basu did everything possible to make me comfortable. I felt quite at home with them, though I had not known even their names before we met. When I left Colombo after three days' stay with them and their two dear little babies, it was with a sad feeling as if I was leaving behind those whom I had known and loved all their lives.

The train from Colombo goes as far as Talai Mannar station. Passengers to India then cross over to Dhanuskodi in a steamer. The customs inspection on this steamer was very vexatious and inquisitorial.

The railway train stood on Dhanuskodi pier full in the sun for a long time. The

place was sandy and very hot. I felt very thirsty. But though I repeatedly asked the men at the restaurant car to give me some lemonade and ice, they simply promised but never brought me any to my carriage. Were it not for the kindness and courtesy of a panda of the Rameswaram temple, who had come to take pilgrims to the temple, I should have had to go without any drink for hours. His name is Motiram. He brought to me an aerated waters man, who served me all along the journey to Madras. Even the first-class carriages in the train to Madras are quite ramshackle; the jolting is terrible. For hours the train passes through a sandy region. So the passengers' dress, bodies, luggage and even their nostrils, throats, lungs and stomach get dusty! One had to pull up the window panes. But then the compartments became very hot in spite of the fans. This was in the last week of November. I do not know how it is like in summer. I have forgotten to say that though I had reserved my berth from Colombo through Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son and paid for a telegram to Dhanuskodi station, which I knew had reached it in time, the railway guard or some such officer was quite indifferent to enquiries as to where my berth was. He said he did not know. The customs inspection on the steamer, conducted by Indian officials, the guard's indifference, the restaurant car men's inattention to my needs—all told me plainly that I had indeed come back to my motherland, an outlander there. It was through the courtesy of a lower railway official that I got a berth. At Madras Mr. Bankim Chandra Ray, Engineer, kindly came to the train with rice, *dal*, vegetable curries, sweets, etc. I felt very grateful to him. I halted for a day at Madras with Mr. H. Bose, who is related to me. He and his family were very kind to me. I reached Calcutta on the 30th November last.

I beg my readers to excuse me for inflicting on them these rambling letters, which contain many trifling details which are probably of no interest to them.

OUR STUDENTS' INTERESTS

THIS is the season when the University examination results are declared in almost all provinces of India, and there is much sighing, wailing and breaking of hearts. A study of the "popular" newspapers on the subject might make even a cynic laugh, were it not for the fact that a tragic element is mingled with the thing. Many students and even guardians, in their ignorance, take the utterances of the daily papers—especially their favourite one, as Gospel truth. The tactics of these academic agitators is curiously alike everywhere: first a massacre of the innocents (this is the hackneyed phrase for the occasion) is recklessly predicted or even asserted dishonestly in defiance of truth after the publication of the results; the entire blame for the failure is thrown upon the University. The questions were too long or too stiff, the examiners were a set of butchers, or the Syndics were heartless outsiders without any interest in the colleges,—these are the favourite allegations. In addition, variety was added to the tale this year by a malicious attack upon Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, the first Indian *teacher-Vice-chancellor* in the history of the Calcutta University, because in this his first year the Matriculation pass percentage fell by 3 (from 57 in 1926 to 54 in 1927), though in the time of his predecessor Sir Ewart Greaves of hallowed memory and the "students' true friend," the Matriculation percentage had been brought down from 71.5 to 57—a drop of 14.5 per cent. *in one year*.

This personal issue was probably designed to blind the Bengal public to the real inwardness of our student problem. That problem is independent of personality and province. It is a question of general all-India concern. Why do our boys fail in examinations in such large numbers?

It must be obvious that our affiliating universities only examine or test candidates who have been taught by quite a different agency, namely, the schools and colleges, not one of which is financed or conducted by the university. The quality of the teaching in these institutions must decisively influence the

result of the examination, unless the examination is to be reduced to a mockery.

And the quality of the teaching depends entirely upon the teachers' pay, social standing and keenness for their work. Nothing can alter this law of Nature, though a University, if it is so ill-advised, can cook the figures that it publishes as "success" in its examinations.

In Bengal, the lot of the High School teachers has been growing worse year by year. They are underpaid, overworked, driven to eke out their scanty salaries (usually Rs. 25 to 35) by sweating as private tutors, and are browbeaten by "Management Committees" or private proprietors of schools. As the result of the fondness of school-managers to appoint only the "lowest bidder" as a teacher, Macaulay's remark about England a century ago has been verified here, and "the only qualification of a schoolmaster is that he is unfit for any other profession." (Speech in the House of Commons).

Even where competent teachers have been secured, they are sometimes irregularly paid or under-paid. Unless the guardians of our boys set themselves to reform this state of things, how can they expect better results? If we sow tares, we cannot reap wheat. The majority of our college lecturers and demonstrators are hardly better off; their pay is better—, slightly better, but their wants are greater, and their status is as low, their tenure as insecure as that of the school-masters.

The evil is aggravated by the vicious practice that has crept into many of our educational institutions of cheapening expenditure and attracting pupils to the utmost, regardless of all other considerations. Class promotions are given and boys sent up for the University examinations without any testing of their fitness. In many places no "test-examination" is held, and in several it is a sham,—every student who can pay his fees is sent up for the examinations. The worst offenders in this matter are some large institutions with unmanageable roll-strength and a very easily manageable conscience. They do not weed out the unfit before sending

up candidates for the university. Nothing can be more harmful to the true interests of our boys than this policy. It keeps the student in a fools' paradise year after year, and leaves his rude awakening, when it is too late, to the axe of the university examiner. It is so convenient: all the anger of the disappointed student or his father is directed against the University, while the mercenary school or college continues to pile up fees from the deluded students as abundantly as before.

If a boy is told his special defect very early in his school course, he can try to improve himself by doing extra work in that subject (or book) and his people can keep a special watch on him by periodically marking his progress. Reform is easy at the initial stage, before the boy's particular defect has been hardened into incurability by years of neglect and ignorance of the defect. But if, on the other hand, he is promoted to a higher class as a matter of course, the opportunity of early reform is lost and the incentive to greater exertion is never kindled. Youth has a wonderful capacity for expansion and self-reform, if only we can make an appeal to it in the proper time and way, and guide its efforts. Our mercenary schools and colleges do their best to kill this capacity, because they keep our boys in the dark about their own merits and demerits and never rouse them to superior exertions on a definite line under the teacher's eyes. Is educational improvement possible, if college exercises are not made a reality?

In scientific subjects, practical work is scamped or even avoided in several institutions. For example, Botany is taught without microscopes! How can boys taught (?) in such money-piling shops pass even the Intermediate Examination in Science?

The worst enemies of our student population are the political leaders who have been shrewdly exploiting the noble patriotism of our young men by turning them by the thousand

into unpaid servants for their personal glorification or ambition. We have noticed that for several months before the Council elections of 1926 and the Municipal elections early in 1927, in every ward of Calcutta the students' brigade was drilled, organised and put under requisition by designing political candidates of one particular party. They canvassed for the "leader", they organised his meetings, they packed every public gathering in order to shout down his rivals, they distributed his pamphlets, they swelled his street processions. Then, on the election day, early in the morning the boys' brigades were let loose on the town,—they took the voters to the poll, they crowded round the polling stations all the day, shouting, fighting for the voters, hurrahing *Jai ! Jai !* and at the close of the voting they led their chief's victorious procession through the streets, making night hideous. When did these blind tools of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians get any time to prepare for their examinations?

The popular literature, cinemas and stage of the day teach that self-indulgence—the gratification of our animal impulses—is the highest expression of manhood and the mark of true freedom. Youth fed on such stuff is incapable of any earnest effort or mental discipline,—the two *sine qua non* of success in student life as recognised in ancient India as well as in the Universities of today. The inevitable result is what we see before our eyes. No jugglery by a University can make it otherwise.

These are the facts known to every observant Indian. Let the guardians of our students know who the real enemies of our boys are, however much they might camouflage their designs under a plethora of words ending in *-ism* and a stage drapery of "below 40 counts" homespun. The disease that is eating into the vitals of our youth is there. Dare we apply the remedy—or even propose it?

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Indians and European Women

Madame Agnes Smedley tells us in the course of an article on "Indians in Europe," contributed to *Welfare* :—

Many Indians returned from Europe (I do not mean just England) after years of study here, as

well as many who have not even seen Europe, seem to have one idea which they continually perpetrate upon the Indian people through their letters to the press and through articles and private speech. It is that "all European women are immoral." Some add to this the statement that "European women are butterflies". And I know of one Indian woman who paid a flying visit

to Europe with her husband, who met rigidly moral, professional women, but who returned to India and wrote the same old story—"European women are immoral". Then I once met a Muslim missionary who, after a month in Germany, said to me, "All European women are prostitutes."

She records other similar false slanders of European women in general, and observes:—

I can think of a number of Indians who have studied in Europe who have known other than "women of loose characters." There is a group connected with the National Muslim University of Delhi. There are men from Madras and from the State of Hyderabad. There are some from Bengal. They have come into the same city and same environment as other Indians—but they seem to have chosen different kinds of women as their friends, than did so many others who poison the Indian public with their accumulated "wisdom" from Europe.

If loose men come to Europe looking for "loose women," they will find them. If there were but one in all Europe, they would find her. But that is no reflection upon Europe, and none upon the woman—it is a reflection upon the man to whom this is the goal of seeking.

Bertrand Russell on China

In reviewing a new edition of Bertrand Russell's book on "The Problem of China", Rev. Dr. N. Macnicol writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:—

Mr. Russell believes, he tells us, 'that all politics are inspired by a grinning devil. It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that the politics of Great Britain, of America, and of Japan in China come under his unqualified condemnation. America, having more than any other nation taken China under her tutelage, comes especially—not so much on account of her crimes as on account of her virtues—under his lash. His point of view in regard to China *vis-a-vis* the Western or Westernised peoples may be indicated by what he says of America's attitude, 'The Chinese have a civilisation and a national temperament in many ways superior to those of white men. A few Europeans ultimately discover this, but Americans never do. They remain always missionaries—not of Christianity, though they often think that is what they are preaching, but of Americanism. What is Americanism? "Clean living, clean thinking and pop," I think an American would reply. If the American influence prevailed, it would no doubt, by means of hygiene, save the lives of many Chinamen, but would at the same time make them not worth saving. It cannot therefore be regarded as wholly and absolutely satisfactory' (p. 221).

These are unjust words. It may be added—for America's comfort—that Mr. Russell gives 'pre-eminence in evil-doing' to Great Britain. The interest of the passage quoted is in the suggestion that it gives us that Western lands are in grave danger of being messengers—even in the case of the Christian missionary—of a very diluted Christianity, a religion that may be more the product, of our own inherited dispositions and

instincts and prejudices than of the mind of Christ. This is what in Mr. Russell's book gives one to think, and the book is worth reading by us all if it does so. Can we give India and China Christ without giving these lands those wrappings of 'civilisation' within which the West has through the centuries enwrapped His message?

Sankara and the Purification of Temples

Mr. T. L. Vaswani says in *The Kalpaka*:—

Of Sri Sankara I thought this morning, and I said with a heart-ache:—"(O) that Sankara were reincarnated in these days to save Hinduism and make it a lifting power in our national life,—make it world-dynamic."

For, Hinduism lies wounded today in the house of its own priests. Many of the Hindu temples in Sind alas! have fallen in the hands of drunkards and debauchees. Who will turn them out and bring back the Lord? Who will release the *mandirs* from the Dark Powers and bring back the White Ones? The little town of Old Sukkur, where I write these words, has set a noble example by starting a movement for the Reform of Mandirs. The watchword of the movement is:—"*Purify the Temples!*" Today Old Sukkur is engaged in a holy struggle to rescue a temple from the hands of a *bawa* who has usurped it in defiance of the Panchayat's decision and public opinion. Old Sukkur is fighting a noble fight for public morality and Hindu Dharma.

Mahatma Gandhi on Sister Nivedita

Commenting on the passage in *Young India* where Sister Nivedita is spoken of as a "volatile person" and "the splendour that surrounded her" is referred to, the *Vedanta Kesari* observes—

The above remarks give a very false idea of the illustrious Sister, and do great wrong to her memory. We do not question the sincerity with which Mahatma Gandhi gives expression to his thoughts. But for the sake of Truth we must point out that he has got an altogether wrong impression of the great soul that lived and died for the cause of India. Mahatma Gandhi saw very little of the real Sister Nivedita. And it is no wonder that insufficient knowledge, that is always "dangerous," would create a great misunderstanding.

Mahatma Gandhi evidently saw the Sister at the American Consulate in Chowringhee, where she was temporarily staying as the guest of some of her American friends who came to visit India about the time he met her. Neither the mansion nor the splendour with which he was taken aback were Nivedita's. Her usual "mansion" was a small, old house in a lane in a humble quarter of Northern Calcutta, where, to quote the words of an English friend, she "preferred an ascetic life to the comforts and luxuries of her Western home." And the "splendour" that, used to surround her usually at the small girls' school con-

ducted by her came as a surprise to many of her visitors. Thus describes one of her lady students in a short sketch on the Sister—"The school house is far from being healthy or well-ventilated. The rooms are small and the roof very low. During the summer (when the school remains closed) the rooms get so hot that half an hour's stay there will make the head ache...There was no fan hung in Nivedita's room. She always used to have a hand-fan about her. The small compartment allotted to her, she decorated according to her own tastes. Most of the day, she used to stay in that room buried in her work."

At the express wish of her Master, Swami Vivekananda, Nivedita dedicated herself to the cause of the school. She used to spend some time in teaching the girls. But the major portion of her time had to be devoted to literary work undertaken for maintaining the school. Sometimes she had to pass through great economic difficulties. On all such occasions the first thing she used to do was to cut short her very limited personal expenses. She would deny herself even the bare necessities of life. And as the result of this hardship she often suffered greatly in health. To those who knew and could appreciate the story of her self-imposed and life-long penance, Nivedita, the Brahmacharini, was the very personification of steadfastness and one-pointed devotion. To call her a "volatile" person is not only to misunderstand her but also to dishonour her blessed memory. We do not know who is really responsible for this unhappy expression. But whoever he may be, Mahatma Gandhi's experiment with Truth in the case of the illustrious Sister has not been a success. It would have been a complete failure had he not been able, in spite of his disagreement with her, to "notice and admire her overflowing love for Hinduism."

It is unfortunate that Mahatma Gandhi did not find any meeting point in his conversation with Sister Nivedita. But the idea that there could be no point of contact between them is preposterous. The Sister was a many-sided genius. She was a great spiritual idealist, a passionate votary of her adopted motherland, a vehement champion of Indian culture, a writer of rare literary abilities, an enthusiastic interpreter of Indian life and art, a most forceful leader of the national movement, a humble worker for the cause of Indian manhood, all in one. And many of the greatest sons of India found points of agreement with her, and could be counted as her life-long friends.

But like the greatest men and women of the world, she had her own ways of making friends. A complex personality that she was, she combined a hero's will with the spotless purity, kindly heart and self-sacrificing love of a perfect Brahmacharini. Even in the midst of her sweetness and tenderness, there was something in her character that might be termed militant. And rarely could one be included among her friends without facing an encounter with her. No wonder that after being the object of her sudden onslaught, some felt a sort of disagreement with her. In the words of one of her friends,—Mr. A. J. F. Blair, "Friendship with Nivedita was not a slow growth. It sprang to maturity at the first meeting, or not at all, and I do not know that any one was ever privileged to know the depths of her womanly kindness without first being subjected to that moral test."

But to one once admitted to her friendship she would open her heart and give herself without any reserve. Often after an apparent disagreement, there would come a great understanding, and one could feel that "no kinder-hearted woman ever breathed." It was not given to all, as has been the case with Mahatma Gandhi, to fully discover "the inexhaustible mine of gold" that Sister Nivedita really was. Why it was so seems to be beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals.

Nepal Government Railways

We read in *Indian and Eastern Engineer* :-

The Nepal Government Railways have just appointed as their Chief Mechanical Engineer Mr. H. St. John Sanderson, who holds the same post for the whole of Messrs. Martin & Co's Light Railways. Mr. Sanderson has just completed various appointments of railway staff for the Nepal Government and leaves India for Home by the Anchor Brocklebank S.S. "Elysia" from Bombay on June 5th.

It would have been better if the Nepal Government had been able to employ an entirely Indian staff for its railways. Perhaps Nepali young men are in training for all posts.

Hindu Pantheism

The editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* observes :

Prof. Radhakrishnan's defence of what is generally understood as Hindu pantheism is very fine. He is quite right in saying that the "Hindu thought takes care to emphasise the transcendent character of the Supreme. It bears the world but is by no means lost in it." "Hindu thought admits that the immanence of God is a fact admitting of various degrees. While there is nothing which is not lit by God, God is more fully revealed in the organic than in the inorganic, etc." We think there is another aspect of the question. Even if we do not admit differences in Divine revelation in various things, ethical endeavour does not become impossible. The Hindu outlook that everything is divine is the greatest incentive to moral perfection. For the Hindu does not forget that a thing as it appears is not Divine, but that behind its name and form there abides the perfect Brahman, and that by transcending the limitations of *his own-self*, he gains the light of wisdom to perceive Brahman. This view makes man constantly struggle to break the bonds of ignorance and desire that bind him to the lower vision and to rise every moment to the height of superior spiritual perception. It is not necessary to recognise *degrees* in the Divine manifestation in things.

State versus Company Management of Railways

We read in Mr. S. C. Ghose's article on the above subject in *The Calcutta Review*:-

It may be useful to mention here that in the contract of the newly formed company, which has taken over the German State Railways and is managing them as commercial concerns, the following clause appears :—

"The rights of supervision and control of the operation and tariffs of the Railways reserved to the Government by the present law shall never be so exercised by the Government as to prevent the Company earning a net revenue adequate to secure the regular payment of interest and sinking fund on the bonds and the preference shares."

A railway or railways of a country are the arteries of trade and industries, and the flow of traffic through them should be even and continuous, and this can only be done if the management is efficient and the rates and fares are reasonable. Interference and control of Legislature over Railways of a country are essential so long as they are in public interests, and do not tie the hands of the managers too tightly, whether the railways are company-owned or state-owned. But when the railways are state-owned the Legislature in a democratic country is naturally responsible both for efficiency in management and for their finances; and they are again required to see that the safety of the public and the charges to the public are fair and reasonable. If these can be attained by state railways, which are already there, it is well and good, but if company ownership, of a purely Indian character, can at any time develop and purchase the Indian State Railways and give efficient service and cheap rates and fares it would be still better because it would make the Indian people more enterprising and self-reliant, so long as such companies do not ask for any subsidy from the Government either in the shape of free gift of land or a guarantee of minimum dividend.

The Olympic Games

The Volunteer writes :—

THE OLYMPIC GAMES:—Next year in July the Olympic games will be held in Amsterdam. Fifty-five nations of the world are to take part in these international trials of progress in physical culture, games, athletics and sports. Germany is making great preparations to make a success at the games. The German Government has sanctioned £ 7,000 this year and £ 15,000 will be received next year. She is trying to put in a large number of candidates—340—as against about 250 to 300 from Great Britain. This is the first time after the War that Germany enters the field. The Stadium at Amsterdam which has already cost £ 40,000 will be completed by January 1928. Separate Hockey and foot-ball grounds and a splendid Cycle Track are also nearing completion.

In 1932 the Olympic games are to be held at Los Angeles, California, in the United States of America. One million Dollars already have been spent for the building of the stadium. The American Representative to the International Olympic Conference has offered to provide a ship to carry competitors from Europe to the place of the Games.

AFRICAN GAMES:—Africa is also taking up organised physical culture in a remarkable manner.

African Games are to be held in 1929 in Alexandria for the first time. King Fuad who is at the head of the scheme has subscribed £ 3,000 and the City of Alexandria £ 10,000. If this first attempt succeeds the African Games will soon come to the level of the Olympic Games.

How much money the India Government, we wonder, is spending for such purposes or for the matter of that even for physical culture in the country itself?

"Gospel Ethics"

Mr. Mahesh Chandra Ghosh writes in the *Vedic Magazine* :—

Here and there we find good moral precepts in the Gospels. But the general level of Biblical morality is very low. Morality is valued not for its intrinsic worth but for what is supposed to be its commercial success. Gospel morality is an affair of rewards and punishments.

He illustrates this remark by quoting passages from the Gospels, and observes :—

Thus we see that 'reward' occupies a prominent place in the Gospel morality.

Avoidance of punishment is, according to Jesus a correlative spring of action. We are to do good or not to do evil, for otherwise we shall be punished.

He gives examples in support of his remark, and says :—

It is useless multiplying examples. The whole of the Bible is permeated by this idea of reward and punishment. What is called *Dharma* in Indian Philosophy is also a religion of reward and punishment; but it is meant only for those who are on a lower level and have no higher ideal. *Dharma* leads to heaven but not to *Moksha* (salvation). Those who have risen to a higher level have condemned it in unequivocal terms. In the Mahabharata we find the following verse :—

Dharma-vanijyako hino jaghanyo dharmayavadinam.
Na dharmaphalamapnoti yo dharmam dogdhumicchat.

"Among the professors of virtue, the vilest and most despicable is he who is a *virtue-merchant*. Results of virtue will never accrue to him who wishes to milk the '*virtue-cow*'. Vana-Parva XXXI. 5.

He quotes other similar sayings from the Hindu scriptures, and concludes :

Biblical morality is purely mercantile; it is a System of Barter—an '*Art of trafficking*' (empriske techne. Euthyphro. 14), to borrow the fine phrase of Plato, who uses it to condemn the religion of 'give and take.' This sort of morality has, however, merits of its own. All men are not on the same level of spirituality and the highest form of morality will never satisfy those who are on a lower level or have been trained to remain so. These men will appreciate the precepts of Jesus.

Nature and Men in Kashmir

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins writes in *Stridharma* :

It is a strange thing that in this land, where Nature wears her loveliest robes embroidered with the most lavish flowers, foliage and fruit, under her ermine cape—her snow-clad mountain range—with her jewels of sparkling waters and ruby sunsets and diamond-headed lotus leaves and the vivid blue enamel of her skies and their reflections in her many waters, yet the dress of the human being is nowhere in India so ugly. Dull greys and browns and dirty whites are the colours of which unwieldy, wide circumferenced, knee-long kurtas are made, and worn alike by men and women. The sleeves are very wide and turned up at the end like those of kimono's, but there is not a line of beauty in the costume. I found the excuse for its ugly, ungraceful width in the fact that during the many cold months they carry under this garment a small wicker basket in which there is an earthenware bowl filled with smouldering charcoal. In such wise do they keep themselves warm! Occasionally one sees a brilliant coloured turban on a man, but a discoloured cloth covers the head of the woman back from the forehead as a kind of shawl. A large amount of very skillful *lilagree* work in silver is worn as jewellery. If only the women dressed more beautifully their handsome features would show to great advantage, but the men think that their beauty then would be too much of a temptation to other men, so a dirty appearance is a sign of modesty and chastity, and a clean, rosy complexion is, in this land, amongst the uneducated people at any rate, a sign of vanity and looseness of character. Of course, the educated women are entirely different and have more sensible ideas. It is from a similar idea that the Japanese married woman makes herself hideous by blackening her teeth and the Tibetan wife by putting disfiguring black smears under her eyes and on her forehead, and women in India were veiled. It is a strange struggle between beauty and man's jealous sense of possession of it!

Flies

We learn from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :—

Flies literally swarm in some houses, covering every article of food by day and blackening the walls by night. In other homes comparatively few are found, for the tidy housekeeper takes every precaution to keep them out. She is especially careful not to leave food of any kind standing around uncovered and drives the flies out of doors at least once every day.

Flies are not only an annoyance to the occupants of a house, but they are filthy creatures. They come directly from the filth of decaying animal and vegetable matter, and without taking the pains to wipe their feet, settle upon or in our food and drink, or upon our hands, faces and clothing, depositing everywhere their filthy fly specks and the germs of disease. Their feet being covered with fine short, sticky hairs, are especially well

adapted for collecting and carrying filth and disease germs.

Recent investigations have established without a doubt the fact that flies carry many germs of typhoid fever, tuberculosis, cholera infantum, dysentery, and probably many other diseases.

It has been estimated that every fly carries about with him most of the time, in or upon his body, about a quarter of a million bacilli, and scatters these wherever he goes. The germs are not only carried on the feet, legs, and other portions of the body, but they occur also in large numbers in the fly specks which are so freely deposited by flies. As many as five thousand tubercular germs have been found in a single fly speck.

Flies should be kept out of houses, and from all places where foods are prepared, sold, or served. This can be done by tightly screening all doors and windows, and by driving out or killing the few that may gain entrance when the screen doors are opened. Bakeries especially should be kept free from flies, and all foods exposed for sale should be properly screened. Great care must be exercised to protect the baby and its food and the nipple of its nursing bottle from infection by flies. Do not buy foods of any kind that are to be eaten without thorough cooking if they are being run over by flies, for in so doing one is running too great a risk.

Flies may be killed by means of sticky fly paper, fly traps, and various liquid poisons. Of the latter probably the best is a solution of formalin water, which may be prepared by adding a teaspoonful of the 40 per-cent solution of formaldehyde to one-half glass of water. This liquid should be exposed in saucers or plates where the flies will have free access to it, but must be placed beyond reach of children, as it is poisonous. A fly poison not dangerous to human life may be prepared by dissolving one dram of potassium bichromate in two ounces of water, and adding a little sugar. This should be distributed about the house in shallow dishes. Flies may be stupified by burning pyrethrum powder in the room and may then be swept up and burned.

To prevent the breeding of flies, all accumulation of decomposing animal or vegetable matter, especially stable manure, should be removed from the premises daily, or at least two or three times a week. If this cannot be done the manure or other decomposing substances should be sprinkled with chloride of lime or a solution of sulphate of iron, two pounds to one gallon of water.

Outside privy vaults should be made flyproof. This would necessitate only a slight expense, but the benefit to be derived from such a course would be very great. Garbage cans should be frequently cleaned and sprinkled with lime or a solution of formaldehyde or other disinfectant, and should be kept tightly covered.

"The Soul of Education"

Mr. Bernard Houghton opines in *Current Thought* :—

The bureaucratic schools turn out a docile serf; India's schools will aim at brave and intelligent men and women. The ideal of the

bureaucracy is the well-drilled soldier ; the ideal of India should be the citizen of Greece. The one education crushes, represses, the other inspires the mind and thrills the soul. Difficulties there will surely be at the commencement. We do not expect miracles. Many teachers who have grown up to manhood and womanhood under a despotic government will fail to grasp the new spirit, the new angle of vision. Many will cling to authoritative methods and think in chains.

But the changed mental atmosphere of India will achieve much. Everywhere there will be a sense of freedom, of buoyancy, as of prisoners long held behind walls who taste the free air and see again the green spaces of the open country. Everywhere patriotic men and women will be seeking fresh outlets for their energies and adopting new ideas. Swaraj is no mere reform of political machinery ; it means the renaissance of India. It touches the imagination which reforms leave cold. In such an atmosphere men and women, shaking off the fetters they have worn so long, realise themselves ; they achieve wonders. We may be sure that teachers, too, will look out on the world of education with very different eyes to those with which under the bureaucracy they now see it.

In education, as in government, it is policy which counts. The spirit with which a government or a department is worked affects all from the highest to the lowest. Proclaim military ideals as now, and from university to village, dogma and discipline raise their ugly heads. Set up the standard of freedom and of fellowship, and everywhere men walk an inch taller and with a bolder step. This new spirit in education the inspectors will bring home to every teacher, they will explain the new methods and hearten on the beginners. Progress may be a little slow at first, but then the teachers will labour not to find favour in the eyes of a foreign master but to build up a new India, for the greatness and glory of their own dear Motherland.

Indian Architecture

The third instalment of the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguly's notes on Indian Architecture, published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, concludes thus :—

A pessimist as a philosopher, a Hindu is not so as an artist. As an artist he spiritualises matter and thus embodies architectural idealism in different forms which never oppress the imagination by its solid reality.

The architecture of the ancient Hindus is pervaded by a spirit of earnestness and self-sacrifice, the temple being as it were an offering, a gift to the deity, the Islam enshrined in the sanctum and as such we notice a profusion of decoration condemned by Fergusson as "over-decorated ugliness," a remark exemplifying the deadening effect of the idealisation of the principle of utility, for architecture is not construction, the beaver's art, but is according to Ruskin, "the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised

by man, for whatsoever use, that the sight of these may contribute to his mental health, power and pleasure."

The structures of the present-day illustrate a violation of this fundamental canon of architecture by allowing the constructive element to override the aesthetic side, indicating the nemesis of the decorative principle forming a vital part of ancient and mediæval Indian Architecture.

However, hampered by tradition or fettered by conventionality ancient Indian Architecture may be, we find evident and clear indications stamping it with originality, vigour and genius. Ours of the present day appears as one badly imitated, unsuited to the climate and the traditions of the past.

"Do Justice to Inferior Servants"

We read in the *General Letter* issued by the Bombay Presidency Postal and R. M. S. Association :

One often wonders what the Postal administration thinks about the status of Inferior Servants of the Department. The inferior servant is not entitled to any kind of leave with pay. At the most he is paid the difference between the pay earned by him and the wages paid to his substitute. Then in the matter of pension, the situation is still more grotesque. The pension of Rs. 4 was settled in the old by-gone days when the Runner was paid Rs. 6 and the other inferior servant scarcely anything more than Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 at the most. Between those old times and now, there is a difference of 300% in the cost of living. The minimum pay of a Runner is Rs. 14 and the Post Office inferior servant gets an average of Rs. 16 in the lowest scale. In Cities like Bombay, the lowest monthly wages is Rs. 28-8-0 where a pension of Rs. 6 is simply ridiculous. But even this pension cannot be had after 30 years of service ; the man must complete the the age of 60. Thus a man who enters service say at the age of 15 must work for full 45 years before he can earn a grand pension of Rs. 6 a month. Perhaps the Department considers an Inferior servant as no better than a day labourer. The Department forgets that the lowest of the inferior servants requires a greater intelligence, a greater precision and far greater honesty and character to withstand temptation such as is placed before him every minute of his life in the Post Office. The conditions in the Post Office are peculiarly hard and exacting and require a far greater consideration at the hands of the Department than has been yet given to these unfortunate servants.

Suspicion of Japan

Mr. St. Nihal Singh writes in *The Indian Review* :

Japan is both hated and feared by nations of the West with possessions in the East. She is

hated because, by managing to keep herself out of the foreign clutches and making herself self-sufficing in arts and crafts, she has raised the pulse of all the dependent people of the Orient and placed before them patterns upon which they can model their national life. She is feared because she is credited with the ambition of dominating Asia to a degree even greater than that to which it is now dominated by Occidentals.

In the view of most Americans in the Philippines, every Japanese in the Archipelago is a spy. They will tell the stranger in confidence that when the day comes for Japan to strike, every member of the Japanese colony will perform his or her appointed task in aiding the Nipponese landing parties to add to the Sunrise Empire these islands of great potential wealth which they have been coveting for years.

The Filipino leaders do not share such suspicions. They say that the Japanese scare has been raised for the express purpose of cheating them out of their birth-right. In 1916 the United States Congress pledged itself solemnly to withdraw its "sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable Government can be established therein." The only condition laid down has long since been fulfilled. Since, however, the men at the helm of the American nation are in no mood to honour that pledge because they are reluctant to forego the opportunities of exploiting themselves the rich and varied economic resources of the Islands, his excuse has been manufactured.

In the Dutch East Indies the Japanese are subject to the same suspicion.

The British in the East do not give tongue to their suspicions of the Japanese so freely as do the Americans and Hollanders, but they, as a race, are not outspoken, and, moreover, until recently they were in alliance with the Japanese and considerations of decency doubtless exercise a restraining influence. Had they been without misgivings and fears, however, the scheme for the establishment of the Naval base at Singapore would never have been conceived.

In all places where the West dominates the East, Japan is, indeed, being charged with cherishing secret designs to oust Europe and America, and to substitute herself in their place.

The B. I. S. N. Company's Treatment of Deck Passengers

The Indian, a monthly published under the auspices of the Indian Association of Singapore, observes:

When the poet of the "Inferno" wrote about the people in the seventh circle of Hell, he had no idea that in the future there would be no necessity to go to a theological hell when worse things were possible in this world itself. The condition of the Deck passengers on board the ships of the B. I. S. N. Company is so gruesome that one wonders why people who could put an end to such tortures are quite apathetic about it.

We have heard and we have seen ourselves what is being done to the coolies from South India on board the company's ships.

What we are concerned with is the harsh treatment meted out to them in the ships during the passage. They are all packed together like tinned sardines as the Company sees to it that as many passengers are carried as the deck can hold. An awning is put above them which in monsoon weather, when there are squalls and heavy rains fails to afford them any protection. Most of them are drenched whenever there are heavy rains. In Western countries people treat their animals more decently.

First there are the ticket examiners. They have a peculiar way of examining tickets whenever the idea enters their heads and before starting, all the coolies who have been let into the ship are asked to get out and then come back into the ship after showing their tickets to the tin gods of the Company. In the process, they are kicked and abused if they rush together at the entrance, which they have to do if they are to get a decent place on the deck. But this is only the beginning of their trials. "The checking of tickets cannot be done too often" seems to be the slogan of the ship's officers and the insults to which the poor coolies are subjected every time the tickets are checked, would call for prosecution for "grievous hurt" at least in any other country.

Then there are some people who are entrusted with feeding these labourers. First come first served is not the only condition which the coolies have to understand. Those who go first are given food and what is called sauce, which latter, as time goes on, gets more and more diluted with water, and the result is there is a rush of the coolies when the food is served. They carry in their hands leaves which they hold in their hands into which handfuls of rice are thrown and sauce poured with a dexterity and quickness and soullessness which reminds one of feeding time at the zoo. There is a scramble to get the sauce while it is as yet undiluted with the attendant kicks from the immortals who look upon the labourers as so much cattle and treat them with a callousness that one cannot see matched anywhere else in God's earth.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome

Mr. D. Ananda Rao says in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

One might ask what practical influence this Institute exerts on the States which are represented in it. It is possible that through this Institute the recommendations and desires of the agricultural world could be put into practical effect. It can summon on its own initiative conferences to consider matters of moment and which would even tend to modify existing national legislation. For example, in 1914 it summoned an International Phytopathological Conference, in 1920 the Conference on Locust Control and in 1926 the World Forestry Congress and the meeting of experts on Chemical Fertilisers. Again, just at the time of the visit of the writer, arrangements were in progress for holding an International Congress on Olive growing. To us in India such congresses

and conferences are of immense value as it would mean that we would be benefited by enquiry into agricultural questions of international importance. Opportunity may be taken by qualified Indians to attend such congresses as delegates. With an Indian representative on the spot, it would be possible to institute enquiry into social and economic conditions of the farming classes and also on the condition of important crops and livestock of the country. That the whole of Great Britain and its colonies and dependencies are represented by one delegate means that India is practically lost sight of. It goes without saying that in order to achieve any benefit from an Institute of this nature, India must have her own representative, and at India's expense. He must be one who will justify the trust imposed on him, capable to plead India's cause at all times, and one who is young enough to return to India for future work having been profited and mellowed by the opportunities he had in discussing with people of international reputation and thus raise the status of that one community which forms seventy-five per cent of her people.

Widows at Brindaban

We read in *The Widows' Cause*:

Miss Hellen Ingram writes from Delhi:—

"Can't you do anything through your paper to stop widows coming to pilgrimage places like Brindaban? I have seen them there and their condition is terrible."

This is what a sympathetic heart feels for humanity, for the womankind and for our own sisters and daughters. This is where every heart feels pinched and where that cannot but express itself, this is where the Hindu mentality is revealed in its worst, where it denies human sympathies and the very existence of God. It is here that the savageness of the middle ages is still traceable in our present civilised age. It is here that the march of centuries stands unaffected. And it is here that we have to kneel down and thrust our heads between our knees in all shame, humility and helplessness.

And for all that Bengal in particular is responsible.

Government's Treatment of Mail Runners

'Blue Bird' writes in *Labour*:

"The mail-runners are conspicuous among men for their unfailing regularity and utter trustworthiness. Even in districts which boast of good roads and the inevitable motor-bus, the latter may not be used for mail transport for motors break down runners never do."

"The salary of a mail runner averages from twelve to fifteen rupees a month. Runners are especially liable to heart disease and lung troubles; it is not often that a man is fit for work after fifteen years of it."

"There are many growls against the Post Office which certainly does fail us with a frequency that is irritating. But it is never the runners that let us down. Every one in India owes a

debt of gratitude to them; and we touch our hat to them in passing, perhaps the most faithful, loyal hand of workers this present age knows."

The above are excerpts from an article, "The Indian Mail Runner" by traveller, which appeared in a recent issue of 'The Times of India Illustrated Weekly'. The praise and eulogy is well-merited and is by no means fulsome or exaggerated. I have seen the runner at work, in fair weather and foul, in biting cold and sweltering heat, on hills and in the plains and on the water-ways of Eastern Bengal and can and do bear testimony to his regularity and loyalty. The decision, therefore of Government not, for the present to improve the pay and conditions of service of the runner is most disappointing not only to the runner, but to all who realize and appreciate his faithfulness and loyalty, for the runner is unquestionably deserving his pay totally inadequate and by no means commensurate with the work he is called upon to perform.

Tuberculosis among School Children

The D. A. V. College Union Magazine has a useful article on the above subject by Rai Bahadur Captain Maharaj Krishan Kapur M.D., D. PH. There he tells us in part:

An Indian child in his own family is under none or very little restraint.

He has also full liberty to run about and play about in the streets and in open air. His admission into a school more particularly in a Boarding School, involves such a sudden change in his habits and environments, that the unstable frame of a growing child, is very easily affected, unless sufficient care and precautions are exercised by those who have the charge of the little ones. No undue pressure should be inflicted, and the child should be gradually and smoothly weaned from his old habits, and brought to adjust himself slowly to the new conditions of restraint and discipline. Even monkeys and certain other wild animals have been noticed to develop consumption, when admitted in zoological gardens, unless very scrupulous care is taken to protect them from the evil results of the sudden change of the conditions of their life.

This then is the first duty of the schoolmasters the neglect of which, in several cases (in the past at least) has driven young children into the clutches of Tuberculosis. Little children must be dealt with much more sympathy and kindness and the proverbial school-masterly rigour must take the place of paternal kindness very very slowly. Do not for God's sake overdo in your zeal for the immediate correction of a child's bad habits, that have grown with him, but try to bring him round very gently and softly.

Defective school buildings and over-crowding in the class rooms are a great menace.

In open air schools classes are held in verandhas or open sheds or in the school park or gardens. To protect the children from severe cold or intense heat, class rooms can be built cheaply, with inexpensive arrangements to flood them with fresh air from outside in abundance, so as to keep the air within almost as clean and fresh, as the

atmosphere outside. The health and growth of children always improves wonderfully in these conditions. Even children predisposed and inclined towards Tuberculosis or otherwise deficient benefit enormously in the open air schools.

An Analysis of Indian States

Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya says in the *Karantaka* :—

In spite of the so-called sanctity of sannads and treaties, the number of States has been varying from year to year. Their exact number in any particular year has to be ascertained from the corrected list for that year. *The Imperial Gazetteer*. Vol. IV of 1907, gives the total number of 693; but the list for 1925 contains only 562 States. The grouping and classification also are different in the two years. The smaller figure of 1925 is due chiefly to the reduction of States in three Provinces—from 148 to 89 in Central India Agency, from 52 to nil in Burma and from 26 to 1 in Assam. Drastic changes apparently are not unknown to the Political Department of the Government of India.

As many as 454 States have an area of less than 1,000 sq. miles that 452 states have less than 100,000 population and that 374 States have a revenue of less than Rs. 1 lakh. British India, with an area of 10,94,000 sq. miles and a population of nearly 222 millions, is divided into 273 districts. The average area of a British Indian district is therefore 4,000 sq. miles and its average population about 8,00,000. If the suggestion were made that each district in British India should be constituted into a State, how ridiculous would it be considered? Yet it is only some thirty, among the 562 States, that possess the area, population and resources of an average British Indian District. Some of the States are so absurdly small that no one can help pitying them for the unfortunate dignity imposed upon them. As many as 15 States territories which in no case reach a square mile! Fourteen States exist in Surat District, not one of which, according to the list of 1925, realized a revenue of more than Rs. 3,000 in the previous financial year. Three of these States could not boast of a population of 100 souls and five of them a revenue of Rs. 100. The smallest revenue mentioned is Rs. 20—for the year. let it be remembered—and the smallest population 32 souls. What earthly purpose is served by magnifying these petty landlords into Chiefs and Thakores and by talking of them in the same breath as of the Nizam or the Maharaja of Mysore? From the analysis given above, only some fifteen States appear to possess the necessary area, population and resources to be able to function efficiently as States according to modern conceptions. What should happen to the rest is a big question. The large majority would certainly have to be removed from the list. Others may be formed into groups, so that each group may be considered a State for certain purposes. But anyhow, the question has to be thoroughly gone into; and only a Royal Commission will command the confidence of the various parties concerned.

Rural Ireland and Rural India

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri observes in *Rural India* :—

That Ireland and India are alike in many respects is one of the commonplaces of historical as well as contemporary experience. But in no respect do they resemble each other more than in the fact that both, Ireland and India live in the village. In both, the village economy broke down under the storm and stress of modern competition. They differ however in this respect, namely that Ireland has achieved rural reconstruction while India is talking about it.

Ireland suffered from loss of Industries, rack-renting, extreme sub-division of holdings, religious feuds, social disunion, poverty, emigration, economic depression, low standards of life, unsatisfactory education, artistic sterility and other evils which have been familiar also in India. But very early the finest spirit of the land made strenuous and continuous efforts to combat the poverty of the people and to put a new spirit into them.

Creameries, agricultural societies, credit societies, poultry societies, flax societies, etc., were successfully started and worked.

The co-operative principle was applied also to the home industries such as hand-knitting, lace-making, embroidery, carpet-making, etc. Co-operative stores were started in numerous places. Industrial co-operation also was begun.

The result was that wealth increased in the land. Even more than this, practical ideals of communal action and communal welfare permeated even the lowest and poorest classes. The sense of responsibility was developed. The following passage has a direct lesson to India: "Through the co-operative movement has come a growing social consciousness and a recognition of the common interests of people living in the same neighbourhood. Concerning itself with matters in which all have a common interest it has proved that the factors of dissension so prevalent in Ireland need not prevent the development of a real community life. Race, religion, politics have so dominated the minds of Irishmen that the possibility of uniting in any direction for any purpose has seemed to them very remote. The granting of Home Rule, many said, would merely raise other issues. The Irishman would never be happy unless he was disagreeing with some one. And, indeed, the danger to the co-operative movement from these causes was very serious. Meetings were often held in an atmosphere of considerable tension... Nevertheless the dangers were averted in a remarkable fashion. Only one case is recorded where a society was wrecked by sectarianism. To-day no lesson is more firmly fixed in the minds of co-operators than that neither race, nor religion, nor politics interferes with a man's co-operative capacities... And where men unite to run a creamery or an agricultural store without allowing their differences and other questions to interfere, they cannot long continue to feel bitterly toward each other in the streets outside. *The dividing facts of life are being relegated to their true position by the realization of community of interest in the economic sphere.*"

Importance of Cattle-breeding and Dairying

According to an article on the importance of the cattle-breeding and dairying industry in India, contributed by Mr. W. Smith to the *Journal of Animal Husbandry and Dairying in India* :—

It is certain that nothing can take the place of the draught bullock in Indian cultivation. Horses, mules, donkeys, tractors, camels and buffaloes have all been tried and found wanting. Now to produce a working bullock we must have a cow, and as our cow must rear her calf she must give milk; consequently, the cattle problem is a dairy problem, and it is, agriculturally speaking, a universal problem. The productivity of the soil depends upon the efficiency of cultivation, and this depends upon the quality of the plough bullock.

In many parts of India the introduction of cultivation and the adoption of more modern implements has been retarded owing to the in-

efficiency of the work bullocks. The cattle question is more important than the growing of any single crop; it affects the growing of all crops and is as important as cultivation itself. Then the cattle-dairy problem is important because nearly all primary transport in India, that is the transport of produce from the field to the railhead, is dependent upon bullock efficiency.

Again the general health and physical well-being of the whole of the people of India is affected by the milk and *ghi* (clarified butter) supply which comes from the cow. If modern teaching regarding the vitamin content of foods has taught us anything, it is that no vegetable fats can take the place of animal fats as food for children and young persons, as the vegetable oils do not contain the essential growth-producing vitamin. The great majority of Indians do not consume animal fat in any form but milk fats; and without a plentiful, pure and cheap milk supply the people of India cannot attain to the highest degree of health and physical development.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Indian Legislative Assembly a Debating Club

A German Socialist, named Franz Josef Furtwangler, spent some time in India, and contributed his impressions to the Berlin *Vorwärts*. Here are some of his impressions of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi:

Members receive twenty rupees, or approximately seven and one-half dollars, for every day's attendance, besides traveling expenses from their place of residence to Delhi and return. Although they meet in what is reputed to be the biggest Parliament House in the world they are one of the smallest legislative bodies in existence, and they probably have less authority than any other. 'Legislative Assembly' is a very nice term, but it does not accurately describe the parliament of a country where the Viceroy can legislate by simple decree. Nevertheless, this body has influential members—white jute kings and cotton kings, and others like them.

Altogether this debating society—to characterize it accurately—consists of one hundred and forty people, including government officials and government appointees. Fifteen of the latter are supposed to represent different vocational and business groups. Only one of them, a gentleman named Joshi, has been appointed to speak for labor. Since a man must have an income of two thousand rupees to vote, the workers can naturally elect no representatives of their own. Several Englishmen, elected under the property qualification, also sit in the body. Victor Sassoon, the head of the cotton industry, who is reputed to be a millionaire, is their leader. Only a little more than one half of the members are elected native

delegates. These fall into three groups, which are differentiated from each other by a very simple method. In a free country with a really representative parliament, industry, trade, banking, agriculture, labor, and various religious and cultural movements would all be likely to have their delegates. Nothing of the sort exists here, however. Really there is only one Party, which is divided into three strata, 'according to the degree of anti-British feeling,' as Joshi put it.

This German writer was present during the debate on the motion for the repeal of the Bengal Ordinance. Regarding the Home Secretary's speech in reply, he records :—

He was loudly applauded by the white members when he sat down. An English acquaintance of mine in the gallery, however, said he had never in his life heard a weaker defense of a government measure. Possibly so. I too felt that the gentleman who had just resumed his seat, wiping his brow with his handkerchief, would have felt it incumbent upon him to make out a better case had he been speaking in the House of Commons. Here, however, where the Assembly members have no real authority, he was not put on his mettle.

A German's Socialist's Impressions of Bengal

The same writer gives his impressions of Bengal partly thus :—

The people themselves were more interesting than their architecture and their street life. Calcutta

and in fact the whole province of Bengal, with its forty-seven million inhabitants, differ from the rest of India. Above all, they have practically no pariahs, or untouchables. This is of great political importance. In Southern and Central India the untouchables number many millions, and create a problem that must be solved before decisive steps can be taken toward greater political autonomy. The Bengalese, on the other hand, have a free hand to agitate for national and social independence. They are often called the French of India, and undoubtedly are quicker intellectually and more imaginative and emotional than any other people of the Peninsula. They have a keen sense of humor and irony, and what we designate by that untranslatable word 'esprit.'

A Bengalese peasant lives on a couple of acres of land, cultivated like a garden, from which he somehow manages to squeeze a meagre living. The soil is very fertile, and the rainfall abundant, so that famine is practically unknown. In order to keep the cultivators from waxing fat and slothful, however, the Government and the *zamindar*, or native landlord, are careful to relieve them of their surplus crops.

In the city the Bengalese is usually a merchant or a clerk in a bank or a trading house. When he engages in manual labor it is generally in the skilled trades. Resident Englishmen tell me that a Bengalese machinist or electrician is quite as competent as a white mechanic in the same calling. Calcutta's hundred thousand or more underskilled and underpaid textile operatives, especially in the jute mills, are mostly immigrants from other provinces, driven to the city by crop failures and overpopulation. Calcutta also has more lawyers than any other place in India. These are the gentlemen who keep the political pot boiling. In no other part of the country are the common people so well informed upon questions of the day. Nowhere else was I able to talk intelligently with a clerk or a hotel porter about Briand, Chamberlain, and Stresemann. The English naturally consider the Bengalese trouble-makers, because they are politically the most self-assertive of the natives.

Calcutta's secret police is one of the busiest organizations of the kind in the world. What Metternich called demagogues are here called agitators, and 'Red Bengal' is a term on every lip. Dozens of able and honorable politicians are languishing in confinement, where some of these have been held for several years. They are imprisoned under an ordinance issued by the Viceroy, after Parliament had rejected it, authorizing the Government to put political undesirables in jail for a term not exceeding six months. After the six months is up, these gentlemen are notified that they still have another term coming to them. The most prominent among the prisoners is Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, who was arrested in October 1924 and interned at Mandalay. We should call him in Europe a Radical-Liberal rather than a Terrorist or a Communist.

Some Truths About the Singapore Base 'and Jamshedpur'

George Bronson Rea is responsible for

the following views expressed in the *Far Eastern Review* of Shanghai:—

India is to have a navy. Winding up its sessions in London on November 23, the Imperial Conference passed resolutions approving the development of the Singapore Base in order to facilitate the free movements of the Empire fleets and congratulated the Government of India on its decision to build a navy. The Conference applauded the Premier's speech on inter-imperial relations, which, among other things denied to India a Dominion status. British India and the congeries of quasi-independent native states will remain vassals of the Federation of British Dominions, subordinate to six mistresses, instead of one. It is well to remember, however that India sits and votes in the League of Nations as a sovereign state, free to exercise its independence in minor world problems, but subject to the dictation of its overlords where vital British and Imperial policies are concerned. The Indian navy, manned by lascars and officered by British experts, adds just so many more warships to the quota assigned to Great Britain under the Washington treaty.

Singapore will become the masterbase of one major and two minor navies: independent in peace, but united in war. The British, Australian, Indian, and perhaps New Zealand, fighting fleet, operating from the Gibraltar of the East, and munitioned from the great Indian steel works at Jamshedpur, will, in time, dominate the Pacific and Indian Oceans. All arguments advanced to justify the ten million pounds expenditure for the construction of the Singapore Base indicate that the hypothetical enemy is Japan. Ponder over this. Immediately after Japan was relegated to the status of a second-rate naval Power by the Arms Limitation Conference, the trusted ally of Great Britain became a menace to the Empire whose security for twenty years had been guaranteed by its navy. For two decades, the Japanese fleets in Asiatic waters under the watchful supervision of British expert advisers, enabled Great Britain to concentrate her naval strength in the North Sea. When war became unavoidable, the Grand Fleet with all its first-line fighting units was mobilized in home waters, ready for the conflict. During the war the Japanese navy patrolled the Mediterranean and the All-Red-Route to India, Australia, and China. Dominions, and Indian armies, and supplies for the fronts in Flanders, Gallipoli, Saloniki, Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, passed in safety over the sea-lanes guarded by the warships of the Rising Sun. Yet the ink had hardly dried on the Washington treaties when the faithful and tried ally of Great Britain was transformed into an imaginary enemy against whom it became urgently necessary to construct the most powerful naval base in Asia!

The Philippines stand as a buffer between Japan and the British possessions in India, Malay, and the Pacific; a guaranty that so long as they remain under American protection their neutrality must be respected. Independence without the power to preserve neutrality is a perilous position. Should the United States withdraw her guaranty by conceding independence to the Filipinos, the strategic situation in the Pacific would at once become loaded with dynamite, far more dangerous to world peace than the squabbles of Europe. The

Philippines are the keys to world empire. If possession of these keys ever passes out of the hands of the United States, they will be taken over and retained by some other Power who will know how to use them for its own profit.

The future of the Philippines is uncertain. Great Britain cannot afford to take chances. Neither can Japan contemplate with unconcern any further extension of European influence in Far Eastern waters. Within easy steaming distance of Mindanao and the Sulu Group—or any one of the thousand Philippine islands suitable as submarine bases—lies the Rubber Empire of the world a source of unlimited wealth upon which Great Britain is now drawing and will continue to draw to pay her debts to the United States. Eliminating the bogey of an Asiatic menace to Australia or India, these immensely rich possessions must be adequately protected against any possible contingency.

For propaganda purposes it suits Britain's book to encourage the belief that Singapore is aimed at Japan. Common sense will tell us, however, that as long as the war debt remains a subject of recurrent controversy Singapore is just as logically aimed at the country which might covet and profit by seizing her Rubber Empire. On the other hand, the uncertainty of American permanence in the Philippines forces Great Britain to prepare against the contingency of Filipino independence. Singapore automatically supersedes Gibraltar as the key to her Asiatic and Pacific empires.

Add to the British naval quota the present and future Australian tonnage, every ship placed in commission by the Indian Government, throw in the fortifications at Singapore, the huge Jamshedpur Steel Works—the key of British Imperial defense in Asia,—and Americans will begin to realize that if Japan is not to be eliminated as a first-class Power and her influence in Asia undermined her Government must make every sacrifice to maintain in a high state of preparedness and efficiency the full naval quota assigned to her under the Washington treaties.

By dint of subsidies, the Indian Government is developing the greatest steel works in Asia. If this subsidy be withdrawn, the Indian Army Board will operate and maintain its own steel plant from its own funds. Protected by the subsidy, the Indian iron and steel makers have captured the Japanese pig-iron market, compelling the Japanese manufacturer to contribute to the cost of creating a military weapon designed in part for their undoing. By the time the Singapore Base is completed, the Jamshedpur Steel Works will be placed on a permanent and profitable working basis. An Indian navy will be in the process of development outside the restrictions of the Washington treaties, and patrolling the waters between Singapore and Suez.

A Black Man's Protest

The speech of Lamine Singhor, Negro Delegete from Central Africa at the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held at Brussels last February, has appeared in *L'Indépendance Belge* of Brussels. Extracts from it are given below.

Permit me to dwell a moment, by way of introduction, upon the word 'colonization.' What does it mean? It means usurping the right of a nation to direct its own destinies. Any nation that is deprived of that right is, in the strict meaning of the word, a colony. I will quote to you some passages from a report made by a former colonial administrator of France and published in several newspapers of that country. It relates to typical colonial abuses.

I accuse M. Hutin, who was at that time a colonel and is now a general and a commander of the Legion of Honor for having ordered the looting of the trading station at Molenga and of having shared the loot.' A list of stolen articles follows—cases of jam for his personal use, pictures, a shotgun, a Browning, high-priced cloth, and so on. The author of the report continues: 'I accuse the Assistant Chief of the post at Bania of having brought before him a chief of the Gana tribe, who refused to tell him where certain Mauser rifles, captured by his men from the German deserters, were hidden. He first caused the chief's hand to be crushed in an iron copying press. He then had him flogged with lashes containing bits of steel, and, after honey had been rubbed upon his wounds exposed him in the sun to be stung by bees.'

Who is there that does not shudder with horror at the thought that Frenchmen in the twentieth century still commit atrocities that would shame the worst barbarism of the Middle Ages?

It is true that you can no longer sell a Negro to a white man or a Chinaman, or even to another Negro. But it is a familiar sight to see one imperialist Power sell a whole Negro nation to another imperialist Power. What did France actually do with the Congo in 1912? She simply turned a great territory there over to Germany. Did she ask the people of the country if they wanted to belong to the Germans? Some French politicians write in their press that their West Indian Negroes are beginning to demand too many privileges, and that it would be better to sell them to America and get something out of them. It is a lie that slavery has been abolished. It has only been modernized.

You saw during the war how every Negro who could be caught was put into the army, to be taken away and killed. So many were forced to serve that the French governors in Africa began to protest, fearing that the natives would rebel. But since cannon fodder must be had at any cost, France found a tractable Negro, heaped honors upon him, called him 'Commissioner-General representing the French Republic in Africa', gave him an escort of French officers and of Negroes decked out in gorgeous uniforms, and sent him back to his native land. There he was received with the most exalted honors. French administrators and colonial governors greeted him, bands of music welcomed him, soldiers presented arms to him. So this Negro managed to get eighty thousand more men to add to the half-million already fighting in France.

Ah, you Chinaman among my auditors here, I embrace you as comrades. You are setting a grand example of revolt for all the oppressed colonial peoples. I only hope that they will catch the inspiration from you.

French imperialists, I say, have sent Negro troops to Indo-China to shoot down the natives of that country in case they rebel against French

oppression. They tell these troops that they are of a different race from the people whom they are ordered to kill, in case the latter venture to revolt against their so-called 'Mother Country.' Comrades the Negro race has slept too long. But beware : they who have slept long and soundly, when they once awoken, will not fall asleep again.

Now let us see how this 'Mother Country' rewards the services of the black soldiers who have been wounded in her defense, the men who have been crippled by the bullets of pretended enemies and can no longer labor to support themselves. They are treated very differently from the French wounded who fought shoulder to shoulder with them on the battlefield, and in defense, as we are told, of the same 'Mother Country'. I will cite to you only two examples. Here is a wounded French soldier, graded with ninety-per-cent disability--that is, in the second class. He has one child. The French Government grants him a pension of 6888 francs a year. Here, on the other hand, is a Negro soldier of the same class, married, the father of one child, wounded in the same way, wounded in the same army, also graded with ninety-per-cent disability. He receives 620 francs. Then take a war cripple with one-hundred-per-cent disability. That is to say, he cannot move himself; he must be carried wherever he goes. If he is a white Frenchman he receives 15,390 francs a year; if he is a Negro he gets only 1800 francs.

When we are needed to be slaughtered or to perform heavy labor, we are Frenchmen. But when it comes to giving us our right, we are no longer Frenchmen--we are Negroes.

American Boys Taller than their Grandsires

Writing in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago), Dr. Horace Gray of Chicago says that two inches in half a century is the rate at which the average stature of American-born boys of American-born parents has been increasing.

"Increases in the stature of children (average height for age), as shown in some recent series of observations, may be due to taller ancestry or to more comfortable economic class. But between two homogeneous groups an increase may also be due to other causes: measurement in the morning rather than the afternoon; measurement in a month of the year when seasonal growth is more rapid; accident (random sampling); progress in control of various infantile diseases that retard growth; knowledge of vitamins, sunlight, and rachitis, with consequent better nurture. This paper, however, is concerned not with the cause, but with the phenomenon."

Indianisation of the Army

Lieutenant-General Sir George MacMunn writes in *The Asiatic Review* :—

The admission of Indian officers to the same positions of command as British officers is admitted-

ly a difficult problem, and it is not too much to say that the difficulties of the situation have induced us, in a somewhat Anglo-Saxon spirit, to shelve the question for many years. In the Indian Civil, Medical, Forestry, and Engineering Services Indians have been admitted on the same terms as Europeans, and in certain phases of this work they have shown a brilliant aptitude. In the Army, however, though the martial classes are in many ways more readily agreeable to the British military officer than any others, we have never been able to give them any share in the higher positions. Has this been from a want of understanding, or have there been other causes? I venture to think that to a certain extent we must accept the blame, because we have not tried, until lately, to face the difficulties which surrounded the matter.

✓ Rabindranath on the Chinese Expedition

The following views of Rabindranath Tagore on the Chinese expedition has appeared in *Unity* of Chicago :—

I have always felt very keenly on the subject of China and have never failed to express my condemnation of the policy that is being pursued there. The present expedition of the English against China is a crime against humanity, and to our utter shame India is being used as a pawn in the game.

The perpetrators of this tyranny that is doing havoc in China always keep themselves behind, while the Indians, who are being used as tools in carrying out their nefarious designs, have to come in direct contact with the Chinese people. The result is that all their resentment and hatred are directed against the Indians, so much so that they call us demons. It is not an unfamiliar sight in China to see the Indian policeman pulling the Chinese by the hair and kicking him down for no apparent reasons. What wonder is there that we should be characterized by that title! It was Indian soldiers who had helped England to wrest Hong Kong from China, and many a scar of their dealing disfigures the fair breast of our neighbour, the China who once treasured within her heart the foot-prints of Buddha, the China of I-Tsing and Huen-Tsang.

This is the tragedy of the present helpless plight of India. Enslaved as we are to our utter shame, we are being used as instruments for forging fetters for other people. In a crusade against justice, freedom and morality where the English are the aggressors, India is being dragged into the field against her own will. It is a loathsome insult to our manhood, and to add to this the columny and condemnation which should justly go over to our masters wholly fall to our share.

And what has India to gain by allowing such a huge waste of money and man-power? By fighting for a cause which is so disreputable, her sons cannot claim to be recognized as heroes, nor does it help her in the least to shake off the yoke of foreign domination that sits heavy upon her. That is why India is regarded by other Asiatic Powers as a menace to their freedom. The vast resources at her disposal are the very ground

of their apprehension and so long as the disposal of these resources lies beyond her own control, they will be always looking upon her with an eye of suspicion and sneer.

The result is that India is fast losing that respect which was only hers as the greatest spiritual ambassador in Asia. It is she who has for ages supplied the spiritual nourishment to China and other Asiatic countries and sent out emissaries to preach the gospel of love and unity. But in the hour of China's peril, the fallen people of India now go there as the harbinger of political repression: the age-long affinity that tradition has built up at once crumble down to pieces. Can anything be more deplorable?

We are being repeatedly reminded by the British statesmen that England is fighting on the defensive in China. But who gave the offence, may I ask? Who attempted to thrust opium down the throat of the whole population of China at the point of the bayonet and penalized their noncompliance by taking possession of their country? Why was Hong Kong wrested away from the Chinese people by force? It was China's weakness that made her submit at that time, and if a powerful China now demands the restoration of what was once her own, surely a long possession by force cannot be urged by the English as a justification for retaining an ill-gotten property. It was the English who took up the original offensive, and they should not now take shelter under the false cry of a defensive campaign. It is China that is really on the defensive.

Let the English indulge in the free exercise of their arbitrary will within India, but let them not compel us to participate in the colossal crime against humanity in China. Let them desist from the unholy exploitation of the helplessness of a people in order to rob other peoples of their heritage. Let lose your engine of "law and order" to work with unabated vigour, but for God's sake leave us alone to drink the cup of our humiliation within the four corners of this land and not make an exhibition of it before the world.

War clouds hover to-day over the sky of humanity. The cry resounds in the West; and Asia doth prepare weapons in her armouries of which the target is to be the heart of Europe: and nests are being built on the shores of the Pacific for the ravening vulture-ships of England. True, Japan of the farthest East is already awake. China in her turn is being roused at the sound of robbers breaking through her walls. It may be that this gigantic nation will be able to shake off the weakness of repeated blood-letting and of the fumes of opium, and become self-conscious. And of course, those who have been engaged in rifling her pockets will be bound to look on this as a menace to Europe.

✓ British Use of Indian Soldiers in China

Rabindranath has voiced India's condemnation of the Chinese expedition and of Britain's use of Indian soldiers in China in his own matchless way. *The Modern World*

of Baltimore, U. S. A., for May has given extracts from some Indian journals on the same subject the first being from this REVIEW, with the following prefatory words:—

Since there is no subject, at the moment, on which skepticism is better justified than the willing acceptance by the people of India of British use of Indian soldiers in China. We give the following very illuminating comments from the Indian press.

The American paper observes in conclusion:—

Britain's use of Indian troops by *force majeure* is merely a part of the accustomed technique of imperialism. The belief by the outside world that India willingly submits to this condition is, however, an error which should not be allowed to prevail.

"Coerce or Convince"

We read in the same journal:—

In his recent address to the Indian Legislative Assembly the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, said:

"Those anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce parliament or convince it. Parliament will not be coerced."

As several papers in India have noted, Lord Irwin does not appear quite to understand the history of British institutions and of the British Empire.

There is little evidence in the past to indicate that British rule, domestic or imperial, has, at any time, been convinced without coercion. Even the suffragists gained their point by methods of coercion. There have been, indeed, political writers who have exalted this fact in English constitutional development declaring that, every right the individual now enjoys having been won by force or the show of force, it has more validity than the rights given to the citizens of such democracies as France and the United States.

Lord Irwin does less than justice to his nation. Always it has given way only when coerced and never has a wider range of coercion encircled it! It is coerced today by the moral strength of Gandhi. It is coerced by the astuteness and diplomacy of Soviet Russia. It is coerced by the Kuomintang armies. It is coerced by the economic boycott increasingly applied to it. It is coerced by American financial supremacy.

Even in the country houses Englishmen are slowly being convinced that the day for their predatory activities is beginning to pass. Despite Lord Irwin coercion and coercion alone is bringing this conviction.

Abolition of Slavery in Nepal Not due to League of Nations' Influence

Fiji Samachar for March has reproduced an article from *Anti-slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, January, 1927, which briefly narrates the history of that measure.

As we have pointed out more than once, the League of Nations had nothing whatever to do with it, directly or indirectly, though Sir William Vincent gave the League credit for it. *Anti-slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* writes :—

We have received an interesting note from the Nepal Anti-Slavery Office, briefly reviewing the work of the Maharaja. It appears from this that for a century the ultimate abolition of slavery has been in the minds of the Administration of Nepal and "some sort of legislation" has been passed from time to time, but it remained "to all intents and purposes a dead letter" as a result of the deep-rooted character of the institution and the proslavery sympathies of the population. The present Maharaja determined to carry the matter further. While fully aware of the difficulties, he has deeply impressed with the abuses and excesses inseparable from the institution of slavery. As a beginning, in order to ascertain full particulars of the slave population, he instituted a census in 1911 and again in 1921, and a general register was formed, which became the basis of the work of the subsequent emancipation. The laws on the subject of slavery were carefully collected, sifted and arranged, and then His Highness determined to appeal to the people and made his great speech of November 1924, at the same time announcing that he himself would make a gift of 14 lakhs of rupees to meet the requisite compensation money, and would provide more if necessary. This courageous policy met with an encouraging response, and by an overwhelming majority the slave-owners declared in favour of total abolition.

Changing Values in India

R. F. Maccune writes in *Vox-Studentium* of Geneva :—

The number of University students cannot be very much more than 100,000. The influence of the *litterati*, however, is very great.

If there is one factor that affects the development of the Indian people to-day more than another, that factor is Poverty—not a low standard of comfort, but want of food and clothing. Hundreds of men come out of the Universities every year only to add to the number of the unemployed. The last days of the average Indian student's university career are shadowed by the fear, not of economic insecurity, but of *virtual* starvation in the immediate future. Some people who have been in India might consider this an overstatement. They have seen Indian students of just one "set"; and they do not know.

If the present-day student in India has any religious cult at all it is, broadly speaking, the cult of "social regeneration." His estimate of the values of life is in fact changing. He has, for instance learned to grasp the real worth of human personality. Whatever his practice as a member of a community he does not *think* much of caste. He often calls it "an accident of birth". The days of "untouchability" are numbered in India now—and the present university student will be responsible for its extinction in no small measure.

Again the subconscious but effective feeling which has somehow lurked in the Indian mind that "woman cannot be trusted, that her nature is deceitful" affects but little the university student of to-day. The men recognise her as a being endowed with moral discernment even as they are.

Indian Students in Europe

According to P. R. Bharucha, writing in *The Indus* :—

Japanese and Chinese students speaking to equip themselves to grapple with the problems of their respective countries are found generally spread all over Europe, not necessarily confining their studies at any one single place, but wandering from university to university training themselves under the most competent teachers, whether in England, France, Germany, Denmark or elsewhere. And recently, the Government of Afghanistan has encouraged its students to do the same. There is no good reason why Indian students should not follow this method, instead of flocking almost exclusively to Oxford, Cambridge, London, or Edinburgh. Hitherto very few of us have ventured to try French or German universities.

Surely the young Indian trying to learn all about the co-operative movement at the London School of Economics, or Forestry at Oxford is an unconscious humorist ! It does not seem to occur to him that for the first, he ought to go to Denmark and for the second he ought to go to France or Germany !

The writer says he is not concerned with those who go to England to qualify for good jobs.

We address ourselves to the young Indians who come out here as seekers, as learners. Their first care is, we presume, to make the best use of their time and opportunities here ; if they go home well-equipped, they will find enough to do to occupy their whole lives ; they can create jobs for themselves. We ought to study the methods of the Japanese student who comes to Europe not to collect degrees and diplomas, but to sit and learn at the feet of the great European *gurus*, and like a true scholar wanders from one place of learning to another, seeing and tasting of the best that Europe has to give. Not that we have any quarrel with degrees and diplomas as such ; but let them be treated as mere incidentals.

Our present object is to draw the attention of our students to the fact that all the great Continental universities afford fine opportunities for study and research, and to urge them to take the fullest advantage of these opportunities for specialized studies, and to the endeavour that is being made to establish an international university centre at Montpellier in the South of France.

Justice for Kenya Indian

We read in the London *Indian* :—
British Settlers demand supreme control of

Kenya Council. They are only ten thousand in all while there are forty thousand Indians and Asiatics, and about three million Africans. Still they demand an absolute majority over all other groups. This will mean total degradation of Indians resident in Kenya. See what Mr. Churchill says about Indian achievement in Kenya:—

The Indian was here long before the first British official. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and in land *as the white settlers can count years of residence*. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?

It is the Tory Government that is breaking faith with the Indians, and shall we apply the description of Churchill to their action?

In 1923 we were promised that there would be no segregation of Indians in township and residential areas. But this year 21 plots in the town of Mombasa are to be sold to Europeans only, the Indians not being allowed to buy. That is the way this Government is keeping its promises.

See Dr. Norman Leys' book on Kenya for what the Indian has done for the African population. The Indian is prepared to stand comparison with any other nationality for the uplift work that is being carried out. Yet under the name of civilization he is being unjustly dealt with.

A deputation has come from Kenya to London to place the matter before the Colonial Secretary, but he refuses to see them and asks them to see the Governor, with whom the matter has been discussed several times without any effect.

Kenya was called by Sir John Kirk as "India's America," meaning that it was an Indian colony in every respect. Indian laws were introduced in the country and Indian currency was ruling till 1922, when the new dangerous doctrine of European "vested interests being paramount" was first mooted. Since then the treatment of Indians has been that of squeezing them out of the colony and capturing it for British capitalists for exploiting the African.

India looks to British labour to help them to retain their hard-won achievements of centuries.

For Indians Desiring American Education

We read in *The Hindustance Student* (500, Riverside Drive, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.) :—

For detailed information about American educational institutions, consult the Secretaries of following organizations: American Academies Club, Jehangir Wadia Bldg., 1st Floor, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay; The American Club, 121 Esplanade Road, Calcutta; The Indian Students Union, 221 Gower Street, W. C. I. London, England; Association des Hindous de Paris, 17 Rue de Sommerard, Paris, V France; Verein der Inder in Zentral Europa E. V., Knesbeck-Str., 8-9, Berlin, Germany. Also consult American Express Company's offices. Copies of the booklet "Education in the United States of America" are available for reference in above places.

"Raison D'etre of Tagore Society" in Japan

Countess Metaxa, promoter of the Tagore Society in Japan, writes thus in part in *The Young East of Tokyo* :—

The society of the Friends of Tagore is being formed by us in answer to his appeal to the Far Eastern peoples in which he said that closer union of thought is necessary for the nations which have started their civilisation from a common source. A highly developed system of philosophy religion and knowledge of nature more extant, more transcendental than science of mere material facts, has been transmitted in common to the sages of several nations of the Far East from remotest antiquity. The conditions and circumstances of each of these nations were different, therefore the characters of their culture varied, but the foundation was one. Now China, India, Corea and Japan are like branches of the same tree, but the trunk which bears them is one. During centuries these nations have been infrequent intercourse and have kept their civilisation alive and thriving.

Our Society differs widely from the Pan-Asiatic one, because we do not study the ideals of the West Asiatic group of nations, as being utterly different from the East Asiatic one. Besides our aim is quite opposite, for politics are banished from our Society. Politics change, being based on personal or party interest, and nothing is so shallow as politics.

Therefore, our Society leaves out politics and concerns itself with the ideal and moral standard of the East Asiatic peoples. For this purpose it is vital to concentrate once more on that ancient wisdom which has been the pith and marrow of their life, and then, after having consolidated that acquirement as a national treasure, receive from the West what is congenial to their own nature, not blindly imitating, but appreciating, criticising, choosing freely, and rejecting what might make them weak and false to themselves.

Now the moment has come for the Eastern nations that partook in the past of the same civilisation to join together in order to strengthen the intellectual and moral tenets which were their common bond, so as to meet foreign influx in a clear independent broad spirit with a friendly heart, for only the strong can be really friendly. Now the man has come whom we can take for our model. Tagore the great Master of the East and to-day the greatest poet of the world. A Westerner said to me: "In future they will speak of Tagore as of Homer and study Bengali as we study Greek to read him in the original." True. Generally while great men are alive few persons understand their real value. Later, from a distance, humanity sees better. Let us not commit this error, let us appreciate him and follow his sunny figure while he is still with us. Tagore is an idealist but at the same time a positive and practical mind who has asserted himself by the creation of such useful institutions as his agricultural schools, farms and gardens at Santiniketan, his University at Bolpur. Standing on the solid basis of truth revealed to his ancient fatherland, he receives all that is just and good

in the foreign countries not losing his Hindu originality, and opening before his steps the hearts of European peoples. The union of East and West is possible, but it must be a union on equal level in the independent spirit of Tagore. Tagore is no dreamer. His feeling of eternal truth is based on transcendental reality. His love of life pervades his being with the sense of the Divine, and pours itself down on all the phenomena of earthly existence. In nature, in exterior things, he sees the link of the living Universe and this fills his soul with an ever renewed joy. I don't know one author in whose work the word "joy" comes again and again so often. All ancient Eastern philosophy is resumed in Tagore's short philosophical work, *Sadhana*, therefore our society will specially promote the study of this book.

To finish this exposition let me say once more that our aim lies in drawing nearer to each other in a bond of brotherly love, to safeguard what is beautiful in ancient culture and to walk into a larger future under the guidance of that great, radiant, loving genius, our Oriental teacher and poet Tagore.

Journalism in Italy

According to *The Inquirer* of London :—

The practice of journalism in Italy requires that the journalist must be of the "right" political faith. The National Fascist Syndicate of Journalists has issued an official *communiqué* which definitely excludes from the ranks of journalism more than 100 journalists, some of whom have had, under the old regime, very great influence on Italian political life. The Fascist syndicates will not allow any of them to resume in any possible way the exercise of the journalistic profession. Other journalists whose allegiance to the Fascist regime is doubtful will not be permitted to write articles requiring "any political responsibility."

Have Animals Souls ? French Academy so Decides"

Grace Knoche writes in *The Theosophical Path* :—

Thus the headlines of an Associated Press despatch from Paris, anent the recent affirmative vote of the French Academy on this question, at a meeting of thirteen members.

The official report of this meeting is not before us, but several press-despatches are. From these it appears that the question came up rather unexpectedly in the course of the Academy's classic (and never finished) task of revising the French dictionary. *Memoire* became the crucial word, its consideration eliciting the remark from Minister of Justice Barthou that (as translated in the despatches) "human beings alone possess memory (*Memoire*)", therefore the word itself applies to the human race alone."

Among those present were Marshals Joffre and Foch. Both protested against the statement because of personal experiences with various animal during the war, and cited instances in proof. Another

member, M. Henri Robert, the noted criminal lawyer, provoked further discussion by remarking that "while he had met many soulless men, he had never yet appeared for a soulless animal!" The discussion finally reached so amicable and dignified a conclusion that M. Regnier, the Academy's permanent secretary, called for a vote upon the question: "Do animals have memory (*Memoire*) and incidentally, souls?" The thirteen Immortals, voting 8 to 5 decided affirmatively.

Sickness Insurance and Health

Professor G. Loriga, Chief Inspector of Labour, Rome, concludes his article on the place of sickness insurance in the national health system in *International Labour Review* thus :—

The object of benefits in kind as applied to accident insurance differs considerably from that which they have in relation to sickness and invalidity insurance. In the former case, the principal task to be fulfilled is one of preservation and reconstruction, which ceases with the individual: in the latter, the therapeutic function is associated with that of prophylaxis, present or future, and provision is made for prevention of the spread of disease, for improvement of the health of the present generation, and for the creation of more favourable conditions of existence for those to come. Thus, not only the individual but society as a whole benefits by it.

In view of this diversity of function, it might almost be said that accident insurance is an institution established principally for the purpose of affording assistance; the other forms of insurance are in the nature of social welfare institutions and as such form the most valuable auxiliaries of the state policy in relation to public health. In the author's opinion, in view of this difference in the aim of sickness insurance (the scope of which is not alone the restoration of the health of insured persons but also the preservation of their physical well-being and that of the whole community), the organisation of the medical service should be regarded as a matter of much greater importance, and should be rendered entirely independent of the administrative service. Moreover, it is felt that the following conditions are requisite for the efficient functioning of the medical service, both from the therapeutic and from the hygienic points of view :

(a) That assistance be made available for the greatest possible number of insured persons, both manual and intellectual workers, and for all the members of their families, living with or supported by them.

(b) That limits of benefit laid down for the purpose of repairing physical injury and for prophylactic assistance be made as broad as possible.

(c) That the needs of pregnant women, mothers and children of all ages receive special consideration.

In the present writer's opinion, sickness insurance established on these lines may become a really efficient adjunct to the social assistance of the economically weak, which is its ultimate

object, and may also contribute to a remarkable extent to the improvement of public health.

"Science Knows No Country"

Arthur De C. Sowerby writes in the *China Journal*:

That science knows no country and knowledge is international are facts which we would have thought had been universally accepted throughout the twentieth century world. That the people of any nation laying claim to culture could be so backward or behind the times as to think that they could maintain a corner in any branch of human knowledge or retain the sole right to prosecute any particular line of investigation is hard to believe. Yet from Peking comes the astounding news that certain scientific organizations there have formed an association to fight the efforts of various foreign scientific expeditions to search for remains of ancient man and other treasures of geological and archaeological interest in different parts of China. It is held that Chinese ancient relics and treasures should be explored only by the Chinese people themselves. Particular exception appears to have been taken to the recent expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History into Mongolia and the proposed Swedish expedition under Dr. Sven Hedin into North-western China and Turkestan. Some of the members of the association have even gone so far as to demand the return to China of the "one million year old dinosaur eggs" discovered by Dr. R. C. Andrews and party in Mongolia and taken to America.

In so far as this movement aims at retaining in China valuable archaeological relics and actual treasures of a bygone age, we feel a considerable amount of sympathy with it, but to attempt to forbid foreign scientists from carrying out geological and archaeological explorations on the ground that this should be left for Chinese to do is carrying the principle of "China for the Chinese" to a point bordering on the ridiculous, and, if persisted in, will make Chinese scientists the laughing stock of the world, and place them outside the pale of modern science.

Chinese Women and the Struggle for Freedom

We read in the *China Weekly Review*:—

Sixteen years ago when Dr. Sun Yat-sen established his provisional government at Nanking, a

delegation of sixty Chinese women hobbled down the long street leading to the assembly building, hobbled along on their bound feet signifying centuries of oppression, to the assembly building and petitioned for the right to vote. This delegation received little attention at that time, but those Chinese women who gathered in the ante-room of the parliamentary building in Nanking sixteen years ago and interviewed Dr. C. T. Wang started something which has lived to this day and which has grown with ever increasing intensity to the present.

From that scene in Nanking of a decade and a half ago, we jump to present day Hankow the so-called seat of radicalism in China and we find as pictured herewith a women's Battalion, composed of very capable Chinese females who are actually helping in the revolutionary movement. No longer do these Chinese women hobble about on bound feet. They have normal feet and they wear the same kind of military uniform that their brothers wear and they carry very business-like revolvers and if we would believe all of the stories which are being circulated, they know how to use their weapons. It has been reported that these women, or at least some of them, have actually been in the front lines of battle, but this has not been substantiated. Usually they have been used as strike pickets, couriers red Cross relief, first aid behind the battle lines and so on.

The Arcos Raid

The New Republic observes:—

The British government's police raid on the premises of the Russian trade delegation and co-operative societies is an amazing incident. Sir William Joynton-Ilicks, the Home Secretary, who appears to have been personally responsible for the action, asserts that the government was in search of a missing state document of importance. It was not recovered. He declares that it was burned by the Russians after the raid had started, while the Soviet representatives insist that it was never in their possession and that they know nothing about it. As a result of the incident, feeling against Great Britain is running high in Russia. Mass meetings of protest have been held in city after city, and the British government has felt it necessary to warn its citizens not to travel by the Trans-Siberian Railway until the present inflamed state of public feeling has moderated. The affair is certain to react unfavorably upon English trade with the U. S. S. R., which amounts at present to about \$65,000,000 a year.

MR. THOMPSON'S BOOK ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

MR. Edward Thompson has written a second book on the Poet Tagore, named "Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist." I do not intend to review it. For, if I had

any leisure, I would devote it rather to reading and re-reading the Poet's prose and poetical works than to going through a book on him and his works by Mr. Edward

Thompson must not be understood to suggest that Mr. Thompson does not possess sufficient culture and powers of literary appreciation and criticism to write on poets' lives and works. What I mean is that the respective extents and degrees of his knowledge and of his ignorance of the Bengali language and literature are such that he is not competent to write on the works of the greatest of Bengali authors.

Let me be precise.

I do not mean that Mr. Thompson is absolutely ignorant of Bengali. For, I presume, he knows the Bengali alphabet, can probably consult a Bengali to English dictionary, and can form some idea of the substance of a piece of Bengali prose and poetry with the help of such a dictionary and of an educated Bengali translator. When he was in Bengal some years ago, he once tried to speak to me in Bengali, but gave up the attempt after perpetrating two or three sentences in broken Bengali. I believe, the teachers of our village primary schools possess more knowledge of Bengali than he. But as he is superior to them in other intellectual attainments, he can make such a display of his little Bengali as to be able to mislead his readers---unintentionally, let me hope. Nowhere has he frankly confessed how little he knows of the languages and literature of a country of whose greatest author he has set himself up as a judge.

I know that he is "lecturer in Bengali, University of Oxford" and have wondered whether other lecturers in living languages in that and other British universities are such marvellous scholars in their subjects as Mr. Thompson is in Bengali. Should that be the case, which I hope it is not and should that fact become known, Oxford would certainly be looked down upon with contempt by all real oriental scholars.

As if the fact of Mr. Thompson's being the lecturer in Bengali in a far-famed ancient university were not sufficient in itself to make the gods laugh, he states in the preface to his book that it "was accepted by London University as a thesis for their Ph. D. degree"! I wonder who the examiners were and what their pretensions to Bengali scholarship are. The winning of a London doctorate by two or three of my countrymen had made me suspect whether that university always obtains the services of competent and just examiners and whether some of its doctorates are not "consolation" degrees. Mr. Thompson's case strengthens my suspicion.

Were Mr. Thompson to appear at the Middle Vernacular Examination in Bengal, which is passed by many of our children before they are in their teens, he would be sure to be "ploughed" in the paper in Bengali literature. I will not be so unfair to him as to suggest that he should prove his Bengali scholarship by passing the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination in Bengali; for that would be too stiff for him.

Mr. Thompson must have been desperately determined to excite the risibility of the gods. For he has solemnly indited the following paragraph in his preface:

"Milton's English verse is less than 18,000 lines; Rabindranath Tagore's published verses and dramas, the subject of the present study, amount to 100,000 or their equivalent. His non-dramatic prose, in the collected edition of his works now in process, will be in the proportion, to his verse and dramas, of seven enormous volumes to three. *I undertook the appalling task of reading through his bulky literature, because I wished to understand the people among whom I was living: I wrote this book in the hope of serving two races.*" (The italics are mine. R. Chatterjee.)

It is not impossible that Mr. Thompson has performed the visual feat of looking at all the pages of all the published Bengali works of Tagore, *though he himself confesses that he has not seen many of the books* listed in his Bibliography. But does he mean to tell us seriously and expect us to believe that he is scholar enough to have *studied* "this bulky literature"? *Credat Judaeus.*

Three facts mentioned in his book, viz., that he is lecturer in Bengali in the University, of Oxford, that his book was accepted as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree by London University, and that he has read through all Tagore's works has confirmed my belief that, so far at least as the vernaculars of Britain's dependency of India is concerned, SCHOLARS ARE BORN, NOT MADE, in the British Isles. Old Vishnu Sharma has told us somewhere in his work that people are reputed to be strong because of their wealth, and because of wealth they are considered become scholars also (*arthad bharati panditah.*) Had he been living now, he would have ascribed the genesis of the reputation for scholarship to political ascendancy also.

Had Mr. Thompson to write a book on a third-rate German or French poet, would he have dared to do so with such poor knowledge of German or French as he possesses of Bengali? Our humiliation and sufferings as a subject people are already too

many in various directions. But is that any reason why our greatest poet should be made to feel that he has been treated, not as a member of the world brotherhood of authors, but as a member of a subject race and a grey-haired pupil of the pedagogic Mr. Thompson? The tone of the book in many passages is of such (unconsciously) supercilious patronage as to make it very irritating reading.

The author asserts :

"I believe that no other nation would have served India better than my own has done ; but, on the whole, they have shown themselves very incurious as to its thought and literature. Resentment of this neglect has estranged educated Indians, and is a factor of first-rate importance in the present strained situation."

This is not the place to discuss what the British people have done in and for India and whether any other nation could have done better. But even Mr. Thompson will, I hope, allow that we the people of India know far better than he what we resent and what has created "the present strained situation." I can tell him unhesitatingly that it is *not* the "incuriosity" of the British people as to India's thought and literature which is mainly, if at all, responsible for estranging educated Indians, and that, as there is little or no resentment of this neglect, it is *not* a factor of first-rate or tenth-rate importance in the present strained situation, if it be a factor at all. Personally, I do not know a single educated Indian who *resents* this neglect and has been estranged by it. What we really resent, I need not say.

Mr. Thompson says in the preface that he has drawn largely on the poet's discussions with him. Many foot-notes do indeed tell us that the passages quoted are from the poet's "conversation" with him. Did Mr. Thompson take notes of these conversations in the presence of the poet at the time of these talks? If not, how long afterwards did he take down the notes? Did he ever tell the poet that he was doing so? Did he inform him that any of these notes would be published? Did he ever show them to the poet for verification before making public use of them? I know that he did not. I know that the poet does not remember having told Mr. Thompson many of the things he has reported. It is possible, though not at all certain or probable, that in some instances the poet has simply forgotten. But is it not very probable that in more instances Mr.

Thompson's memory and his preconceptions have been to blame? In any case, gentlemanliness, fairness and the scholar's anxiety for absolute accuracy, so far as that is attainable, should have prompted the Reverend E. J. Thompson to behave in such a way as to enable him to answer in the affirmative most of the questions I have put above.

As regards the book having been accepted by London University as a the-*is* for their Ph. D. degree, may I ask what sort of documentation is required by that University for doctorate theses? Are notes of conversations taken to be correct and reliable without any proof of their accuracy?

In this article I am not concerned with the merits or demerits of the book as a whole. I write only of what my eyes fell upon in turning over its pages.

Mr. Thompson writes, page 88, "He seems to have made no direct study of the New Testament." This is not true. The poet has read the New Testament, but not the Old. According to Mr. Thompson, "Tagore (*Thakur*, '*Lord*') was a title used by the early British officials for any Brahmin in their service." The poet himself, it is to be presumed, knows more of the derivation of his family name than the Oxford lecturer. And it is likely, too, that his knowledge of the history of Bengali word-meanings is greater than that of the author. So I merely state the fact that the poet has never heard that his family name became *Thakur* for the reason assigned by the author. Nor have I. Who is Mr. Thompson's authority?

According to him, "*Pirili*," the name of the Brahmin sub-caste to which the poet's family belongs, is derived from Persian *pir*+*ali*, "chief minister." That is wrong, according to my information. The story goes that an ancestor of the Tagores was a high officer of a Musalman chief of Jessore named *Pir Ali*. This ancestor of the family was excommunicated by the orthodox Hindus of the time because he had involuntarily allowed the smell of some meat dishes prepared for the chief to enter his nostrils; as according to a Sanskrit adage, smelling is half-eating. *Pir Ali* is a common Muslim proper name. See the Bengali dictionary by Jnanendramohan Das, the best yet published.

About the poet Michael Madhusudan Datta, the author writes :

"He keeps an almost unbounded popularity, and there can be very few among Bengal's

thousands of annual prize-givings where a recitation from his chief poem is not on the programme."

Every educated Bengali holds the opinion that Michael was a great poet. But as to recitations from his chief poem, the author has been misinformed. I have been a schoolboy, a college student, a school-master, a professor, a principal, and a president at many annual prize-givings. But I do not remember a single such function at which any recitations were given from Michael. During the last four months I have presided over two prize-givings. In these, too, the recitations were from other authors.

I have said that I am not at present concerned with the quality of Mr. Thompson's work. Nor am I concerned with his opinions of the poet's works. Nevertheless, as I find that he has devoted one whole chapter to the poet's "jibandebata doctrine," as the author calls it, I wish to say that he has not understood it aright. He had better ask the poet the reason why, if he be in the humble mood to learn.

Mr. Thompson holds that in *The Home and the World* Tagore has adapted the scheme of Browning's *The Ring and the Book*. But the author himself says in another place, "First-hand knowledge of Browning came late, and even then, I suspect, was confined to the short pieces." Moreover, *The Ring and the Book* is a sort of grouping together of stories of a murder told from different points of view whereas in *The Home and the World* the chief characters analyse their own respective feelings and moods, and the workings of their own minds as influenced by various events and circumstances. I fail to see, therefore, how there has been any adaptation here. It is not necessary for my purpose to discuss the point in greater detail.

As regards the play *Achalayatan*, Mr. Thompson thinks "Its fable was probably suggested by *The Princess*, and more remotely, *The Castle of Indolence* and *The Faerie Queen*." I know the poet has not read either *The Faerie Queen* or *The Castle of Indolence*. As for *The Princess*, the poet, I know, is unable to perceive the remotest resemblance between it and *Achalayatan*; nor am I. The author thinks that this dramatic piece "obviously owes something to Christianity, perhaps more than any other book of his." I wish Mr. Thompson had stated definitely where the debt lay. I could then have disproved his assertion, as I

hold he is wrong. He is equally wrong when he says that "It owes much to such modern Hindu movements as that of Ram^{krishna} Krishna and Vivekananda, which inculcates the oneness of all religions." Here, too, it would have been well if he had stated where the debt lay by quoting parallel passages and sayings. It is not my point that Rabindranath has not been influenced by any ancient or contemporary movements or teachers or literatures. What I insist upon is that nobody should run away with a preconceived notion or say things which cannot be proved. Mr. Thompson had said several such untrue things in his smaller book on the Poet, which were pointed out in *Prabasi*. Perhaps it is mainly because of the elaborate *Prabasi* review that he admits in his present work that the earlier one "is mistaken in some respects."

In more than one passage of his book the author tells the public that after the poet's "famous success", with his *Gitanjali* winning the Nobel prize, there has been a "complete reversal" among Britishers and the poet has been treated "as an exposed charlatan." But he has not given his readers any extracts even from newspaper reviews of Tagore's works to substantiate the truth of these uncomplimentary remarks ascribed to the poet's British critics. Meanwhile his British publishers are as eager as ever to publish new works of his and new editions of his old works. They are hard-headed men of business, not "the Poet's Bengali admirers." Does this show a "reversal"?

Mr. Thompson does not perhaps like that the poet is so popular among German-speaking peoples. He says that "reaction will come, as elsewhere." But during my recent visit to Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, I did not find any signs of this predicted reaction.

Mr. Thompson's Howlers

I have no time to compare Mr. Thompson's translations of Tagore's poems with their originals. But I will give some of his translations of Bengali words, including names of the Poet's works, etc. These deserve to take their place among schoolboy howlers.

He translates "Kabiwallas" as "poet-fellows." This is ridiculous. "Kabi" means "poet" undoubtedly. But in current and colloquial Bengali it means also the verses, poems,

songs, doggerel, improvised by the Bengali improvisadores, who had great vogue some decades ago. See Jnanendramohan Das's Dictionary. They were called "Kabiwallas", that is to say, "makers of *Kabis*." Perhaps Mr. Thompson is not acquainted with any such improvised "Kabi". I will give one here. Once at Jara, a village in Midnapore, the home of a Zemindar family, there was a "poetic tournament" between two Kabiwallas. One named Jaga sang first, comparing Jara to Brindaban, to flatter the Zemindar. Then up rose his rival, and sang :—

কি কোরো বলি, জগা, জাড়া গোলাক বুলাবন !
কোথা রে তোর আমকুণ্ড, কোথা রে তোর রাধাকুণ্ড,
সন্নে আছে মাণিককুণ্ড, কোরগে মূলো দরশন !—
কবি গাইবি পরমা নিবি, ধোমাসুন্দী কি কারণ ?

"How could you, O Jaga, call Jara Golok Brindaban? Where is your Shyam Kunda, where your Radha Kunda? Right in front of you is Manik Kunda; go and see its radishes there. You are to sing *Kabis* and take the fee; why indulge in adulation?"

Shyam Kunda and Radha Kunda are in the real Brindaban. Manik Kunda is a village near Jara noted for its big radishes.

The author translates "*ayi-ma*" as "nurse" in *Loving Conversation of a Newly-Wedded Bengali Couple* (p. 89). *Ayi-ma* means grandmother or great-grandmother.

Chalita bhasa is not "walking language," but current or colloquial language.

Sabdattva is not "sound and reality," but "the science of words", or philology in one of its branches.

"Chhutir Pada" (ছুটির পড়া) is not "Verses in Leisure" but "Readings (for boys and girls) for Vacation time." *The readings are in prose.*

"Gita-panchashika" does not mean "Five Loops of Song", but a collection of fifty songs. Just as "score" stands for twenty collectively, so *panchashika* stands for fifty collectively. The name has nothing to do with the Bengali word Shika (শিক). Mr. Thompson's translation must cause uncontrollable laughter among Bengali women; —they do not keep songs on *Shikas*!

"Arupa-ratana" is not "The Ugly Gem," but "The Formless Jewel", meaning the Being Who has no form.

Let me stop here. It would be a tiresome job to point out all the laughable renderings of the author.

To be a competent judge of the works of any people's poets, a man's mind should be steeped in their literature as it were. He should have long breathed its atmosphere, and known the associations which cling to many of its words, etc. But can the author of howlers like those to be found in Mr. Thompson's book be believed by any stretch of imagination to have equipped himself in that manner for his difficult task?

নিরস্তবাদে দ্বিমে বরষ্টিংপি দুমায়ত ।

PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR BENGAL

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE news has been published in some papers that Mr. B Chakrabarti, Minister in charge of Education, Bengal, has drafted a primary education bill for introduction in the next session of the Bengal Legislative Council. The draft not having been published yet, I have not seen it. Its object is said to be the extension and improvement of primary education. It is also said that universal or universal and compulsory education will not be attempted, but nevertheless new taxation will be resorted to for meeting the expenditure needed for the improvement and extension contemplated.

Political, economic, social, moral, edu-

cational, sanitary, agricultural, industrial, commercial, and all other kinds of progress, are interdependent; and many, if not most, of these divisions overlap. But in this note I shall deal only with primary education. I need not discuss whether without education any advance along any line can be made. Some education, I take it, is necessary for advance and improvement in any direction. And for an entire nation the easiest and surest means of imparting education is literacy. Therefore, we have to consider the ways and means of making the entire population of Bengal, above the age of 5, literate.

This cannot be done at once. Those old

men and women who are illiterate we may leave out of consideration. For, though it may not be *impossible* to make them literate, it is impracticable. The remaining adult illiterate male population may be taught the three R's, and much else besides by means of the magic lantern, the cinema, etc. The adult illiterate women are more difficult to tackle. Nevertheless, an attempt should be made to educate them. For the present, what I am concerned with is the education of boys and girls. If we could give elementary education to *all* of them, in course of time, when the old and adult illiterates would die out, the whole country could be spoken of as literate.

In many civilized countries, where universal elementary education is the rule, such education is given to all children of the ages between 6 and 14 years. In Bengal let us be less ambitious. Let us see what it will cost to impart elementary education to boys and girls of 5 to 10 years of age. Girls must not be left out of consideration for any reason whatever. The Thakore Saheb of Gondal showed much common sense, shrewdness and insight into human nature when in his State he made primary education compulsory for girls alone, making it optional for boys. He argued that an educated or merely literate mother would be sure to try to make her sons and daughters literate, though many a highly educated father does not feel ashamed to keep the daughters uneducated. And he also rightly argued that the illiterate husband of an educated wife, should there be any such, would be quick to educate himself for very shame.

I need not repeat the stock arguments in favour of the education of girls and women. The time has long past when it could not be taken for granted that their education was indispensably necessary in their own interests as well as in those of the nation as a whole.

In the British-ruled province of Bengal there were 73,42,558 boys and girls of the age 5 to 10, according to the census of 1921. Out of these, according to the Education Director's Report for 1925-6, only 16,50,555 children were at school on the 31st March, 1926, which means that less than 25 per cent. were at school. But we must provide schools for and educate all these children. Let me assume that, owing to the natural increase in population, their number is now 75 lakhs. According to the Director's report the cost

of educating a child in a primary school in Bengal is on an average only Rs. 3-12-5 per annum. This is very much smaller than the all-India average, which in 1923-24 was Rs. 7-13-3 for boys and Rs. 10-6-5 for girls. It is a disgrace that so little per head is spent in Bengal for the primary education of its children. This disgrace attaches to the Government of India for fleecing Bengal to the skin, to the successive Governors and Governments of Bengal for submitting to be so fleeced and for not allotting more money for primary education and to the people of Bengal for not doing their very utmost to remedy such a scandalous state of things.

Let me, however, see what it would cost to give all the seventy-five lakhs of Bengal's children primary education of the kind and quality that may be had for even the very small sums spent. Let me make the amount Rs. 4 instead of Rs. 3-12-5. Then the total expenditure would come to Rs. 3,00,00,000 (three crores or thirty millions of rupees). Is this too big a sum to spend for giving primary education to *all* the children of a province containing a population of 4,66,95,536? Certainly not. But the question arises, how can the expenditure be met? It can be quite easily met, if the Government of India allows Bengal to keep for its own expenditure an equitable portion of the revenues raised in Bengal.

How hard Bengal has been hit by the apportionment of revenues between the Central and the Provincial Governments will appear from the following table:—

Province	Population in 1921	Provincial Income Budgeted for 1927-8
Bengal	4,66,95,536	10,73,39,000
Madras	4,23,18,985	16,54,80,000
Bombay	1,93,48,210	15,08,00,000
U. P.	4,53,75,787	12,94,50,000
Punjab	2,06,85,024	11,13,00,000

This table shows that the most populous of the five major provinces is allowed the smallest sum of money for its expenses. Bengal is not a barren desert. Bengal is not a province without any industries or commerce. It does not occupy the lowest place among the provinces in agriculture, commerce and industries. The total revenue collected in this province, whether classed as provincial or central, is not the smallest of all collected in the different provinces. On the contrary, Bengal's total collection is the largest. Why then is Bengal allowed to keep only the smallest amount?

It is usual to say that, owing to the permanent settlement of the land revenue in Bengal, the land revenue here, which is a provincial head of income, is very small, and hence Bengal's total budgeted income is small. But the Permanent Settlement was made by the British Government with the landlords in its own interest. The people of Bengal as a whole were not a party to it. They do not benefit by it; for, the majority, who live by agriculture directly or indirectly, have to pay the landlords in the shape of legal, non-legal and illegal exactions not less than the common people in other provinces. If any persons profit by it, it is the very small minority of Zemindars. Let the Government, therefore, say and do what it likes to these landlords. We the ordinary people must refuse to be cheated and starved, because in the year 1793 the British Government and the Zemindars entered into some arrangement mutually advantageous to them.

Moreover, if less land revenue is raised in Bengal than in some other provinces, more revenue is raised by taxation of some other kinds in Bengal than elsewhere. Let us take, for instance, land revenue and the income tax for the year 1924-25, the latest from the latest issue of the *Statistical Abstract*.

Province	Land Revenue	Income Tax	Total of the two
Bengal	3,10,73,587	5,54,73,933	8,65,47,520
Madras	6,15,05,867	1,31,56,365	7,46,62,232
Bombay	5,16,52,815	4,03,77,091	9,20,29,909
U. P.	6,71,08,534	78,87,089	7,49,95,623
Punjab	3,53,68,120	60,67,102	4,14,35,222

Thus from the two sources named above it was only in Bombay that more revenue was raised than in Bengal, and that to the extent of only Rs. 54,82,389. But as against these fifty-four lakhs of Bombay, in the same year 1924-25, Rs. 3,75,63,920 were raised by export duty on the raw and manufactured jute of Bengal, which is practically a monopoly of Bengal.

It has been argued that the jute export duty is not paid by the people of Bengal, but by the foreign purchasers of jute. This is not axiomatic. For, as pointed out by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Legislative Assembly on the 10th of March this year, in the opinion of the Fiscal Commission, page 100 of their Report, "*some portion, if not the whole, of an export duty falls on the home producer.*" The same gentleman pointed out in the same

place and on the same day, that the Taxation Enquiry Committee observed in paragraph 150 of their Report:—

"In spite of the monopolistic character of the product, there exists a possibility that, in certain conditions of the trade, a portion of the export duty may fall on the producer."

So Bengal is entitled to at least part of the proceeds of the jute export duty. But assuming that the producer does not pay any part of the duty, according to what principle of justice or equity does the Government of India lay hold of the entire proceeds? It is in Bengal that the thing is produced. It is the Bengal Government which does something, however little it may be, for the improvement of the cultivation of jute. It is the people of Bengal who toil to produce the raw jute. It is they who suffer from the contaminated water and the malodours resulting from the steeping of jute. It is they who suffer from the pollution of the river waters by the septic tanks of the jute mills. It is the public health department of Bengal which does something, however little, for counteracting the injurious effects of the production of raw and manufactured jute. The Government of India simply looks on from its serene heights all the while, and it is only when the proceeds of the export duty are collected that it swoops down and carries off the booty in its mighty talons. The Meston Award, which has legalised this plunder, is absolutely iniquitous. *Bengal ought to have the whole of the jute export duty, and then free universal elementary education would be at once feasible*; as only three crores are required for it, and jute duty produces more than 3.75 crores. Up to the 31st March, 1927, the Government of India have, by means of this tax, netted at least 34 crores of rupees, starving all the "nation-building" departments of Bengal.

It has been argued that as the whole of the income tax revenue collected in Bengal is not really paid by the inhabitants of Bengal, they have no claim to it. Perhaps it is meant that the purchasers in other provinces of the things made or imported by manufacturers or importers in Bengal pay part of the income tax collected in Bengal; for these manufacturers and importers include the income tax in fixing prices. Assuming the cogency of this argument, at least the portion of this revenue which is paid by private individuals out of their incomes in Bengal, can certainly be claimed by Bengal.

And as for the portion of this tax paid by manufacturers and importers, surely the province which is able to give them a local habitation and opportunities of enterprise owing to its geographical and other advantages, ought to be entitled to what they pay as income tax. Great Britain is mainly a manufacturing country, and its manufactures are for the most part sold in various foreign lands, including India. In fixing prices British manufacturers take into consideration the income tax they would have to pay. Therefore, in reality, it is the foreign purchasers of British goods who pay most of the British income tax. But does the British Treasury for that reason send to the public treasuries of the purchasing countries the bulk or any portion of the British income tax collections? We Indians should be very glad to have our share!

For all these reasons we have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that Bengal should be given as much money as Madras, or as Bombay, which has less than half of its population, and then free universal elementary education would at once become quite easy. We do not in the least suggest that Madras or Bombay or any other province should be robbed to do justice to Bengal. Nothing of the kind. There is ample room for economy in the spending departments of the Government of India. Let there be retrenchment there, and all will be well.

I am entirely opposed to any extra taxation for extending primary education, as we have shown that the thing would be quite feasible if Bengal were equitably treated by the Central Government. Let our Ministers manfully stand up for such just treatment. If they do not get it, let them resign. But if they, the brown bureaucrats, simply cry ditto to the white bureaucracy and go in for additional taxation, they would simply prepare the ground for civil disobedience. An educational tax or cess in the present financial arrangements and circumstances of Bengal, would more than justify a 'No Taxation' civil disobedience campaign.

The suggested expenditure of three crores of rupees for primary education in Bengal is nothing extravagant. In the year 1924-25 Bombay spent Rs. 1,70,12,999 for 856,566 Primary School pupils, and Madras spent Rs. 1,41,14,468 for 18,98,436 pupils. Therefore, to suggest the expenditure of Rs. 3,00,00,000 for 75,00,000 of pupils is rather to err greatly on the side of culpable economy.

I have hitherto said only what can and ought to be done by the Government. In constitutional theory, the Government and the white bureaucracy are not identical. But it lies in the power of the white bureaucracy to give effect to what ought to be the principles of all enlightened governments. It is on that account that they are called upon to do their duty. We do not want any alms from them. We only ask that, instead of mis-spending the money we pay in taxes, they spend it for the improvement of the moral and material condition of the people. But if they do not do their duty, we should bring pressure to bear on them in all possible righteous ways.

Increase of income is not the only way to meet the suggested expenditure. Retrenchment also is possible and should be resorted to. For instance, the posts of divisional commissioners, police superintendents, etc., may be abolished without loss of efficiency.

In the meantime, we can and ought to do something ourselves directly, in addition to or instead of what may be done by and through the Government.

Endeavours made by educated and comparatively well-to-do people for the good of the country are sometimes looked upon by them as favours done to the backward illiterate poor people. That is a false notion.

It is we the educated classes who are deeply in debt to the illiterate poor people for our education and in many other ways. In the two universities of Calcutta and Dacca, very much more is spent for the education of the university students per head per annum than is received from the students. This amount in excess, of which we are unable just now to give an exact idea, not having the necessary statistics before us, is contributed by the Government. Government grants come in the last resort either from the taxes paid by the common people or from their labour of various kinds. So, those who attend the University classes as students and obtain their degrees in the various faculties are indebted to their poorer and less fortunate countrymen for their intellectual equipment. As for collegiate education, I have compiled the following statement from the Education Director's Report for 1925-26, showing the expenditure per head and the amount contributed by the Government per head, per annum:

College	Annual Expenditure per student	Govt's share.
Presidency	Rs. 507 0 0	Rs. 366 0 0
Dacca Intermediate	" 415 12 2	" 325 4 9
Hughli	" 524 8 4	" 433 15 0
Sanskrit	" 614 10 3	" 561 2 3
Krishnagar	" 591 15 0	" 496 4 6
Chittagong	" 217 3 5	" 126 10 10
Rajshahi	" 207 9 2	" 111 4 11
Aided Colleges	" 108 2 0	" 23 7 2

The fees paid by the students do not suffice to meet all the expenses of their education. Government meets the deficit from the taxes paid by the people. Therefore, we the educated classes are indebted for our education to the people, and should try to repay this debt in all possible ways. It should not be supposed that our debt is measured simply by what the Government has paid *plus* interest thereon. We are indebted to our people for whatever money or fame or other things which our education has enabled us to acquire. Those who have graduated from private unaided colleges must not think that they have paid fully for their education and are not indebted to anybody. They *are* indebted to the comparatively poorly paid professors, lecturers and demonstrators of these colleges.

We can try to repay our debts in two

ways. Seeing that a primary school in Bengal can be maintained by an average annual expenditure of only Rs. 122-6-5, it should undoubtedly be within the means of many an educated well-to-do man in Bengal to maintain such a school. Those who are not in a position to do so can pay Rs. 3-12-5 per annum for the education of a single primary school pupil. Those who cannot do even that ought themselves to undertake to personally teach at least one child, not related to them, up to the highest primary school standard. Those who are in a position to make pecuniary contributions may do so to some Society or Association for the education of the people, which they know to be trustworthy. For my part, I recommend the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Assam and Bengal, of which the office is situated at 14, Badur-bagan Row, Calcutta.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the well-to-do Zemindars of Bengal to do their duty in this matter. There are Zemindars who have no village homes. They live in Calcutta or some other town. Others have homes in villages. All should do their duty to their tenants in the matter of education; for they owe their income to these rayats.

INDIANS ABROAD

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri Criticised

THE South African Settlement arrived at by the Habibulla Deputation has roused resentment among many of the South African Indian intelligentsia. Although, owing to a persistent propaganda carried on by certain persons, many people have been led to believe that the Settlement is something of a great achievement, it has not convinced everybody, and, we are probably facing a fresh period of intensive agitation in Africa for the recognition of Indian rights there.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who has proclaimed the excellence of the new arrangement from the press and the platform, has come in for a large share of criticism from South African journals. In reply to an article contributed

by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri to the *Hindustan Review* in which he discusses the present settlement, Mr. Subramania Aiyar, editor of the *African Chronicle*, publishes a spirited retort in *Indian Views*. He says about the article in question,

Shorn of all verbiage, the article is a tissue of platitudes and political contradictions and no wonder. Mr. Sastri is so unpopular politically in India as he is likely to be here ere long!

Mr. Aiyar later turns to Mr. Sastri's Poona speech and says,

The Hon. gentleman, the brain, head and shoulder of the Round Table Conference addressing his moderate and liberal colleagues at the Deccan Sabha, at Poona, on the 6th March thus expressed his candid opinion on the Indian Settlement. He said that the difference between the White and the Coloured population in South Africa were both racial and economic. Their respective

standards of life also markedly differed, a circumstance that should not be lost sight of. The whites have incurred sacrifice to maintain their higher standards and are afraid of the larger number of Indians in their midst who have comparatively a far lower standard and who are numerically superior. Those who seek an honourable solution of the Indian problem in South Africa must give due weight to these facts. Afraid of being swamped by Indians their reduction to a manageable compass was thus deemed necessary to the maintenance of the Standard of the Whites."

Mr. Sastri and his brother Islamic and European Colleagues came all the way from India, at the expense of the poor Indian tax-payers with a view to elbow the Indian out and proclaim to the world that as a race the Indian is unfit to live, trade and work side by side with the white man! But in his eagerness to make out a case for the party he has espoused, Mr. Sastri has evidently been following a wrong course altogether and in building his case, he has started from erroneous premises and reached totally irrelevant conclusions. When he says that the Indian is numerically superior in number, there he starts from wrong premises, a reference to the statistics would prove the fallacy of his contentions. Indeed, the white population of South Africa is about one and half million, while the Indian population does not exceed 150,000 all told, and therefore, it would be obvious that it is not the Indian who is superior in number but it is the White!

Mr. Sastri maintains that the Whites have incurred sacrifice to maintain their higher standard more than the Indian who have comparatively a far lower standard" but the Rt. Hon. gentleman has apparently forgotten that the present high standard of living and that of the efficiency of their industries and commerce is due, if not entirely, at least to a very great extent to the exploiting policy pursued towards the Indian whose perseverance and noble sacrifices made Natal fit for European expansion in this outpost of the Empire. There was a time when the white man could not earn three shillingster day and had to run away from this country for pastures new and their crops were rooting on the ground for want of workers and for lack of distributing agents. Under such harrowing circumstances, the Indian was invited to colonise and it is he who brought prosperity and built up the commerce and industry which have proved the main frame work of the white civilisation and necessarily for the maintenance of the present high standard of living! After building up their industry and civilisation, now finds the white man that the Indian who was indispensable at one time is no longer desirable because the latter is to use Mr. Patrick Duncan's fitting expression "advancing in education and civilisation" and as such is becoming a deadly competitor in the open market. The power and prestige of the white race as rulers over non-Europeans, disables them from frankly disclosing the true causes that have led to this burning race antagonism, and so, in order to make out a case against the Indians, they find it expedient to level against them all sorts of imaginary accusations, and in order to lend additional colour to these charges, they have in addition to spreading unfounded alarmist reports, armed themselves with a wage Colour Bar Act, and

a legislative Colour Bar Act all having the objective to keep the Indian and Native down for ever, without affording them an opportunity to raise their head above the water level, and yet the white races shout that the Indian is a menace to the country which Mr. Sastri and his colleagues, who were ostensibly our leaders and spokesmen accepted these asseverations for its face value.

After doing all these and similar vandalism in the name of the maintenance of "Western civilisation, and for upholding their "higher standard", and after exhausting all their ingenuity, subtlety, skill and power to deter other races from raising to a higher standard of living, it is simple amazing to hear from the lip of an outstanding Indian of the type of Mr. Sastri repeating the same old fable which Dr. Malan and Mr. Boydell have been in the habit of sermonising! If these were the real causes that influenced Mr. Sastri and his colleagues to arrive at the conclusion to "reduce the Indian Population to a manageable compass" then one is constrained to ask why should they visit South Africa to deliver this precious judgement! They could have confirmed it long ago, because the Paddison Deputation had already placed their seal of approval on behalf of the Indian Government and having all the official documents and Blue Books before them, they could have issued their ukase without this wastage of public money!

Indeed, one is very doubtful whether Mr. Sastri and his colleagues have arrived at the conclusions they did on the merits of the case or whether it is the outcome of political and high Imperial expediency, which I leave to the public to draw their own inferences!

Mr. Aiyar further says :---

Indeed Mr. Sastri has committed an unpardonable blunder in being a party to this unnatural alliance with the Union Government for eliminating the Indian community from the shores of South Africa and undoubtedly he has done irretrievable damage to the cause of Indian Nationalism and to the future of our race among the comity of civilised nations. No patriotic Indian could help but saying that this so-called Settlement is a shame. It is a blot on the sacred name of India and certainly it is an insult to the wide culture and acute intellect of Mr. Sastri himself. In however, grand eloquent phraseology he may expatiate on the wonderful achievements of Sir Mahamed Habibullah's statesmanship, the fact remains that the future historian of India would chronicle in bold black letters this dismal chapter in the history of South African Indian colonisation as a standing monument of India's eternal thralldom to an alien Empire, as a clear demonstration as to how Indian interests are bargained away for the paramount interests of this "White Empire," and as a manifest proof of how when a nation loses its freedom, that nation becomes callous to all manliness, indifferent to all sense of national honour and other distinguishable qualities which go to make up a free civilised being! However, India's subservient position to all and sundry white races having been established by the white beauracracy and their brown hench-men under this Settlement it is still to be seen whether the people of India and Indians of South Africa in

general would resign themselves to their fate and meekly with stoic indifference or whether any spirit left in them to survive the present ordeal. Time alone can tell the effect of this humble appeal to the higher instincts and nobility of character of the Indian people.

We are finally provided with an able summary of the present arrangement, which we reproduce below in full.

1. Under the Immigration Regulation Act, the stigma of undesirability imposed on the Asiatics as a race remains as ever before and those of the domiciled Indians are assigned only provincial domicile, but no Union domicile which debars them from being recognized as subjects of the Union and as such not entitled to claim the rights of South African Nationals even though one was born and brought up in South Africa: and in the absence of any provision in the Statute for recognition of Indians as Nationals of the Union, no settlement based on understandings would have any salutary effect on the fortunes of the domiciled Indian community.

2. The original stipulation of Dr. Malan's Reservation of Areas Bill, has been complied with under this settlement. Those were Dr. Malan maintained that Asiatics were an "alien element" in the population of this country and as such there must be a considerable reduction of them by economic pressure but not by force. In the present settlement, the acceptance of the so-called assisted Emigration of Indians by the offer of a bonus of £20 a head, in addition to amending the Immigration Law giving autocratic powers to the Executive to challenge the right of any Indian and to deport him, has satisfied that part of the conditions which had reference to the alien element. As for the economic pressure, the acceptance of the Industrial Legislation based on socialistic principles has completely swept the Indian off the board notwithstanding the pious wish of 'the signatories to this settlement to find some ameliorating steps for the Indian workers.

3. Dr. Malan aimed at segregating the whole Indian population within a radius of thirty miles; under this settlement while the Indian Government have yielded to segregation within municipal township and village board jurisdiction by their agreement for the sale of lands with restrictive clauses there is obviously no need for urban segregation because there will be no Indian population left on account of the fact that under economic pressure, the Indian will have to choose between starvation and repatriation!

4. Respecting the concession given to the Indian side, it has been maintained that the mere fact of the Union having agreed to allow the repatriates to retain their domicile for a period of three years after their return to India is a valu-

able concession. While I am not prepared to say anything about the practical effect of this concession, the point is whether the bulk of the permanently settled Indian population have given their consent to the Indian Government to bargain away their rights for the sum of £20?

5. It has been urged that the Union having bound themselves to afford opportunities for Indian advancement as they would other subjects is a Magna Charta! The point is whether the Union Government have, under this settlement, recognized at least those of the permanently settled Indian population as part of the general population of the Union! If that be so, then the Magna Charta could be considered a Magna Charta, but from the recent utterance of Dr. Malan, one has just apprehensions, when Mr. Strachan Martizburg representative in Parliament, suggested to the minister that the Provincial barrier should be removed in the case of those Indians who could comply with the European standard of living, Dr. Malan promptly repudiated any such undertaking and added that the policy of "localising the Indian" in their respective provinces shall be followed in fact; under the circumstances, wherein comes the Indian Magna Charta?

6. As regards the uplift of the Indians educationally, it was only last week that the Natal Provincial Council by a unanimous vote threw out the proposal. On the whole, from the foregoing analysis of this settlement, by which the Indian Community has gained practically nothing, coupled with the fact that the Union Government have introduced two Bills, which are in a disguised form, a part reproduction of the spirit of the late Reservation of Areas Bill, it must be transparent to all well-disposed and honest-minded citizens that the Indian Question has assumed a new phase and in all probability the community may, in the near future, be called upon to face a combined opposition from two powerful Governments in their endeavour to gain their elementary rights of citizenship for which they have hitherto been struggling! It is significant indeed that Mr. Sastri the pet of the British Imperialists, and the darling of the European Association of India and by no means an ardent Indian Nationalist, should have been chosen for the post of the first Agent General to this country, but despite his winning eloquence and consummate diplomatic skill, it is to be apprehended that, in the present temper of the Indian community, he is not likely to meet with a smooth working of his settlement and in fact, it is regrettable to note that, he has to a considerable extent estranged Indian public feeling in this country by his recent speeches and articles in the Press, in vindication of the unwise and questionable policy which he has been acting on in respect of the Indian question in South Africa.

REPRESENTATION ON THE POPULATION BASIS AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

AT one of its sittings in Bombay the All-India Congress Committee has resolved that the adequate representation of the "two great communities" of India should, if desired "be secured by reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the central legislature." This means that, so far as each of these two communities is concerned, the principle is recognised that the number of the representatives of each community in the Legislative Assembly is to be determined by its numerical strength. If a community is to have the number of its representatives in the Assembly determined by its numerical strength in a province, then it stands to reason that the number of representatives of each province in the Legislative Assembly should also be determined by the numerical strength of its total population. To take an example. If the Hindus of the Punjab and the Musalmans of the Punjab are to have a number of separate representatives in the Legislative Assembly, their respective numbers being determined by their respective numerical strength, then the total number of representatives of the entire population of the Punjab in the Assembly should be also determined after comparing the number of its inhabitants with the numbers of the inhabitants of the other provinces. If the population of British India be taken to be 240 millions in round numbers and if the number of elected members of the Assembly be fixed at, say, 120, then each province should have one member for every two millions of its population.

What we drive at may be summed up by saying that what is sauce for the Provincial Community Goose should be sauce for the Total Provincial Population Gander also.

Let us now see how many elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly each province has at present and let us also mention how many inhabitants each province contains.

Province	Elected Members in L. A.	Population
Madras	16	42,318,985
Bombay	16	19,348,219
Bengal	17	46,695,536
U. P.	16	45,375,787
Punjab	12	20,685,024
Bihar and Orissa	12	34,002,189
C. P. and Berar	6	13,912,760
Assam	4	7,606,230
Delhi	1	488,188
Burma	4	13,212,192
Ajmer-Merwara	1	495,271

A glance at the table would suffice to show that representation has not been given to the provinces on the basis of population. It need not be pointed out which provinces have been unjustly treated on the population basis. Will the All-India Congress Committee pass a resolution that each province should have representatives in proportion to its numerical strength?

If we take the representation of any of the provinces as the standard, it will be found that some of the other provinces are under-represented and some over-represented. If the provinces of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, which have the smallest number of representatives, namely, one each, be taken as the standard, it will be found that all the other provinces are under-represented. If the province of Bengal, having 17 members, be taken as the standard, most of the other provinces will be found to be over-represented.

As Bombay has given birth to some, perhaps most, of the ablest statisticians of India, let us take Bombay as the standard and find out how many representatives the other provinces should have. For convenience of calculation let us take the population of Bombay to be twenty millions in round numbers. Then, as Bombay has sixteen members, we may say, the rule is that every province is to have one member for every 12,50,000 of its population. According to this rule the provinces should have the

following numbers of representatives in the Legislative Assembly

Bombay	16	C. P. and Berar	11
Madras	34	Assam	6
Bengal	37	Delhi	Nil
U. P.	36	Burma	10
Punjab	16	Ajmer-Merwara	Nil
Bihar and Orissa	27	Total	193

One hundred and ninety-three is by no means a large number for the Legislative Assembly of such a large and populous country as India. The British Parliament has a very much larger number of members, though it represents a much smaller number of inhabitants.

We do not, of course, suggest that the Legislative Assembly should be constituted exactly according to the table printed above. We have given the table just to show how representation in the Legislative Assembly on the population basis might look like.

It may be thought that, as things are, Bengal has the largest representation of all provinces. That is not true so far as the people of Bengal, we mean its Indian inhabitants, are concerned. Omitting the representatives of the European birds of passage, the provinces have the following numbers of representatives :

Madras	15	C. P. and Berar	6
Bombay	14	Assam	3
Bengal	14	Delhi	1
U. P.	15	Burma	3
Punjab	12	Ajmer-Merwara	1
Bihar and Orissa	12		

This table makes the unjust treatment of some provinces on the population basis still more glaring.

We do not know on what basis the Government has fixed the number of representatives for the different provinces. We have seen that the basis could not have been population ; for then, most of the provinces would have had, proportionately, far different numbers of members. Literacy or education could not have been the basis either. The numbers of literates in the different provinces are shown below.

Province	Literates	Indians' Representatives.
Assam	483,105	3
Bengal	4,254,601	14

Province	Literates	Indians' Representatives
Bihar and Orissa	1,586,257	12
Bombay	1,645,533	14
Burma	3,652,043	3
C. P. and Berar	633,293	6
Madras	3,621,908	15
U. P.	1,688,872	15
Punjab	833,492	12

This table also shows how some of the provinces have been unjustly treated on the basis of the total number of literates.

The number of representatives may have been assigned according to the total amount of revenue collected in each province;—we do not know. We have not at present before us these figures of total revenue collections. When we have them or can make time to work out the totals, we may deal with the point. But we have a rough idea that even according to that basis some provinces would be found to have been unjustly treated.

Speaking for our own province of Bengal, we may say that, whatever basis of representation be adopted, Bengal would be found to have been very unjustly treated, and is woefully under-represented.

Of the eleven provinces which send representatives to the Legislative Assembly, six, namely, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Assam and Burma, have been saddled with representatives of the European community. This incubus is the heaviest in the case of Bengal. Europeans in Madras have one representative, in Bombay two, in the United Provinces one, in Assam one and in Burma one ; but Bengal Europeans have *three* representatives, to counterbalance as much as they can the totally inadequate representation which the Indian inhabitants of Bengal have. Bengal has allowed almost the whole of her commerce and industries to be captured by outsiders. She pays the penalty by her wealth being drained away. But under-representation of her Indian inhabitants and over-representation of her European birds of passage is an additional punishment which she does not deserve.

NOTES

Audit Control of Public Expenditure

The Accountant General, Central Revenues, has favoured us with a copy of *Audit and Appropriation Accounts of the Central Government (Civil)* for the year 1925-26. This compilation is a feature of the new constitutional reform in India, and fulfills a statutory requirement. The transitional character of the administrative changes in India is reflected by the fact that, though the present volume relates to the fifth year of the Montagu reform era, it is the second report on the British model. The usefulness of a strict audit control over departmental expenditure cannot be exaggerated under any form of Government. In the British Isles, this control is exercised not merely in the interests of economy and regularity of expenditure, but also as a powerful aid to parliamentary control over spending departments. While financial decorum and integrity are ensured by the examination of accounts with reference to technical rules by an authority independent of the administrative departments, the audit and appropriation accounts enable the House of Commons, through its Public Accounts Committee, to satisfy itself that expenditure has not transgressed the scope of the different heads under which money was voted. Since 1921, the Legislative Assembly in India has enjoyed a limited right of voting expenditure; and as a corollary to it, the Government of India Act requires the appointment of a Public Accounts Committee, partly elected by non-official members of the Assembly and partly nominated by Government, to examine and report on the "voted" expenditure of Government. The Committee is presided over by the Finance Member, and is assisted by the Auditor-General in its work of scrutiny of the audit and appropriation accounts. Principal departmental officers appear before it as witnesses to be examined in detail on the points arising out of the accounts, and sometimes a wide ground of administrative questions is covered by such examination. This procedure not unoften leads to exposures of official improprieties of varying magnitudes. The Committee thereafter presents its report

to the Assembly along with a verbatim transcript of the evidence of departmental witnesses. The Finance Member at the same time moves for the formal grant of any excess vote under any head that may be necessary to regularise expenditure of the year under report. Such excess vote does not necessarily mean actual provision of additional funds, because excess of expenditure under one head is almost invariably counterbalanced by unspent money under others. Though the control of expenditure thus exercised by a parliamentary institution is 'post mortem' in character, tradition has made it none the less effective in Great Britain. To be reported to the Public Accounts Committee for any irregular spending, is considered to be a severe ordeal and chastisement for the British official. The limitations of the present Indian constitution, the privileged position of the superior officialdom, the division of expenditure into "votable" and "non-votable", and the shadowy character of the authority of the Legislative Assembly even in the sphere of "votable" expenditure, tend to deprive this well-known parliamentary expedient of its potency as an engine of control and correction.

The volume before us deals with both "votable" and "non-votable" expenditure of the Government of India in all departments, excepting Military, Railway and Posts and Telegraphs, and it will be considered by the Public Accounts Committee shortly. A detailed examination of the contents of this compilation would be beyond the scope of these notes; and we hope the daily press will do greater justice to these official publications than it has hitherto done. We will, however, touch upon a few salient features of these accounts, just as a sample of the valuable materials that are available to the publicists even in dry-as-dust audit reports.

In the year under review, the departments covered by the report were responsible for an expenditure of about 28¾ crores of rupees under the "voted" head, and about 28½ under "non-voted", as against total grants of about 37 crores voted by the Assembly and about 29½ crores in the non-voted sphere. The percentage of total savings under voted grants

works up to 22.50 and under non-voted grants to 3.55. This remarkable disparity in the proportions of savings points to overbudgeting of "votable" expenditure (in expectation of cuts ?) and the report itself admits "a tendency to provide more funds than ultimately prove actually required for voted expenditure". It appears that the Public Accounts Committee drew attention to this evil tendency while dealing with the accounts for 1924-25. The fact that over-estimating is not so noticeable in the non-voted sphere, suggests the necessity of a scientific inquiry into the psychology of departmental authorities that secures far greater accuracy in estimates in the non-voted compartment of public expenditure. Though the total expenditure shows a large saving, there are individual heads under which grants have been exceeded. Thus, sanction of the Legislative Assembly is required for an excess expenditure of about 12 lakhs under certain votable grants, while the non-voted grants under certain heads were exceeded by about one lakh for which the sanction of the Finance Department is necessary. Here again, the disparity is obvious. In justice to the account authorities and the Public Accounts Committee, it must be admitted that they are making efforts to solve these difficulties and ensure greater control of expenditure.

A measure of some importance, touched upon by the report, is the institution of the Provincial Loans fund, since April 1925, "for the purpose concentrating all loan transactions between the Central and Provincial Governments in a self-contained financial unit which should be altogether independent of the general debt account of the Central Government." The total capital liabilities of Provincial Governments due to the Government of India and outstanding on the 1st April 1925, amounted to over 106 crores. And in the year 1925-26, the fund advanced Rs. 9.82 lakhs and odd to various Provincial Governments, while repayments were made to the extent of 1.86 lakhs and odd.

While such items are likely to prove attractive only to the serious student of public affairs and economics, the portion of the audit report affords that to the average reader interesting side-lights on the administrative machinery of Government, is that which deals with financial irregularities. It may be mentioned that the term "financial irregularities" covers a wide field, extending from instances of non-compliance with

technical rules and errors in interpretation involving financial loss to the state, to cases of serious breach of trust and downright cheating. The general tendency appears to be to condone past "irregularities," while laying down stricter rules for future guidance. The function of the audit authorities ceases with bringing instances of irregularity to the notice of Government, and incorporating the more important among them in the audit report for the information of the Public Accounts Committee. The report, moreover, mentions the action taken by Government in each case ; and unless the Public Accounts Committee is satisfied with such action it can make its own comments for the edification of Government. It is thus a moral check that is exercised by the audit authorities and the Public Accounts Committee, for the right to condone irregularities is vested in the Executive Government. Publicity, such as is given to these cases in the audit report and the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee, has undoubtedly its effect. And from this point of view, we should desire greater details to be provided of such cases in the audit report. As this is the first year when we have been presented with a copy of the audit and appropriation report, we are unable to follow the rather cryptic references to certain cases dealt with in previous reports and which are yet pending. For instance, in paragraph 33 of the report, brief reference is made to the financial irregularities brought to light in the accounts of the Rajputana Salt Sources, and in another place it is stated in two lines that the cases are still under investigation and no final orders have yet been passed by Government. It is difficult to identify in these brief references, a scandal of great magnitude, in which large amounts may be involved, and which was dealt with by the Public Accounts Committee last year in connection with the audit report for 1924-25. That Government should take such a long time in coming to a final decision in a case of this description, appears to be surprising.

No one, in these days, will accuse the Government of India of being over-burdened with conscientious scruples in their trusteeship of our public revenues, when the financial interests of officials conflict with those of economy or constitutional propriety.

Thus, in the list of changes in the classifications of expenditure from "voted" to

"non-voted," we find that it has been "ruled" by the Legislative Department of the Government of India that the passage pay admissible under Schedule IV to the Superior Civil Rules, 1924, is non-votable, *irrespective of whether the ordinary pay of the officer is non-votable or not*; and further it appears that even the ordinary travelling allowances of officers whose pay is non-voted are no longer subject to the vote of the legislature. These changes have the merit of being effected openly as a matter of deliberate policy. The audit report, however, gives us glimpses here and there of irregularities that are being perpetrated behind the scenes in the matter of supply of Government quarters and furniture to officials. Mysterious references indicate that the conduct of even some of the highest officers is open to grave question in these matters. Certain facts appear to be quite clear:

Proper economic rent is not charged to some officials for residential buildings, and maintenance charges are not covered by the rent realised. No regular accounts are kept about furniture supplied to high officials, and it is uncertain whether annual grants for the maintenance of such furniture are properly utilised. Excessive prices are sometimes paid by high officers for the purchase of furniture, and the limit of cost prescribed by rules—which appears to be high enough—is sometimes exceeded. There is "misrepresentation of facts and manipulation of accounts." The following extract from the report is an index to the character of the scandal:—

"The Committee...agreed with the Auditor-general that special care should be taken by high officials not to ask for furniture which is inadmissible under the rules, from the supplying officers, who might be placed in a difficult position if such demands were made."

In most such cases which concern the high officials themselves, the action usually taken by Government is either condonation or amendment of the rules to suit the irregularities; and where it is neither of these two, "the orders of Government are awaited", from year to year!

Lord Canning's Minute on Archaeological Remains

Lord Curzon is known to have taken a great interest in the archaeological remains of India. But long before him, Lord Canning

took a similar interest in our archaeological remains. In January, 1862, Lord Canning "recorded a minute regarding the investigation of the archaeological remains of Upper India". In this minute, he wrote:

"It is impossible to pass through that part "Upper India"—or indeed as far as my experience goes, any part—of the British territories in India without being struck by the *neglect* with which the greater portion of the architectural remains and of the traces of by-gone civilization have been treated, though many of these, and some which have had least notice, *are full of beauty and interest*. By 'neglect, I do not mean only the omission to restore them, or even to arrest their decay; for this would be a task which, in many cases, would require an expenditure of labour and money far greater than any Government of India could bestow upon it. But, so far as Government is concerned, *there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty; that of investigating and placing on record*, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon England's great dependency; a history which as time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it, will assuredly occupy more and more the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries. It will not be to our credit as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation as the remains of the old Buddhist capital in Bihar, the vest ruins of Kanouj, the plains round Delhi, studded with ruins more thickly than even the Campagna of Rome, and many others, to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received."

Accordingly, the Archaeological Survey of India was undertaken by the Government of India and Colonel A. Cunningham was appointed as the first Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India, whose "investigations would pass from South Bihar into Tirhoot, Goruckpore and Fyzabad".

F. N. Bose

"Pagal Haranath"

We are indebted to Mr. N. M. Mehta, corresponding member of Haranath Society, West Field, Warden Road, Bombay, for a copy of the photograph of the religious teacher who was known as "Pagal Haranath" or the mad Haranath and who passed away on the 25th of May last. He was born in Sonamukhi in the district of Bankura, Bengal, on the 3rd July, 1865, according to Mr. Mehta, but in July, 1870, according to the

* Annals of Indian Administration. Vo. VII, p. 91.

Bengali weekly *Samay*. His family name was Banerji. He studied up to the B. A. standard but could not get a degree. He served for some time in Kashmir as the Assistant Superintendent of its Dharmartha Office. He had followers of many castes and creeds in various provinces of India. He did not preach any particular dogma or doctrines,

News of Women in Many Lands

Mrs. N. O. Freeman, Chicago's oldest Co-ed., 77 years old, is taking a course in American and English Literature at North Western University with men and women students who are of the age of her grandchildren—such is her love of knowledge.



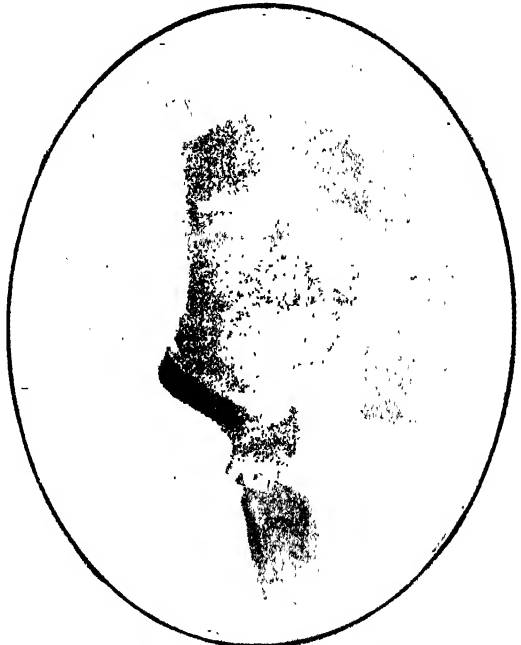
Pagal Haranath

but appears to have laid great stress on loving neighborly conduct. The following is from a printed message of his sent by Mr. Mehta :

...a player, who has thrice to appear on the stage and act in one particular play can never after his first or second appearance totally disappear and leave the play. He only changes his dress and remains sitting amongst all, and no sooner the time comes than he again puts on the proper dress and continues playing his part. The actor by changing his dress can remain amongst the spectators unrecognised by them, but he cannot go out of the sight of the other members of the theatrical company. In whatever dress he may be dressed, they all recognise him at once. Therefore do I say that they do not belong to the inner circle, who set their minds a-thinking about such disappearances.



Mrs. N. O. Freeman



• Mlle. Juliette Veillier •

Some months ago Mlle. Juliette Veillier, a

barrister of Paris, delivered a thesis on the life of Mahatma Gandhi at the reopening of the French courts. She is the first woman lawyer ever to address the assembled Bar of Paris.

Srimati Alamelumangathayammal has been made an honorary Presidency Magistrate in



Srimati Alamelumangathayammal
Photo., Indian News Agency

the city of Madras. She is the first lady to attain this position there.

Mrs. Lakshmi Ekambaram has been appointed a member of the Tuticorin Municipality by the Government of Madras.

Mrs. Parvati Ammal, wife of Dewan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer, has been nominated a member of the District Board of Bangalore. She is the first lady to attain this distinction there.

Mrs. Bhadrabai Madgaonkar, wife of the Hon. Mr. Justice Madgaonkar, and Mrs. Shivagavri Gajjar, who is in charge of the Bombay Vanita Vishram, have been appointed honorary magistrates for Bombay.



Mrs. Lakshmi Ekambaram
Photo., Indian News Agency.

Mrs. Sharada Diwan, a daughter of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, has, with distinction, passed the M. A. examination of the Bombay University with a thesis on the population problem in India. Much credit is due to her and to her husband that she has been able to prosecute her studies after her marriage. She is the first Hindu Gujarati lady to obtain the M. A. degree.

Miss Shyamkumari Nehru, daughter of Pandit Shyamlal Nehru, who had already distinguished herself by topping the list of successful candidates of the Allahabad University in the B. A. and the M. A. previous examinations, obtaining a first class in both, has recently stood first in the previous LL. B. examination of the same University. After obtaining her law degree, she intends to practise in the Allahabad High Court.

Miss Sheila Roy, daughter of the late Dr. Paresb Ranjan Roy, has stood first in the first class in the Allahabad M. Sc. previous examination in Chemistry. As very few girl students go in for science



Mrs. Parvati Ammal
Photo, Indian News Agency



Mrs. Sharada Diwan



Mrs. Madgaonker

Mrs. Gajjar

degrees, Miss Roy's achievement deserves special mention.

Filipinos Leading Chinese Soldiers

The following clipping from the continental edition of the *Daily Mail* of England will be found interesting:—

Manila, Monday:—Filipinos trained in the Insular National Guard under United States officers are now commanding units in the Cantonese Nationalist army, according to reliable reports circulating here today.

A foreshadowing of increased independence agitation in the Philippines, meanwhile, is seen in the formation in the islands of a secret society resembling the Kuomintang of the Chinese Nationalists. The Kuomintang, it is pointed out, was the chief factor in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, and has been the most potent force in the success of the Southern Nationalists to date.

Branches of the new Philippine society, called "Legionarios del Pueblo", are being formed throughout the archipelago, and the movement is believed to be spreading rapidly.

The native population is showing a keen interest in the advance of the Chinese Nationalists. The local Press is carrying detailed accounts of the developments of the Chinese civil warfare.

It has not been definitely determined to what

extent the Philippine Independence Party, headed by M. Manuel Quezon, President of the Insular Senate, is identified with the new Nationalist Society.

Sasimohan De of Sylhet

In a village in the district of Sylhet there was a wicked debauchee of the name of Fayeze Ali. He had dishonoured and ruined many girls and women, and some others removed to other villages to escape being victimised by him. It is a shame that, owing to the moral atrophy and cowardice of most of the



Sasimohan De of Sylhet

villagers, this man was enabled to pursue his nefarious career so long. At length he attempted to seduce the sixteen year old young wife of a poor man by offering her costly presents through a woman of the same village. The name of this young girl is Pabitra, which means "The pure one". It is a very appropriate name. Pabitra refused all these presents and overtures with scorn. Not to be baffled, the brute Fayeze Ali thrust himself into the cottage occupied by Pabitra and her mother. Pabitra was firm and again refused

compliance with his wishes. He left, threatening both mother and daughter that if they did not yield he would dishonour them both by force. When a neighbour of theirs, a young man or boy of 18, Sasimohan De by name, heard all this, he promised to protect them. So when one evening Fayeze Ali forcibly entered their house with evil intent and was about to assault Pabitra, Sasimohan came in, with three companions, and began to belabour him with a *lathi* to make him desist from his wicked attempt. The man died in consequence. Sasi was committed to the sessions on the charge of murder, as he alone beat Fayeze Ali. The jury consisted of five Hindus and two Musalmans. They returned a unanimous verdict of 'not guilty', and the judge accordingly let him off. We are glad, the chivalrous and brave young man has been rightly let off without any punishment. In Bengal assaults on women and girls, followed sometimes by murder or unintended death of the victims, have become very numerous. The people as a whole are not up and doing against these wicked deeds. The Government has not taken any special steps to deal promptly and effectively with these crimes. Only a very small number of the people of Bengal are trying to fight the evil. All these circumstances have to be taken into consideration in judging of the worth of the young hero who so nobly and at such great risk came to the rescue of the poor, pure-hearted girl Pabitra.

It would have been well if Fayeze Ali had survived the lesson he was taught and lived to repent and reform himself. But there cannot be the least doubt that the honour of women is far more precious than the lives of debauchees, and if the defenders of women's honour happen sometimes to kill their assailants in the attempt to prevent an impending assault, it cannot be helped. Girls and women must be given protection at all costs.

Lies in the British Parliament

Earl Winterton stated in the house of commons a few weeks ago that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had been placed before two judges and other detenus before one. Some other similar untrue statements were made by him. When Mr. Bose's statement flatly contradicting these assertions was published

in India and subsequently cabled to England, Lord Winterton had to eat his words. But it need not be assumed that he would mend his ways; men of his ilk are incorrigible, because they cannot be brought to book in the only way which appeals to them.

His lordship chooses to call the detenus convicts, though they have never been tried and no formal charge even has ever been framed against them. Let him please himself. They are no more convicts than he is a dinosaur.

Another man, of the name of Pilcher, who also is an M. P., has said that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was implicated in a murderous plot of which the object was to kill the Governor of Bengal!

The utterers of all these lies are morally contemptible. But politically they are not despicable. For they are capable of much mischief. The least that the people of India can and ought to do is to have an Information Bureau with sufficient funds, to contradict these lies in the countries where they are broadcasted.

The Arcos Raid

The excuse for the Arcos raid in London was that a secret document of great value was to be recovered from the building raided. It was not found, however. But it was claimed that other important documents had been found. Russians declare these to be forgeries. We are not, of course, sure. But we cannot say that British politicians are incapable of forgery. History has convicted them of the crime repeatedly. And recently on the occasion of the Arcos debate, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby said in the House of Commons:

"I have no respect for dirt even in high places. But what I object to more than dirt is the hypocrisy which pretends that we are so pure that we do not indulge in any of these methods during war time. All this is recognised as part and parcel of war machinery. You have lies, propaganda, atrocity-factories, telephone tapping, letter opening, department for forgery, department for faking photographs, and that sort of thing, and each Government has it. We must really face the fact when getting on our high moral horse that forgery, theft, lying, bribery, and corruption exist in every Foreign Office and Chancery throughout the world. This weapon is used during war because it is valuable. It is used during the so-called peace because peace is used for making preparations for the next war."

When challenged by Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Ponsonby said that during his career he had

seen a document taken from the archives of a foreign country.

What Britishers May and May Not Be Forgiveness

The Modern World of Baltimore, U. S. A., writes.

Sir Stanley Jackson is the new Governor of Bengal.

He recently informed the subjects of that province that if they "played cricket," that is, played fair with him, he would reciprocate by playing fair with them.

Welfare—a very able Calcutta publication, with the specific policy of seeking the physical improvement of the Indian people—comments on his proposal as follows:

"Sir Stanley was not quite doing justice to the spirit of cricket when he thus made fair play a conditional thing. Moreover, Sir Stanley forgot his capt in, the Government of India. How can it be cricket at all, when we are fielding eternally with shackles on our feet and they are hitting and scoring as they like. Whenever we talk about declaring the innings and taking up the bat ourselves, we are told that our bats will be only 2 inches by 6 inches and that we must play with leaden leg-guards and with bandaged eyes. And to crown all, our stumps must be a mile wide and a mile high, while the ball will be fired at us from a field-gun. We own up our defeat right at the beginning."

This is followed by the American journal's own comments, which are reproduced below.

There is an elementary rightness in this criticism. Certainly it ill becomes an imperial power, holding sovereignty by force, to urge the code of ethics of sportsmen on a subject people.

A very distinguished Indian recently declared:

"We of India readily forgive England for everything she has done to us save one thing. We forgive her for conquering us. We forgive her for firing our people from guns. We forgive her for foisting the opium habit upon us. We forgive her for any physical thing she has done to us. Down all history outside conquerors have subjected us to similar things. We are accustomed to them. We look upon them as rooted in the elemental passions of mankind. But there is one thing England has done which no one of our former conquerors ever attempted. She has sought to justify her deeds on moral and ethical grounds. Unwilling to admit the selfishness and greed which prompted them, she has rationalized her rapacity in terms of morality. This, obviously, means the debasing of the moral currency of mankind. It is an attempt to make black white and white black. It obscures all the true ethical relationships of men and races. This hypocrisy, this debauching of moral ideals, the East will never forgive the land of Mr. Pecksniff."

Let us be honest about these things. The Occident is in possession of superior organization and of superior weapons. With these it is able, temporarily, to bully the Orient and all weaker peoples. There is nothing intrinsically base about

this. Baseness enters the picture only when intellectual panders arise to proclaim that idealism and not self-interest actuates our bullying. Baseness enters the picture only when we expect from those we bully adherence to "sporting" canons which imply relations between equals and not relations between the powerful and the powerless.

There may be something more unsportsmanlike than in urging sportsmanship upon a hopelessly handicapped and shackled adversary. But we doubt it.

A Detenu at Death's Door

We extract from *The Bengalee* the whole of the following editorial article, because it relates to a detenu in the grip of a fatal disease :—

Nearly four years ago—to be correct, in October 1923—Sj. Jiban Lal Chatterji was arrested under the famous Regulation III of 1818. When arrested, he was a hale and hearty young man. During the course of his detention he has contracted tuberculosis, a disease which is perhaps the most treacherous of all known to medical science. Unless it is detected in the incipient stage and unless the greatest care is taken to arrest its progress, tuberculosis invariably ends fatally. The reports received about the state of health of Jiban Babu hardly justify an optimistic prognosis. The opinion of the Superintendent of the Sharenga Santhal Mission Hospital is that both his lungs are affected. Hæmoptysis is very frequent. His present weight is only 100 lbs. and he has lost 6 lbs. in two months. This shows that there is very little hope of his surviving for long. Yet the Government, instead of acting up to the declaration made by Sir Alexander Muddiman in the Assembly and following the precedent set up by the release of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, has so long kept Jiban Babu in a jail and only recently transferred him to the Sharenga Hospital. But the conditions in which he has to live there are by no means those which are called for in the case of a phthisis patient. The climate of Sharenga is not at all bracing; on the other hand, its neighbourhood is malarious. The hospital is meant for women and is surrounded with high walls which block the ventilation, the hospital building being one-storeyed. Jiban Babu is himself kept in a small room in the Phthisis Ward which is hardly better than a prison cell. There are practically no arrangements for nursing. There is no privy in the hospital, which is a great inconvenience to weak and emaciated patients, such as Jiban Babu has now become. And, to add to his troubles, the Government has sanctioned an allowance of R. 40 only, which cannot conceivably suffice for him, as the diet needed for a consumptive is very expensive. Fruits and other articles have to be sent for from Calcutta, as they are not procurable locally. Though Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati is treating Jiban Babu, yet owing to confinement at the Sharenga Hospital and the absence of facilities for examination as often as is necessary, the treatment cannot be as effective as it might have been; there are also great inconveniences in sending medicines. But all these considerations do not weigh with the Government which allows itself to be guided by police reports in its policy

of detaining and imprisoning men without trial or judicial conviction. But may we inquire of the Government why Jiban Babu is being treated differently from Subhas Babu? From all accounts he is more seriously ill than Subhas Babu; and the Government has itself recognized the principle that detenus should be released, if the release is called for on medical grounds. Why then is he still deprived of his personal liberty? Is it because he is not yet considered sufficiently ill? Or is it because he did not enter and resign from the Indian Civil Service and did not become Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation? Or is it because public meetings have not been held specifically demanding his release and because questions about him have not been asked in the British House of Commons?

The facts about the health and treatment of all the detenus which appear almost daily in the papers should be brought up to date and printed in the form of a pamphlet, for the information of members of the British Parliament and of the Legislative Assembly. The Indian Journalists' Association should perform this duty. We are prepared to bear our share of the expenses.

Aftermath of 'Rangila Rasul' Case

'Rangila Rasul' is, it appears, the title of a pamphlet attacking the life and character of the prophet Muhammad Mr. Justice Dalip Singh of the Lahore High Court, in his judgment in the 'Rangila Rasul' case, criticised this pamphlet most unsparingly and also said that it was natural that such an attack on their prophet would enrage and deeply wound the susceptibilities of the Moslems. But he thought that the section of the penal law under which the accused, the author of the pamphlet, had been charged and sent up for trial did not apply to the case. And therefore the man escaped being punished. This greatly enraged the Moslem community of the Punjab. *The Muslim Outlook*, one of their organs, attacked the Judge in language which in the opinion of the Lahore High Court amounted to contempt of court. So its editor and printer have been punished with simple imprisonment and fine.

We do not think that either the kind of attack which *The Muslim Outlook* indulged in or the fury of the Punjab Muslims is at all justified. For the Judge, far from justifying the author's conduct or extenuating his offence, criticised his pamphlet severely. The man was let off, because in the opinion of the Judge he was not guilty of the offence with which he was charged. Suppose one man libels another man, but is prosecuted for theft. If a judge lets him off on the ground

that he is not guilty of theft, it cannot be said that the judge has encouraged libel. We say this only by way of illustration, for the 'Rangila Rasul' case is of a different kind.

What in our opinion the Muslim community and its organs were legitimately entitled to do was to show that Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's interpretation of the law was wrong. They might also have demanded a change in the law or in the wording of the particular section under which the Judge had to deal with the case.

The conduct of Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the Punjab, in connection with this case has been improper and indiscreet. He had no legal authority to sit in judgment on a High Court Judge; and even if he had, he would have been under the necessity of hearing both what the Judge had to say as well as what his accusers had to say. It was highly improper on his part to take into his confidence a deputation which waited upon him, and to tell its members that a test case would be instituted and if the judgment in that case, too, proved unsatisfactory in his opinion, an attempt would be made to change the law. Sir Malcolm, it is certain, would have got very angry and would have been scandalised, if a High Court Judge had done with reference to some of his executive actions what he has done with reference to a High Court judgment; and he would have been quite right, too. We think Sir Malcolm's improper conduct has encouraged the Muslims in their unreasonable and fanatical attitude.

The Indian Cotton Industry

One could predict from the unconscionable delay in the publication of the Tariff Board's Report that Government would give no protection to the cotton industry of India. The *Sarkar* has refused to give effect to the recommendations of either the majority or the minority in the direction of protection. Protection has to be given against Lancashire and Japan. The Government of India is a British Government, and the Lancashire textile industry is the British industry which exports to India goods of greater value than any other British industry. Directly and indirectly a majority of the British people profit by Lancashire's exports to India. So it cannot be expected that any effective protection would be given against Lancashire. If

protection had been given against both Lancashire and Japan, then, too, Japan would have been displeased. But to give India no protection against Lancashire while giving protection against Japan would have been doubly offensive to the latter. Owing to the Chinese situation, it is necessary for Britain to keep Japan pleased as much as possible. Moreover, the Singapore Base is not yet ready. So India must suffer. Our only protection lies in avoiding the use of foreign cotton cloth. This would be feasible if all of us could make up our minds to bear the slight inconvenience of using somewhat coarser and thicker cloth than the fine stuff imported from Lancashire. As for the payment of a slightly higher price, the comparatively well-to-do people who use fine cloth can certainly pay something extra. And poorer people, too, can pay for somewhat higher-priced cloth if they give up the injurious and useless habit of smoking cigarettes. There is also, no doubt, the problem of a sufficient supply from our own industries. This is by no means insoluble. More mills may be started. That would, no doubt, take time. But the charka and the handloom are cheap and easily and quickly made. If the richer people would use home-spun hand-woven cloth, leaving the mill products for the poorer classes, a sufficient supply could be ensured without much delay.

Some people are deceived by the cry that, the mill industry is mainly a Bombay industry and the consumers of cloth are spread all over India; why then should these poor consumers pay higher prices (which, it is said, they can ill-afford to do) in order to enrich Bombay capitalists? But the Bombay Presidency is in India and Lancashire is in England. Lancashire has become prosperous by destroying the cloth industry of India, and England's political power has been used to bring about this destruction. It is better to enrich Bombay capitalists than to enrich Lancashire capitalists. It is true that when the Swadeshi agitation of Bengal was at its height, the Bombay cotton magnates took undue advantage of the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the Swadeshists. That was execrable and unpatriotic conduct. But as Lancashire capitalists are not angels, why should we side with them to spite Bombay? We would go on arguing with and even cursing Bombay, but would support Bombay all the same. Of course, the ideal is for

every region to be self-supplying as regards its wear. But if and so long as that cannot be done, we should take our supplies from the most convenient region in India.

India and China

The Chinese Nationalist press give great prominence to the fact that India's views on China are exactly the opposite of British opinions. *The People's Tribune* stresses the fact that India has no quarrel with the Chinese people and stands firmly for the struggle for the independence and freedom of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

Germany and China

While British firms and especially British bankers are facing ruin at Hankow, Erich von Salzmann, China correspondent of the '*Vossische Zeitung*', says: "There is not a German in Hankow to day who is worried or scared. The German population in Hankow, which exceeds 250, is just as large today as a year ago."

There are no German gun-boats in China.

Chittaranjan Seva Sadan

The Chittaranjan Seva Sadan is a women's hospital established as a memorial to Mr. C. R. Das. The report issued by its board of trustees shows that it has supplied a great need, and has been doing good work. In fact, the demand for accommodation is so great that new buildings have begun to be constructed for 32 more beds. An appeal has been issued for five lakhs of rupees. It deserves to have a generous and prompt response. Contributions are to be sent to the Secretary, Deshbandhu Memorial Trust, 36 Wellington Street, Calcutta, or to the Account of the Deshbandhu Memorial Trust, Central Bank of India, Ltd., 100 Clive Street, Calcutta.

The Statutory Commission

The Statutory Commission to consider the success or failure of the "Reforms" and to advise whether more "boons" are to be conferred on the people of India or those already

given are to be taken away in part or as a whole, is to be appointed not later than 1929. Should it be appointed earlier, it would be due to the desire of the Tories now in power to choose such members as would try their best not to promote the cause of self-government in India. The Tories fear that a general election may take place before 1929, with the result of either the Labourites coming into power or of the Liberals sharing power with the Tories. In either case, the personnel of the Commission might not be to the liking of the Tories.

We do not suggest, however, that a Commission appointed by a Labour Government would give us the "moon"

Our British "trustees" have started the cry that only such men should be appointed members of the Commission as have had hitherto nothing to do with India; because they might be biased one way or the other. Thus Indians are all shut out in a body; for are they not all likely to be partial to their own country? And those Englishmen who have served in India or in connection with India or have resided here as men of business or their assistants, should also be considered ineligible. The real reason for seeking to exclude them would be that they have some knowledge at least of the country. Should there be among them by some chance some persons with some sense of justice, it would not be easy to hoodwink them. So by eliminating all classes of obnoxious persons, the "trustees" arrive at the conclusion that only such Britishers should be considered eligible as have had nothing to do with India. But the people of Britain as a whole are interested in keeping India in at least economic dependence on their country, and this economic hold on India cannot be maintained without keeping her in political subjection. For this reason, we do not think that there is any class of people in Britain who are at heart in favour of India's full self-dependence, economic and political. Individual exceptions there may be. But they are likely to be known to any party in power, and would not be appointed members of the commission.

Our own opinion is that the commission should consist almost entirely of Indian nationalists with only one or two foreign constitutional experts. They may be Britishers.

All imperializing or predominantly manufacturing nations of the world are interested

in keeping India economically dependent, more or less. They all exploit or expect to exploit her. Hence, a commission composed of entirely disinterested foreigners would be hard to form. If there be any small enlightened people who do not exploit India and cannot be bribed or intimidated by Great Britain, members should be drawn from them, assuming, of course, that Indians are not to be thought of.

We do not build any hopes on the appointment of the commission. We have written on it, because it is a current topic.

Prohibition for Mysore

The Representative Assembly of Mysore is to be congratulated on its declaring itself in favour of total prohibition. It wants a committee to be appointed to suggest methods for meeting deficits. An enlightened state like Mysore should not find it beyond its power to meet deficits. The Maharaja is a progressive Hindu ruler and his Dewan is an enlightened Musalman. The religions of both, as well as of the majority of Mysoreans, enjoin total abstention from liquor. This should make reform easy.

Besides meeting deficits, there is the difficulty of preventing smuggling from the adjoining British territory, which is not 'dry.' But it is not beyond the power of the Mysorean intellect to overcome that difficulty. We should feel proud to find an Indian State setting an example to British-ruled India in this matter. And it would be so natural for it to do so.

Colour Ban in Edinburgh

The colour ban imposed in some Edinburgh restaurants and dance-halls has been naturally resented by our students and other countrymen there and elsewhere abroad, as well as in India. Many dance halls are not desirable places. But it is not with the object of safeguarding the morals of our students that the ban has been imposed. Had that been the object, it would have been natural for the shrewd and patriotic Scots to seek to prevent their own young men first from going there before seeking to do good to others. The Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and of the United Free Church of

Scotland have rightly condemned the imposition of this colour ban.

One should avoid going to places where one is not welcome. As there are centres of good education where living is as cheap as at Edinburgh, it should be easy to shun that place. And so far as India is concerned, it would be desirable to keep aloof from Scots as far as practicable—not in a spirit of retaliation, but for maintaining our self-respect.

A Medal of Rabindranath Tagore

We are indebted to Dr. Bernhard Geiger, university professor of Sanskrit in Vienna, for the photograph of a medal of Rabindra-



A Vienna Medal of Rabindranath Tagore

nath Tagore, reproduced here. It has been made by Hugo Taglang, a very well known sculptor of Vienna. The poet's Indian admirers should all buy it.

B. O. C.'s Gift to Rangoon University

In recent months several big donations to Rangoon University have been announced. The biggest of them all is the Burma Oil Company's gift of a hundred thousand pounds sterling for the foundation and maintenance of a college of engineering. The use to which this portion of its wealth, obtained by the Burma Oil Company by the exploitation

of Burma, has been put is laudable. It would not be ungracious to add, however, that this gift shows how enormous is the legalised plunder which is being carried away from Burma by her foreign rulers and exploiters. Those who can easily give away lakhs must be making crores of profit.

Impressions of Java and Bali

Elsewhere in the present number of the *Modern Review* we have published the first instalment of Dr. Kalidas Nag's impressions



Vishnu on Garuda
(A Masterpiece of the Hindu Art of Java)

of Java and Bali. The Indian poet and seer's voyage to Indonesia, which he will undertake this month, to see the vestiges of Indian culture there, will lend a special interest to Dr. Nag's article.

Calcutta's First Mayor's Programme

According to the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Mr. C. R. Das, the first Mayor of Calcutta, laid down the following programme:—

1. Free primary education.
2. Free Medical Relief for the poor.
3. Purer and cheaper food and milk supply.
4. Better supply of filtered and unfiltered water.
5. Better sanitation in *bustees* and congested areas.
6. Housing of the poor.
7. Development of suburban areas.
8. Improved transport facilities.
9. Greater efficiency of administration at a cheaper cost.

More than three years have passed since this programme was drawn up. Mr. C. R. Das did not live long enough to carry out his programme. In any case, it would be both ignoble and fruitless to criticise a dead man, who cannot defend himself. We criticised him when he was alive. But it is allowable to say that, as from April 1924 onwards, the Swaraj Party has been in power in the Calcutta Corporation, it should be able to demonstrate what it has done in furtherance of the aims of its departed leader. So far as we are aware, the first two items in the programme have been attended to to some slight extent. As for the other items, our food and milk supply is neither purer nor cheaper than before. The editor of this magazine has been paying house rent for his office, press and private lodgings for many years, and can say from his personal experience that the supply of filtered and unfiltered water has not improved a bit, nor has it become more copious than before. The only tangible proof of better sanitation in *bustees* and congested areas can be found in a lower death-rate. But as far as we have been able to notice, the death-rate has not decreased. We are not aware that more and better houses for the poor have been built by the municipality in recent years. Neither are we aware that any suburban areas have been developed or transport facilities improved in recent years by the *Calcutta Municipality*. As regards efficiency of administration at a cheaper cost, we are not in a position to say anything. But those councillors and aldermen of Calcutta who are interested in securing

an honest, economical and efficient municipal service, ought to be able to enlighten the public on the subject.

The South African Settlement

Mr. C. F. Andrews has sent the following special cable to *The Indian Daily Mail* from Cape Town :—

Both Indian Bills passed the final stage to-night without any hostile amendment being accepted. The Minister embodied the Congress suggestions in the committee stage carrying everything successfully. The Natal members' opposition broke down completely. This implies the full ratification of the Indian Agreement by the Union Parliament.

Looking back over the six months since the Agreement was signed, it is possible to regard that the Round Table Settlement is gradually winning the way, through intense opposition, to general acceptance. It will now be given an honourable trial with success fairly assured.

One valuable amendment carried making the three years' absence, involving forfeiture of domicile, count from the passing of the Act and not retrospectively. This should be explained by the Gujarati papers, because many Indians are affected.

I am meeting Mr. Sastri at Pretoria on Tuesday and am embarking on July 22 reaching Bombay on August 8.

We have not been among the admirers of the Settlement. But if the two Indian bills passed by the South African Union Parliament be of greater service than disservice to the South African Indian community, we shall be pleased.

The So-called "Indian" Delegation to the League of Nations

The selection of Lord Lytton to lead this year's misnamed "Indian" Delegation to the League of Nations has given occasion to *The Leader* and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* to retell the story of the attempt made by some of our legislators to get the Government to appoint an Indian to lead the delegation. Having written and spoken much on the subject already, we do not feel inclined to repeat our assertions and observations, which no Imperialist boulder has been able to challenge or contradict.

India was made an original member of the League by getting her to sign the Peace Treaty. That was a trick to obtain one more vote for the British Empire. So, while India

pays the piper, the piper is always a Britisher and it is Britain which calls the tune.

Like many of our contemporaries, we, too, have expressed a wish for the appointment of an Indian as leader of the delegation. That is more or less to save our face, however. For, so long as we do not possess self-rule and so long as the alien Government of India has the power to choose and to issue instructions to the leading and other delegates, the substitution of an Indian leader for a British one would not be of any use. On the contrary, the Indian chosen to lead may be such that the Indian press may have to exclaim in disgust, "*sa papisthas tatodhika*." The only little improvement which is practicable in India's present political condition can be effected if the Central Legislature obtains the power to select and appoint all the delegates, including the leader. Otherwise it would be best for India to give up her membership of the League, as a few states have done already. We know even in this matter India cannot give effect to her will. But the elected Indian members of the Central Legislature can and ought to pass a resolution in favour of India's withdrawal, in case they fail to obtain the power to select and appoint the delegates, who, we repeat, must all be Indians, including the leader.

The Disingenuous Plea for Fresh Taxation

In commenting on the latest report on the administration of Bengal, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes :—

The author of the report has tried hard to white-wash things which are ugly and to shift responsibility on to the quarters where it does not lie. Yet what he was compelled to chronicle in the greater part of the book constitutes, without his knowing it, a grave indictment of the efficiency and the so-called beneficent nature of the British rule. And what is more distressing is that we find in it a clear *jabab* on behalf of the Government that, good or bad, what they have done for the material and moral advancement of the country is the limit to what they can do in the present state of their finances. If, therefore, more education, more sanitation, or more medical relief is to be provided for the people to make them more fitted in the struggle for existence, the people themselves must have to do it. They must get rid of "the general disinclination to face the fact that improved services and better conditions must be paid for by them." In other words, the people must be ready to bear the fresh burden of taxation.

Our contemporary then proceeds to point out that the extreme limit of taxation has been reached—people who cannot get two full meals a day ought not to be called upon to pay more taxes. That would sound like a "heartless joke." We have no flaw to find in this argument so far as the majority of our people is concerned. But we wish to point out that we need not at all say anything at present which might sound like an argument *ad misericordiam*. As we have indicated in the article on "Primary Education for Bengal," we pay quite enough to enable our Government to make greater and more earnest efforts to make our education, sanitation, etc., what they ought to be. If after ruthlessly cutting down useless, wasteful and, sometimes, dishonest expenditure, and after making a right use of our taxes, it be urged that more or higher taxes must be levied, there would be then time enough to think of saying or not saying what might sound like an argument *ad misericordiam*.

Indonesia After the Insurrection

We have received the following communication from the Hague, Holland:—

"In our last January bulletin we tried to give you from official Dutch sources an idea of the most miserable conditions in which the Indonesian people live, so that they were forced to take up arms, desirous as they were to put an end to their life of slavery. We also told you that the Dutch are accustomed to inform the world falsely about things, and instead of telling the hard truth about the bad conditions of their colony, they designed the most ideal picture of their colonial system as the best in the world.

"But our attempt to shake off the yoke of Dutch domination has been unsuccessful. Does it mean that it is the end of our hope for a better life? To answer this question it would perhaps be useful to examine the conditions in which Indonesia now stands after the revolution.

"According to the lying Dutch press-agency, the "rebellion" should be of no importance; but if we mention the great number of imprisoned revolutionists, which we derive from Dutch newspapers, we are sure that you will be convinced that indeed the Dutch are talking double Dutch.

"There are about two thousand Indonesian revolutionists imprisoned, 700 at West-Sumatra and 1300 at Java. Most of them do not fall under the terms to be condemned according to the colonial penal law, but yet they do not escape from punishment. This is possible, because, according to the colonial constitution, the Governor-General has the right to banish all persons whom he judges, or, stricter, whom he thinks dangerous for the so-called "public rest and order" to all places in Indonesia he wants. [This is like our Regulation III of 1818 or like the Bengal Ordinance.] Thus a great number of revolutionists (we do not yet know the right number; one says of about 800 persons!) are expelled to the most horrible spot in New Guinea, where the revolutionists are exposed to savage cannibals and malaria fevers.

"Several revolutionists are sent to Nusa Kambangan, where they have to live with imprisoned criminals like murderers and thieves. Others are condemned to death and also to imprisonments of 10 to 20 years.

"Besides these condemnations the colonial government has proclaimed that all "communistic" action of the Indonesian people shall be destroyed by its military forces.

"What is the reaction of all these oppressions? Are the Indonesian people, the Indonesian fighters for freedom, conquered? Are they discouraged?

"Far from that!

"This failure of the Indonesian revolution does not form an obstacle in our way to national independence, but it has given us a lot of experiences for better organization and action.

"The Indonesians will not cease fighting for the liberation of the mother-country before they have reached their goal.

"Although so many of them have to offer their life and goods for the sake of that high ideal, they are not discouraged. On the contrary, their action shall be more solid, stronger and stronger.

"All revolutions need time to succeed, but they, as the "new spirit", never fail to conquer the "ancien regime."

"So Indonesia shall succeed in spite of many reverses!"

Government Encourages "Communal" Mentality

The following paragraphs have appeared in *The Guardian* :—

The Government of Bengal, if its ministry is bankrupt in statesmanship, is at least frank. In a Moslem Weekly appears a pretentious advertisement with the following headlines;—

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
Department of Industries
Minister-in-Charge: The Hon. Hadji
Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi."

The advertisement announces that a scholarship will be awarded annually, for a period of three years, "to enable a student to take up the study of a course on Vegetable Oil and Oil Seeds or Sugar." All this is to the good but the advertisement adds the following:—"The scholarship will be awarded to Mohamedan and Hindu students alternatively." We may well ask, on whose authority was a notice in these terms published? Or what is even more important, has Government gone back on the fundamental principles of religious neutrality? Are all other communities to be disfranchised just because a Hadji is in power? The columns of the *Guardian* have never lent themselves to advocating communal considerations, but the time has come to speak plainly when we are confronted with responsible Government action which results in disfranchising the smaller minorities. We shall continue to oppose any measure which gives the members of any community preference either on the grounds of race or religion. May we suggest to the representatives of both the Indian Christian and the Anglo-Indian communities in the Bengal Legislative Council to raise the matter either by interpellation, or resolution. Apart from these considerations, are matters such as fitness, intellectual and otherwise, mere irrelevancies which can be sacrificed?

Yes, certainly. See the following note.

No Qualifying Test Needed for Some Communities

The Amrita Bazar Patrika is responsible for the following paragraph:—

It appears from the provisional rules just published to regulate the recruitment by examination for the Bengal Civil Service (Executive), the Bengal Excise Service, the Bengal Police Service, the Bengal Junior Excise Service and the Upper Division of the Secretariat Clerical Service, that the qualifying test for all candidates would be passing of Examinations except in the cases of Moslem, European and Anglo-Indian candidates. In services other than the Upper Division of the Secretariat Clerical Service and the Income Tax Department Government has reserved the right to fill as many as 45 per cent of the vacancies by the appointment of Mahomedan candidates, "if there are qualified candidates available." In the Upper Division of the Secretariat Clerical Service the minimum proportion of Mahomedans will be 33 per cent. Already the introduction of the principle of communal representation in the Police Service has led to deplorable results in communal riots, the communal feeling having prevailed over the needs of law and order. Its almost universal introduction in all public services cannot but lead to more communal quarrels and inefficiency.

Were we to say that it would be good in the long run for the Moslem and European and Anglo-Indian communities themselves if their men entered all public services by the door of open competition, they would not believe us but suspect some evil motive. But we hope they will consider the suggestion that they should insist upon a competitive test for Moslems confined only to Moslem candidates and a competitive test for European and Anglo-Indians confined to European and Anglo-Indian candidates alone.

Kindness to Third and Intermediate Class Passengers

From the audit report of railways for 1925-26 *New India* learns that a surprise check in one place revealed no less than fifteen first class, eleven second class, thirty inter and 160 third class passengers travelling without tickets. "Out of these," it further goes on to say, "27 inter and third class passengers were prosecuted under the Railway Act."

As the total number of third and intermediate class passengers is very much larger than those of 1st and 2nd class ones, the figures do not prove greater dishonesty among the former than among the latter. Booking office arrangements for lower class passengers at many stations are so bad and illiterate third class passengers are so often cheated of the fares paid, that, in the case of many of them, travelling without tickets is no ground for presumption of dishonesty. But there can be no reasonable excuse for 1st and 2nd class passengers to travel without tickets. Yet it was only some 3rd and intermediate class passengers who were prosecuted, not a single first or second class one.

The Effects only of Swadeshi ?

Under the caption, "The effects of Swadeshi", our Roman Catholic contemporary *The Week* publishes the following:

Alois Fischer in *Geopolitik* of last December had the following interesting table showing the numerical importance of the various races:

	There were	In 1800	In 1900	In 1925
"Whites"	...	23.9 p.c.	33.2 p.c.	35.3 p.c.
Indians	...	21.9 "	17.3 "	17 "
"Orientals"	...	7.7 "	5.8 "	5.4 "

	In 1800	In 1900	In 1925.
There were			
East-Asiatics ...	37.4 "	32.9 "	30.9 "
Negroes ...	5.2 "	5.9 "	5.8 "
Malays, Americans and others ...	3.9 "	4.9 "	5.6 "

100 p. c. 100 p. c. 100 p. c.
of the total population of the world.

Amongst the "East-Asiatics," the Chinese have dropped from 31.6 per cent to 25.4 per cent and 23.2 per cent., whilst the Japanese have risen from 2.6 per cent. to 2.9 per cent. and 3.3 per cent. The French similarly have gone down, among the Whites, from 3.9 to 2.8 and 2.4 per cent.; whilst the Anglo-Saxons have gone up from 1.9 per cent. to 6.4 per cent. and 7.1 per cent. But the Indians *e. g.*, must not be taken as having decreased absolutely: on the contrary, the above figures are based on a population of 17 crores in 1800, of 27 in 1900 and 32 in 1925. They have gone down perceptually, simply because others have increased even more rapidly, particularly the Whites, who have gone up from 19 crores in 1800 to 52 in 1900 and 66 crores in 1925.

And the reason for this White increase? Because these people have gone out of their country and colonized the empty spaces of the world. If Indians had not had their wretched *kala pani* theory, Africa would be as Indian to-day, as America is "White," and instead of being half of even the numerical importance of the Whites, Indians would still be their equals. So much for *swadeshi* isolation!

We are as little in love with the *kala pani* theory as Dr. Zacharias, the editor of *The Week*. So in pointing out that the *kala pani* theory alone has not been to blame, we must not be taken to be an apologist for it. The Musalmans of India do not believe in that theory. They can and do emigrate; no socio-religious bar stands in their way. The Sikhs also are not prevented from emigrating by any such obstacle. Nor are the Indian Christians. Many literate and more illiterate Hindus emigrate. A still larger number would have emigrated but for—But for what? Surely Dr. Zacharias knows. The anti-Asiatic and anti-Indian policy of all the British dominions, of many British Crown Colonies, and of the United States of America stands in our way. Had we been politically independent, as we were when Indians colonised and civilised all South-east Asia, including the islands, and culturally and spiritually influenced Tibet, China, Korea and Japan, we could have gradually found a

way out of the difficulty. For our political subjection, we are to blame, though not we alone. Political subjection demoralises people, makes them timid and kills their adventurous and enterprising spirit. That is one of the reasons why Indians are a home-keeping people.

As for the White increase, the greater vigour, enterprise and freedom from socio-religious taboos of the White races, due in part to their political liberty, must be admitted. But it cannot be denied that their predatory and race-extermimating record has yet to be broken. One of the causes of their great increase is that they have deprived many other peoples of their land and liberty, and exterminated many peoples, thereby increasing empty spaces.

Bank Failures in Japan and in India

The observations of *The Indian Messenger*, occasioned by bank failures in Japan and in India, are quite timely and apposite. It writes:—

Japan is just now passing through a financial crisis of unparalleled magnitude. There have been bank failures on a very large scale, so much so that Government had to come to the rescue. A moratorium had to be declared and large advances have been made by the state to keep the banks going till the crisis is over. Telegrams to the press declare that the action of the Government has been supplemented by the voluntary sacrifice of bank managers and directors of all their personal property in order to save their respective banks from a catastrophic situation. They have surrendered their private cash, lands, even their houses and have embraced poverty in order to rescue their country from financial and commercial ruin. This is probably unique in the history of finance. It is this spirit that has made Japan so great and powerful. What a contrast have we here between how things are done here and in Japan! There have been bank failures here, but who ever heard of our bank managers and directors being any the worse for them? It is the depositors and shareholders that generally suffer, the big ones that handle other peoples' money somehow manage to remain unscathed—even coming out bigger and fatter than before. Nations become great and powerful by their virtues, not merely by the circumstances in which they are placed. Circumstances do play a part, sometimes a very important part, but the determining factor *par excellence* is national character.

ERRATA

Page 683 Col. 2 after the concluding sentence of f. n. 99 add This article has been translated, from my original Bengali article, by Sj. Nalini K. Gupta.



ANARKALI

By Mr. Promode Kumar Chatterjee

Kalabhavan, Baroda

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO JAPANESE PROSPERITY

An Examination of the Movements of Indo-Japanese Trade

BY ST. Nihal Singh

I

A survey of Indo-Japanese trade is of special interest at this moment.

For a considerable time past the owners of cotton mills in and near Bombay have been unable to meet the competition forced upon them by yarn and cloth imported from Japan. The Government of India still preponderatingly non-Indian in personnel has recently declined to intervene in favour of our industrialists. In so doing it has turned a deaf ear to the advice proffered to it by a body of its own creation.

The refusal upon the part of our rulers to come to the aid of our most important industry can be explained only upon the hypothesis that the raising of the tariff from 11 to 15 per cent, might hit the English cotton industry in Lancashire, which retains

the largest share of our cotton import trade. The only way in which the British can safeguard Lancashire interests would have the appearance of directly discriminating against Japan. If preference were to be granted to the English cotton industry, that grant would, moreover, follow in quick succession the special concessions lately made to the British steel industry, and, therefore, would prove doubly awkward.

II

A superficial examination of the statistics pertaining to Indo-Japanese trade is likely to inspire the belief that we are by far the greatest gainers from such dealings. Japan buys from us much more than she is able to sell us. The balance of trade, in other words, is heavily against Japan, as is apparent from the following table.*

Year		Imports from India into Japan	Imports from Japan to India	Balance in favour of India
	Yen	Yen	Yen	
1913	...	173,173,861	29,873,414	143,300,447
1914	...	160,324,460	26,048,337	134,276,123
1915	...	147,585,310	42,202,460	105,382,850
1916	...	179,464,593	71,617,454	107,847,139
1917	...	223,941,304	101,364,154	122,577,150
1918	...	268,185,185	202,522,289	65,662,896
1919	...	319,477,561	116,878,729	202,598,832
1920	...	394,930,201	192,249,085	202,681,116
1921	...	210,365,194	84,503,635	125,861,559
1922	...	254,088,879	97,203,898	156,884,981
1923	...	305,718,603	99,619,096	206,099,507
1924	...	387,791,935	135,373,129	252,418,806
1925	...	573,563,812	173,413,207	400,150,605

* Throughout this article I have preferred to take the figures from Japanese sources, namely, the *Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, the twenty-sixth number of which was recently issued by the Department of Finance in Tokyo. This Annual is invaluable to students of economics and

publicists in general. The information pertaining to public finance, banking and money-market, agriculture, industry and commerce, and communications, is authoritative and is lucidly set forth.

† A Yen may roughly be taken as equal to 2s. 0. 582d, or say one and one-third rupees.

The balance of Indo-Japanese trade, it will be seen from this table, has varied considerably during the thirteen years for which I have given figures. It has, however, been in our favour and against Japan all along. That was the case in the year preceding the outbreak of the hostilities in Europe. It remained so throughout the course of the war. It has been so even during the period of post-war depression, and also through the years when she was hard hit by the terrible catastrophies which played havoc with her capital, her largest port, and other parts of the country.

III

An examination of the figures for import and export elicits certain interesting facts :

The value of goods purchased by Japan from us has, with few breaks, been steadily increasing during the thirteen years under review. There was a slight regression during the year the hostilities commenced in Europe and cast their sinister shadow over all the world. The fall became a little more pronounced the following year.

During 1916, however, the Japanese capacity to absorb our products and to pay for them reasserted itself. It continued to grow in strength for four years.

In 1921 there was a considerable falling away. But the Japanese purchasing capacity improved the very next year, and has kept on doing so until, in 1925, it reached an unprecedented height. They paid us for the goods they bought of us in that year more than three times the money that they had spent similarly in the year preceding the outbreak of the war.

The value of the goods sold by Japan to us has shown somewhat more pronounced variation. There was a slight set-back in the initial year of the war. Then she began to sell to us goods which, in another circumstance, we should have continued to buy from Britain, Germany, and other countries.

During the closing year of the war Japanese imports into India rose to a height (*Yen* 202,522,289) which they never since have approached. During 1920 it looked as if they would do so, but in 1921 there was considerable regression.

Imports into India from Japan showed a small tendency to improve in the two years but even in 1922-23 they were less than half of what they had been in the closing year of

the war. The falling off in Japanese imports was no doubt due partly to our depreciated purchasing capacity and partly to the reviving power of Britain and other nations which had been more or less incapacitated industrially during the war to compete once again in our market.

The hope entertained in Britain and other countries that Japan would not be able to retain the gains she had made during the war failed however to be fulfilled. During 1924 the Japanese imports into India increased appreciably, and they registered further increase in 1925. The value of the goods sold by Japan to us in 1924 was almost six times that of her exports to India in the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities.

Putting the value of Japanese exports and imports together, the Japanese trade with India was never so large as it was in 1924. Nor was the balance of trade so adversely against her as in that year.

IV

Despite this adverse balance, it pays Japan to trade with us. Why? The most cursory examination of the principal items in the list of commodities imported from India into Japan and the goods sent to us by that country reveals the reason.

The following table of imports from India into Japan contains no more than eight items; but they tell the tale :

Imports into Japan From India	
Cotton (raw)	<i>Yen</i> 475,663,000
Rice	48,624,000
India rubber, etc.	5,992,000
Pig Iron, etc.	5,172,000
Flax	4,993,000
Oil Cake	4,426,000
Beans and Peas	4,027,000
Leather	2,774,000

All but two of these items consist of raw materials, or at least bases for the manufacturing industries of Japan. The two exceptions are rice and oilcake.

Rice continues to be the staple article of diet in that country. The land available for food production is inadequate to the needs of the large and rapidly growing population, and hence the necessity for supplementing it with imported cereals. The supplies of rice drawn from us, it may be added, are about five-twelfths of those obtained by Japan from other countries

Oilcake, it hardly needs to be pointed out, is needed for the dairy industry which the authorities are taking special pains to build up.

The raw materials which Japan imports from India are vital to her industrial system. Raw cotton, which constitutes something like nineteen-twenty-thirds of the total Indian exports to Japan, forms the life-blood of the Japanese cotton textile industry.

As will be seen from the next table relating to exports to India, cotton imported from India supplemented with cotton obtained from other sources enables Japan to drive a thriving trade with us. It plays an important part in the Japanese trade with China, Asiatic Russia, the Dutch East Indies, the Malay Straits Settlements, Africa, Australia and other countries. It even enables her to drive the yarn manufactured in Indian mills out of the Far Eastern market.

Cotton yarns and tissues exported out of Japan in 1925, indeed, totalled Yen 571,474,591 in value. They constituted the second largest item in the export list, being exceeded only by silk yarns and tissues. It must be remembered that rather more than half of the cotton which went into the making of these exports was derived from India.

The other raw materials imported from India, though not so important as cotton, nevertheless play an important part in Japan's industrial scheme. She converts them into goods which she needs for her own use, or which she exports at terms as advantageous to her as possible.

Both Japanese capital and labour, in fact, find profitable employment in the exploitation of the raw materials imported from India. That, indeed, accounts for the fact that she has not hesitated to incur an increasingly heavier bill for the purchase of Indian commodities, even during the years when she was hard hit by cataclysms of nature which forced her to seek loans abroad.

These disasters, instead of acting as a check upon the movement of raw materials from our country to Japan, have on the contrary, actually accelerated it. Japan has been drawing upon our cotton and other industrial products in increasing quantities so that she could send out more manufactured goods than ever and through that means make up the losses inflicted upon her by act of God.

V

The notion prevails in India that Japan works up the raw materials that she imports

from us and sends them back to us as finished goods. That impression is correct only in a very limited sense.

As indeed it has already been indicated, Japan makes our cotton, usually mixed with American or Egyptian cotton, the basis of her trade in manufactured goods with many countries other than India. The same is true to a greater or less extent in respect of the other raw materials which she draws from our Motherland.

India gets back, in the shape of finished goods, only a relatively small volume of the raw materials which she exports. But that small volume she receives at a cost far higher than she was paid for the greater bulk of the raw materials. Japan naturally makes a charge for the process of manufacture and transportation and allied services.

VI

As will be seen from the following table the Japanese exports to India consist almost entirely of manufactured goods:

JAPANESE EXPORTS TO INDIA IN 1925

Cotton yarns and tissues	... Yen 78,701,000
Silk yarns and tissues	... 12,656,000
Knitted goods	... 9,496,000
Potteries	... 3,476,000
Matches	... 1,791,000
Glass and glass-ware	... 824,000
Buttons	... 808,000
Silk handkerchiefs	... 352,000
Coal	... 260,000
Portland cement	... 146,000

I have incorporated only the principal items in this table.

Coal, alone, can properly be described as a raw product. Its value, in any case, is almost negligible.

Portland cement is only a building material: but the greater the quantity imported from abroad, the less the scope for that industry in India, and still less the incentive for the expansion of that industry. The value of the amount imported from Japan is, however, still quite small.

Cotton yarns are only semi-manufactured and actually constitute the raw materials for our hand weaving industry. The extent to which they are imported, however, represents the displacement of orders which our own mills would, in another circumstance, receive.

All the other items consist of fully manufactured goods. Most of them are the products of large industries.

VII

There can be no question that these manufactures from Japan exercise a depressing effect upon our industrial movement.

The largest item, namely cotton yarns and tissues, competes with the largest industry in Indian hands, and confessedly to the disadvantage of that industry. Some of the other items compete with industries which have been recently started in India, or which can and should be established in our country.

The competition forced upon our industrialists by Japanese imports other than those of cotton is not a matter that can be lightly dismissed.

Some years ago, when I was in Calcutta, for instance, I learned of the serious complications that Japanese glass and glass-ware were causing for a young friend of mine who after qualifying himself as an industrial chemist, had set up glass-works in a suburb of that city. He told me that he was kept guessing the whole time as to exactly where the blow would fall upon him next. One time he would find that Japanese glass-ware would be dumped in a small town 250 miles from his factory and sold at rates which would damn his wares in the sight of the traders of that place for evermore. A few days or weeks later he would learn to his dismay that similar tactics had been pursued in a town perhaps 500 miles from there, in an entirely different direction. He could be sure that the very centres which he was ~~trying~~ to interest in India-made glass-ware would be subjected to such attacks. Had he not possessed pertinacity he would soon have been driven out of glass manufacture, but with all his pluck and perseverance he could make little headway in the face of this policy of dumping.

As this instance shows, there can be no question as to the severity of the competition which the import of manufactured goods from Japan forces upon our industries. If cotton, our oldest industry, finds it impossible to meet such competition, how can industries which have recently been started—and in many cases, unlike the cotton industry, started on a small scale—effectively meet such competition.

Yet while pressure is being exerted upon the Government to shield the cotton industry from Japanese competition, no thought is being paid to the protection of the other Indian industries hit by imports from Japan,

and, for that matter, from other countries. It need for taking such action in respect of cotton is admitted, why should it not be of an all-comprehending character? It may further be asked why the scope of such action should be limited to Japan, when she, by no means, is the only country whose exports to India handicap us in consolidating and expanding our existing industries and setting up new ones.

VIII

If India is ever to become industrially great she will have to follow the example of other countries and build a tariff wall high and solid enough to protect her industrial system until they can do without protection. Japan, the United States and Germany have all had to provide such shelter for their infant industries. Even Britain has not, in the case of some industries hesitated to employ such devices, nor, if the need were to arise tomorrow, would she hesitate to do so more extensively.

Protection does, of course, raise the price of commodities within a country. For that reason it is hard upon the poor. That is especially the case with a nation which is still in the agricultural stage of development.

In every country agricultural labour is paid at a relatively lower scale than industrial labour. Agricultural products, moreover, have to be sold in an open market, which means low prices. A people overwhelmingly engaged in farming operations are, therefore, doubly hit when compelled to buy the manufactured goods needed by them in a protected and necessarily high-priced market.

Unfortunately, however, no means anywhere nearly so effective as protection is available to enable India to become industrially great. That is the lesson to be learned from nations, both Eastern and Western, which have achieved industrial prosperity. Every one of them knew that protection would inevitably raise prices and thereby work hardship upon its poor: yet not one of them set its face against the employment of that expedient. If India, by listening to the specious arguments advanced by individuals belonging to nations which now industrially exploit her, permits herself to be swerved from following the example of other nations which, within living memory, have achieved industrial greatness, she will continue to remain in the agricultural stage of development, and her

sons and daughters will continue to receive poor pay, and with that poor pay to patronize the Japanese, Americans, Britons, and other Europeans, who by engaging in industrial work of one kind or another, earn comparatively higher wages and are able to maintain a much higher standard of life.

IX

So far, however, our demands for a protective system that would accelerate the pace of Indian industrialisation so as to enable us to become a great industrial nation in something like the period it took Japan, the United States, and Germany to achieve their industrial ambition, have, however, not been met. And no wonder. We not only constitute Britain's "sacred trust" but also her "best market".

Even "discriminating protection" has been conceded to us grudgingly. Its application, as, for instance, in respect of steel, does not shield that industry from the competition of imports from Britain. Protection on similar principles has been denied to the owners and managers of our cotton mills.

X

If a discriminatory tariff were to be conceded, it is said, Japan might retaliate. Would she do so?

It is to be doubted if any one in Japan would be so unwise as to propose the enhancement of duties on the raw materials imported from India. Such action would tend to raise the cost of production in the Island Empire and *pro tanto* would make it difficult for that country to compete in the world-market. It would be tantamount to Japan cutting off her nose to spite her face.

When an industrial nation is dependent for the supply of its raw materials upon another country in the sense in which Japan is dependent upon India for raw cotton, it is not easy for that nation all of a sudden to arrange to secure its supply from another source. That fact is established by experience all over the world.

For years and years, for instance, the English manufacturers in Lancashire have talked bravely of throwing off the yoke of the cotton kings of America and using only the cotton grown under the British flag. All sorts of schemes have been mooted. Some of them have been put into operation with

State aid—disguised or otherwise. The machinery of the Colonial office has been utilized to accomplish that purpose. But the mill-owners in Lancashire are still a long way from the attainment of the goal they set before themselves.

Similarly, for several years past the Americans have been bitterly assailing the British ring which according to them, is artificially keeping up the price of rubber. They have been vowing vengeance, and advertising schemes that would make them independent. But the actual accomplishment so far has fallen woefully short of the requirements.

Japan's efforts to render herself independent of Indian cotton are likely to prove about as successful as have been the attempts of Lancashire and the United States to shake off hampering conditions in respect of securing their raw materials. She will indeed think twice before she permits a retaliatory mood to drive her to take action that might raise the cost of her raw materials upon which, to no small extent, depends her industrial prosperity.

Japan cannot, likewise, afford to put heavy taxes on the import of rice from India. To do so would mean increasing the cost of living and thereby adding fuel to the fires of discontent which are already burning among the working classes.

There no doubt are the reasons which have prevented the Japanese from threatening retaliatory action along such lines. They have, however, threatened to buy up as many cotton mills as they can persuade the Indian owners to sell, and failing in that endeavour, to set up new mills of their own in India.

That is not an idle threat. A Bombay mill has already passed into Japanese hands.

XI

The acquisition of Indian mills, factories and workshops by foreigners or the establishment of new industrial plants by outsiders, is, however, a tendency with which Indians have to reckon, whether a discriminatory tariff is set up and enforced against Japan or not. Moves in this direction are already being made and will be made by foreign industrialists with greater persistence.

A new era of industrial competition is indeed, opening. Industrially advanced nations are ceasing to be content with manufacturing goods in their own countries and

shipping them abroad. They are becoming more and more aggressive, and are actually setting up establishments for manufacturing goods in the very countries to which they hitherto were content to export their wares.

British industrialists have already taken steps in this direction. More will do so. It may, indeed, be confidently predicted that in the years to come the number of mills, factories and workshops controlled by Britons if not actually owned by them, will increase.

Japan is not likely to lag behind the British in this matter. She has already set up several cotton mills in Shanghai which are supplying the Chinese market. As already noted, she has even bought a cotton mill in the Bombay Presidency.

These are indications of what is coming. For this reason it behoves Indians to intensify their efforts to accelerate the pace of industrialization. If we lag behind others will step in. It will be a case of not only foreigners exploiting our raw materials by carrying them away to their own countries for purposes of manufacture there, but also of their setting up industrial establishments in India and exploiting Indian man-power as well as Indian raw materials. If we do not look out we may become a nation of coolies.

XII

In running an industrial race with Japan (and other countries) we, however, are severely handicapped by the fact that, unlike them, we lack a national government. That deficiency reacts upon every phase of our life.

Japan's industrial power has been both directly and indirectly developed by her national government. It is broad-based upon the policy of diffusing knowledge among the masses and providing technical instruction of every grade on a scale adequate to the needs of the nation. It has been acquired, to no small extent, by means of State initiative and active State assistance.

The foundation of the Japanese industrial system was laid through the despatch of large numbers of students to America and Europe for technical training, and even through the establishment of model mills, factories and workshops and their operation, often at a loss, by the national government. It has been fostered by means of encouragement provided through Government contracts and bounties of various kinds. Without such aids neither ship-building nor the merchant

marine would, for instance, have acquired the strength that they possess, and with ship-building and the merchant marine wanting, the Japanese cotton and other industries would not have pressed so hard upon our industries as they are now doing.

Our rulers, on the other hand, have confessed, again and again, their inability to cope with the problem of Indian illiteracy with anything like the vigour that Japan displayed in dealing with her cognate problem. According to the latest authoritative estimate, at the present rate of progress "it will take at least forty years more to collect all the boys of school-going age into school," while any "similar calculation for girls would be meaningless." *

Much has been promised us in the way of technical education during recent years by our rulers. But measured in terms of accomplishment India is still a long way from being put on par with Japan in respect of these facilities.

In the matter of setting up State mills and factories, our rulers have either professed conscientious objections or have given up, shortly after starting operations of that character, upon which they had entered timorously.

The bulk of the orders for the government departments and State-owned railways are still placed from London. Even the mail subsidy is not used to stimulate Indian shipping, and no effort in the direction of reserving India's coast-wise shipping for Indian enterprise has been made.

These and sundry other policies will have to be altered before India can compete on anything like even terms with Japan and other industrially advanced nations. The raising of the tariffs, though vital to our industrial existence, cannot, in itself, relieve us of all the handicaps under which our industries labour.

XIII

Only cohesion among our people can enable us to advance at this juncture. The industrial magnate must make common cause with the industrial worker. The capitalist and the clerk must pull together.

In the past Indians in the various walks

* *Education in India in 1924-25*. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch (1926).

of life have not seen the necessity of joint action. Some of our industrial magnates have not, indeed, hesitated to fling gibes at our political workers.

There has been even a disposition among our captains of industry to fly in the face of universal experience and expect India to achieve commercial greatness while she remains a political serf. It is to be hoped

that the straits into which our greatest industry has been driven has convinced them that the political factor dominates the economic issue. Given a national administration such as Canada possesses, for instance, we can easily meet the menace of Japanese (and for that matter any) competition.

Colombo, July, 1927

DUTCH SOUTH AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS

THERE is one thing that has to be recognised very clearly indeed if the South African Indian Question is to be properly understood. It is not an English problem to-day but a Dutch problem. Only when this dawned fully upon me was I able to get forward and understand the true situation.

Let me give some of the noticeable facts. The Dutch population came to South Africa and began its colonisation in 1652, when Van Riebeck landed with a colony of settlers. The English made no deep impression on the colony until 1820, when the famous group of English, called the 'English Settlers of 1820' landed. I do not mean, of course, that no English came before that date. On the contrary, Capetown was a port of call for every Dutch and British East India vessel, both going to and coming from the East. Many of these merchant sailors were so delighted with the climate and so tired of the sea that they settled at the Cape. Thus its dual population grew.

Something else was done in those early days. Slaves were brought on ships, both from West Africa and from Malaya by these Christian settlers. The Bushmen and the Hottentots were not enslaved to any great extent. It was cheaper to buy slaves; and imported slaves could not run away. It is interesting to note that Raja Rammohan Roy's visit to the Cape, on his way to England, almost coincided with the final abolition of slavery at the Cape. The Dutch, who had maintained the slave-system longest, were never wholly reconciled to the

Abolition. This led, more than anything else, to the 'Great Trek', which ended in the founding of the so-called Dutch Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The name 'republic' is a doubtful one to use for a state, in which a tiny handful of white people hold down in complete subjection a vastly larger number of another race. In the Cape Province itself, the full-tide of philanthropy which followed the Abolition Movement brought with it sweeping changes. The marked difference between Cape town, where the coloured man has full political rights, and Johannesburg, where he has no political rights at all, is due chiefly to the humanitarian spirit in England during the Early and Middle Victorian era. If, when we read Raja Rammohan Roy's biography we are often impressed by his whole-hearted co-operation with Great Britain at that special epoch, we must remember that perhaps never in all her long history had Great Britain stood out so definitely for human freedom and human brotherhood as in the full sweep forward of those Abolition days. Man's history is full of hateful selfishness and self-seeking. But there have been certain generous moments which have redeemed much that is base. Among these, the Abolition Movement, with its many and varied after-effects of liberation, will stand out large in the annals of mankind.

The Dutch in South Africa were rarely cruel to their domestic slaves. But slavery is slavery: and freedom is freedom. The dominant spirit remained, as they trekked up country, and the gulf widened between

man and man. The first law,—the *grondwet* as it was called—of the Dutch Republics was written down—

"There shall be no equality between 'black and white' either in Church or State."

The Dutch were God-fearing people. But they imbibed some dangerous lessons from the Old Testament. They learnt by heart, that the Africans were the children of Ham, of whose son, Canaan, it had been said: "Cursed be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be." Thousands of Dutch farmers on the back veldt believe, even to-day, that this sentence is the word of God. The colour prejudice goes very deep indeed, when really good and kindly people justify it on the ground of their most cherished religious beliefs. It must be remembered that these religious Dutch people have lived away from the progressive regions of modern culture for many generations. They have been in a back water of human life.

I do not wish for a moment to imply that the British have emancipated themselves from colour prejudice and the slave spirit. They have fallen back since the Early Victorian days and are in many ways more prejudiced even than the Dutch. Especially those, who have gone out to South Africa and have quite recently seen inoculated with the colour hatred, have often proved more bitter even than those who have been born in the country. Just as converts to a new religion are almost invariably the most fanatical, so these converts to race-hatred prove in most cases the worst offenders.

One further point needs to be borne in mind very carefully indeed. The Bantus, who now are the predominant aboriginal race in South Africa, are themselves invaders and intruders into the southern sub-continent. The white people came to South Africa long before these Bantu warriors came down from Central Africa, leaving a desolation behind them and emptying the land of its inhabitants. The Dutch *Vortrekkers* were the first to meet the onset of these savage hordes. Thousands of them perished, while stemming these terrible invasions. The Hottentots and Bushmen, who were sparsely inhabiting the land, when the Dutch came three hundred years before, had been unwarlike and timid people. The Bushmen died out. The Hottentots submitted to hired service, and by intermingling with the whites have now become *Eurafricans*, or 'coloured' people, as distinguished from the Bantus,

who are called 'natives'. If the Hottentots had not come already under the service and protection of the whites, they would have been exterminated like many other tribes which crossed the path of the intensely warlike Bantus. It was during the so-called 'Kaffir Wars' against these invading Bantu armies, that the Boers became embittered against them with a bitterness that still shows itself on December 16th, Dingaan's Day, the memorial of a terrible slaughter of the Boers, along with their women and children, by the Bantu chief Dingaan.

There is another bitterness, which rankles in the hearts of these Boer farmers with almost equal depth. It is their dislike of the English. The memory of the Boer War is still fresh. In spite of all that has been done to redeem the past by giving self-government to the Dutch in South Africa in such a manner that they are the virtual rulers of South Africa to-day, nevertheless the bitterness of the past still remains. Above all, the memory of the deaths of thousands of their women and children in the concentration camps (towards the end of the Boer War) stands between the Dutch and English.

Only one brave English woman, Miss Emily Hobhouse, who exposed the evils of the camps and righted a great wrong thereby, has a place in the hearts of the Dutch people of South Africa. Her ashes are placed at the foot of the Memorial at Bloemfontein, which commemorates the women and children who died in the Boer War. I was in South Africa when the last rites in honour of Emily Hobhouse were performed at Bloemfontein by the Dutch National leaders; and my thoughts went back to one unforgettable day at Groot Schuur, when I was called by Mrs. Botha at the request of Miss Emily Hobhouse to come out and see her on the Indian question, in 1914. She, whose heart was ever with depressed peoples, all over the world, was ready to help to the utmost of her power Mr. Gandhi and his brave band of Passive Resisters, at the time when the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement was being framed. She lay back in her couch in Mrs. Botha's beautiful verandah, with Table Mountain looming in the distance and the pine trees surrounding the house on every side. Her frailty was so great that she looked almost as if a gust of wind through the pines would blow her away. Yet within, there was the indomitable spirit which had reduced the War Office of Great Britain to surrender even in the greatest

heart of the war passion. Hated by her own countrymen, she was loved by the Boers. In certain ways, she did more than anyone else to make possible the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement; for both General Smuts and General Botha bowed to her command. And from her bed, as an invalid, she commanded them both.

We now come to the Indian problem itself in relation to the Dutch in South Africa.

First of all, it must be understood that the majority of the Dutch do not come in contact with the Indians in any direct way. More than half the Dutch people have never even seen them at close quarters. For there are practically no Indians in the Orange Free State. There are only a few thousand in the Cape Province and also in the Transvaal. Over eighty percent of the Indian community lives in Natal, which is a British Province. Thus, though the Dutch have been accustomed to dislike the Indians, and to rank them with 'coloured' people, and to call them 'coolies,' yet this dislike is rather abstract and theoretical than concrete and practical.

The presence of Mr. Sastri, with his perfect manners as a cultured gentleman and his dignity of outward form and status, was a revelation to the Dutch in South Africa, far more than to the English. It opened up to them a new kingdom of knowledge and illumination. For that reason their newspapers, day by day, when the question of an Agent General from India was brought forward, said in so many words, 'Give us Sastri, and no one else.' Indeed, so emphatically was this said, that I am quite certain there would have been a grievous disappointment if he had in the end refused.

One other fact is slowly dawning upon the minds of the Dutch in South Africa. It is this, that the people of India have suffered under the British Yoke no less than themselves. When the Indians kept calling themselves 'British', and appealing to Great Britain to help them, they incurred the odium of the Dutch. The Dutch people in South Africa felt that it was another British weight being thrown in the scale against them. They did not forget also, that the Indians in South Africa were active supporters of the British in the Boer War. For by their large ambulance corps, the Indians set free very many English soldiers to fight against the Boers.

Therefore, in the past, India has been

associated with Great Britain as an oppressor. But lately the direct dealing with the Indian Government, instead of through Great Britain, together with the presence of eminent Indians in South Africa, and also the visit of Dutch nationalists to India, has opened their eyes to the fact that Dutch and Indians alike have suffered under the pressure of the all dominating British Empire, and that they are now both winning their freedom together.

There is a feature of Dutch life in South Africa which may, in the long run, do more than anything else to bring India and South Africa into accord. The Dutch are essentially a religious people. In the centuries that have passed, since they left Holland, they have kept up with wonderful vigour their religious life. It is true, as I have shown above, that Calvinism combined with the Old Testament has caused a hardness and a literalness of interpretation, lacking that 'sweetness and light' which Matthew Arnold mentions as the centre of Christ's own teaching. There is too much of the law of Moses among them and too little of the Sermon on the Mount. Nevertheless, there is a godliness which is most impressive both in their homes and in their lives. From this side, I have often felt, there is an approach to India which will make for understanding and appreciation.

From the British in Natal, I have very little hope on the Indian Question. They have sedulously cultivated a dislike for the Indians that has reached the lowest depths of contempt. They resent intensely being called the 'coolie province' and would give the world to get rid of the Indian. The British in Natal dislike the Indian so much, that if they had their own way deportation would be a daily occurrence. Since they have been checked, their antipathy has increased. From the British, therefore, I have very little hope. Nothing could have been more stupid and servile than for some of the Indians in Natal, wishing to curry favour with the English, starting a Union Jack campaign, as though they were more British than the British. Such foolish Indians only roused the antipathy of the Dutch; and the British who used them as tools despised them all the more.

While, then, I have very little hope from the British, I am, by no means, hopeless about the Dutch. It has been possible for me to come very close to them indeed. In their Dutch University, at Stellen borch, I have been in-

vited again and again as their honoured guest. The name of Rabindranath Tagore, whose works they have read in Dutch, has been an 'open sesame'. There seems to me very little except ignorance now standing in the way of friendship between India and Dutch South Africa, if once the colour prejudice against the Indians is removed. Since the Dutch already outnumber the English, and since their superior numerical proportion is rapidly increasing, it is Dutch South Africa that will

count in the future and Dutch South Africa that will rule.

Therefore, even if the present Agreement has not given all we want and all we may reasonably require, yet it represents an invaluable position won from which the whole future relations between the two countries may be reviewed. In that review of new relations it must always now be remembered that the Dutch will have the preponderating voice when the final settlement comes.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D.

IV.

MOST of the Chinese nationalists, who are certainly not communists, are grateful to Soviet Russia for her attitude to China. They want to cultivate Russian friendship, without being tools of the Soviet Government. Soviet Russia's policy towards China has been actuated by two principal motives: (1) self-preservation, and (2) weakening of Great Britain politically and economically. It is an undisputed fact that, since the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the British Government has followed a policy which has been directly or indirectly against Russian interests. British troops intervened in South Russia and Archangel. The British Government supported every counter-revolutionary movement directed against the Soviet Government. "Russia was plagued by the foreign and to a great extent, British-sponsored invasions by Wrangel, Denikin, Udenitch, Kolchak, Semenov and Ungern." British policy was to detach Siberia from Soviet Russia and to create a new State, thus cutting Russia off from the Pacific and the vicinity of China. The British Government tried to make a vassal of Persia and attacked Afghanistan to reduce it to a protectorate. British support to Greece against Turkey was an indirect measure against Russia. British support to Roumania against Russia on the question of Bessarabia was also an attack on Russia. Soviet Russia could not strike at Britain

directly, but aided Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan to overthrow British supremacy, thus creating new states friendly to her and opposed to British imperialism. Russian statesmen fully realize the value of Chinese friendship, politically, economically and internationally and particularly in relation to the safety of Siberia. From the point of view of population, strategic position and economic importance, Chinese friendship to Soviet Russia is more important than the combined support of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. From the standpoint of Russian statesmen, a Russo-Chinese friendly understanding may in time develop into a Russo-Chinese-Japanese understanding to oppose Great Britain's power in Eastern Asia. In any case, strengthening of Chinese sovereignty will mean that China will serve as a new and powerful factor in the "balance of power" in the Pacific; and an awakened China will certainly thwart British imperialism in Eastern Asia.

From this spirit of self-preservation, weakening of Great Britain and aiding China, M. Tchicherin, as early as 1919, started negotiations with China, and particularly with Dr. Sun Yat Sen, in a conference with Mr. Joffe, made it clear that the Soviet authorities must not expect that China would follow the path of communism. But he expressed his views on Russo-Chinese relations in the following way:

"Very soon will come the day when the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Russia will be able to greet in a powerful and free China a friend and ally; and both of these allies, in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world, will go forward hand in hand."

The above message of Dr. Sun is to-day hanging in the halls of the Sun Yat Sen University established by the Russian Government, at Moscow, under the direction of M. Radek, for the training of Chinese young men.

As early as 1919 and again in 1920 the Russian Bolshevik government made serious attempts to win Chinese support. In return for formal recognition Moscow promised to give up the Boxer indemnity, the settlements in Chinese treaty ports, extra-territoriality and tariff restrictions, besides converting the Chinese Eastern Railway into a purely commercial enterprise, which China would be able to buy out entirely at some future date. The negotiation for recognition was carried on by Yourin, Joffe and Karakhan in succession, and in 1924 the latter gained the end of Chinese recognition of the Soviet regime in Russia, when the position of the Russian Minister to Peking was raised to Ambassador.

About this time Dr. Sun Yat Sen asked the United States of America and other Powers to recognize the Chinese Nationalist Government at Canton and co-operate with it, to bring about a unified nationalist China; but they did not pay heed to his proposition. Dr. Sun then turned to Soviet Russia for advisors—civil and military—who were very gladly supplied. It was the Soviet military officers who aided in training the young Chinese military officers in the National Military College established by the Canton Government at Whampoa. Today these officers are the leaders of the Chinese nationalist forces. One will not have to be a communist or a Soviet agent to recognize the truth of the statement of an American student of Chino-Russian relations:

"Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy towards Asia, particularly China, has been the most portentous piece of enlightened international philanthropy since France helped to make America-nation."^{*}

The Chinese nationalist movement has been characterised as violently anti-foreign. The Chinese people are not angels, but humans. If all the important sea-ports of

Britain were occupied by France and if the Pacific Coast of the United States were occupied by the Japanese, then the British and Americans will certainly fight to the last man to get rid of the foreign aggressors. Chinese sense of national honor demands that they should uphold their national sovereignty, even if it displeases some of the Great Powers. His Excellency Hon. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, the Chinese Minister to Washington, in a recent address has pointed out that Chinese are not inherently anti-foreign and foreigners are safe in China, if they wish to live within the Chinese law. He said:—

"Those of you who are not familiar with conditions in the Far East will perhaps be surprised when I tell you that of the Westerners in China at present moment, that is, not counting the Japanese, there are more living under the Chinese law. In other words the number of foreigners having a specially favoured treaty status now in China is less than that of those who are without such special rights and privileges. This proves conclusively that foreigners can live and trade in China without special treaty status.

"You have lately heard a good deal of the sending of war-ships, marines and troops to China, ostensibly for the sole purpose of protection, as if there were or had been loss of foreign lives through unwarranted attack by Chinese. Such is not the case. But Chinese blood has been shed and Chinese lives have been lost by the action of foreigners. While the British and certain other governments fear serious danger to the property and life of their nationals, the Germans, the Austrians, the Russians and nationals of other countries continue to live and trade in peace in China without their home governments ordering military or naval forces to China. One fails to hear Berlin, Vienna or Moscow sending naval units or military forces to protect their nationals in China. The controversies between China and the powers will not be settled by the threat of the use of gunpowder. But I trust and believe that they will be settled by according justice to the nation which invented gunpowder.

"My people are not anti-foreign, but we are anti-foreign-aggression. There is as much difference between anti-foreign and anti-foreign-aggression as between light and darkness. It is our earnest wish to respect the legitimate interests of foreigners. We have no desire to do injustice to or inflict hardship on anybody, but on the other hand, we wish others to treat us with justice and fair play and return to us these sovereign rights that they have taken away from us. What the Chinese have been struggling for is to get rid of a foreign imposed super-state in China. The struggle will continue, as it should, till the goal is reached when China will be truly independent within her own borders."

The Chinese nationalists are fighting for liberty and international justice; and they should receive support and recognition from all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

^{*} *Revolt of Asia* by Upton Close (Josef Washington Hall), New York. G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1927.

V

Today the Chinese nationalists are fighting against foreign imperialists, Chinese militarists and communists. Thus China is not only passing through a tremendous revolution, but is torn with civil wars and factional fights. Foreign imperialists profess to be friendly to China, but claim that as long as China is under the grip of civil war and there is no stable government to deal with, they cannot make any concession to China in the form of revision of the unequal treaties; on the contrary, they must use force, if necessary to protect the lives and property of their nationals in China, enjoying the benefits from the unequal treaties to the disadvantage of the Chinese. Among the foreign powers, it is now quite clear that Great Britain, supported by America, is bent upon demonstration of force against China, in violation of all practices of international law. Today there are over 30,000 British soldiers and marines, field artillery and five squadrons of British air forces and a powerful section of the British navy within Chinese territorial jurisdiction. Mr. Baldwin's China policy is no better than that of Lloyd George's Turkish policy. Lloyd George, to crush the Turkish nationalists under the leadership of Kemal Pasha, concentrated a large British fleet and forces and called upon the British dominions as well as France and Italy to side with Britain in her gallant fight to destroy the last semblance of the Ottoman Empire; and today Mr. Baldwin has sent a powerful British fleet, and British forces and is seeking the co-operation of Powers to uphold British policy in China. As in the case of Turkey, France and Italy did not support Great Britain, and Russia aided the Turkish nationalists in every way, so Britain to save her face had to take the initiative to sign the treaty of Lausanne, and thus recognize full sovereignty of Turkey, by removing the last vestige of "capitulations", similarly Britain in her China policy finds that Japan and Russia are not only unwilling to side with Britain, but are ready to aid the Chinese nationalists. France under the leadership of M. Briand does not want to follow the policy of intervention in China, and thus alienate Japan, Russia and China. Italy, as a matter of gesture and to assure the British Government that she will aid the British in any special contingency, has sent a war-ship,

and America is following the carefully defined opportunist policy of bullying China in co-operation with Britain, and at the same time avoiding any commitment to an aggressive and coercive policy against the Chinese nationalists. It is well-known and apparent to all who are carefully observant of British policy in the Orient, that the Baldwin Government is making a show of force towards the Chinese nationalists to please the die-hards and at the same time has been finding a way towards peaceful settlement with the Chinese, to please the British merchants, who are suffering tremendously from loss of business due to boycott of British goods and the openly hostile attitude of the Chinese nationalists against all forms of British interests in China. An important section of the British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress is also opposed to the British imperialist policy in China; as is evident from the following resolution adopted by the Trade Union Congress on April 28, 1927:

"It is contended that the great naval, military and air forces now concentrated in China constitute an immediate danger to world peace. The signatories urge immediate withdrawal of all British armed forces from China. We further urge support for the demands of British Labour that the privileges wrung from China by war shall be renounced, including extra-territoriality, foreign control of the maritime customs and foreign Settlements and concessions.

"The British Labour movement has welcomed the awakening of the Eastern races, who have been the great reserve army for capitalist exploitation, and has denounced the exploitation of Chinese labour, particularly of women and children, realizing that low-paid labour in China means depressed wages and employment in Britain.

"The British workers are faced by a Government measure designed to destroy the power of the British Labour movement. It is, therefore, important that the British workers should unite to stop the war in China by every means in their power and give their whole-hearted support to the Chinese Nationalist movement which is developing trade unionism for the protection of the Chinese workers.

"It is the same government, animated by the same motives, which is attempting to destroy the hard-won liberties of the British trade union movement and waging war against the Chinese workers."

—Times (London), April 29, 1927.

As the Government of Lloyd George had to give up its Turkish adventure, so it is a foregone conclusion that the British Government, unless something unforeseen happens, will not follow the policy of carrying on war against China without full support from

other powers, particularly America, and may even take diplomatic steps to lead a conference in favor of restoration of Chinese sovereign rights. This will come, as soon as the British feel that the Chinese nationalists are gaining in power in their struggle against the Chinese militarists and communists. It is needless to say that Britain and America cannot afford to follow an aggressive policy towards China while Japan is following the policy of "enlightened peace towards China" and thus conquering Chinese market for the benefit of Japanese commerce and possibly for a Chino-Japanese understanding. The British Government had to change its Turkish policy because of the international situation and a United Turkey under the much denounced Turkish leader Kemal Pasha. So if the Chinese can present a united front, owing to the particularly favorable international situation, Britain will have to deal with the Chinese nationalists on their terms, and China like Japan and Turkey, will be freed from foreign domination.

VI

Civil War in China is a menace to the cause of Chinese nationalism; because in the face of foreign intervention the Chinese nationalists are forced to concentrate their energy to combat civil wars and factional fights. As long as Civil War will prevent China from presenting a united front against the foreign imperialists, there is no reason to expect that the Chinese people will be able to reap the full benefit of the Chinese Revolution.

Civil War in China is not due to "communalism or religious fanaticism," but it is a fight for power between the militarists, nationalists and communists. The militarists, like General Chang Tso-Lin, the Manchurian War Lord and the Dictator of the Northern Government at Peking, the poet-General Wu Pei-Fu and their adherents are opposed to the nationalist forces. The Chinese War Lords, like the Chinese nationalists, profess to be patriotic and believe that they are anxious to bring about a united China, free from foreign control. They believe that this can be accomplished through their leadership, which really means by the establishment of dictatorship and militarism. The Chinese Militarists do not believe in the so-called democratic form of government, and they are opposed to the nationalists as radicals.

To the Chinese Communists, who are led by the Soviet agents, the Chinese nationalists are not radical enough in their external and internal policies. The Chinese Communists want to abrogate all the existing unequal treaties and ignore all unjust foreign rights in China, even if they are guaranteed by the existing treaties. They want to establish a Government in China, following the example of Russia, which will be dominated by so-called peasants and workers. However, the Chinese Communists class themselves as "real" Chinese nationalists and opposed to all militarists.

All the Chinese nationalist factions are supposed to be following the path mapped out by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. They are at present divided into four distinct groups: (1) Those who are following the so-called Christian General Feng, who, with his army, is now in North-western China, biding his time to take the leadership. Feng is friendly to Soviet Russia and recently visited Moscow where his son is studying in the Sun Yat Sen University, established by the Soviet Government, which is directed by M. Radek. (2) The Chinese nationalist group who belong to the extreme left and have established their government at Hankow and who are supposed to be following the communist trend, dictated by Soviet Russian advisors like M. Borodin and others. (3) The moderate Chinese nationalists, under the leadership of General Chiang kai-Shek who have established a new nationalist Government at Nanking. Chiang kai-Shek is opposed to the communists within the nationalist rank, and is determined to free the Chinese nationalist Party—Kuo-min-tang party—from the communist influence and is actually carrying on war against the Hankow Government. (4) The nationalist Government of Canton which has declared its independence of all nationalist groups, particularly the Hankow and Nanking Governments.

The Chinese nationalists believe that militarism or autocratic rule of various provincial War Lords, seeking to augment their own power for personal gain and prestige, is the true cause of the present chaos in China. Chinese nationalists advocate immediate abolition of military governorship for provinces and establishment of such a form of government, in which military authority should be sub-servient to civil power, which in turn must represent the will of the people, expressed through a truly

responsible government of the Chinese people.

No one can predict the course of the conflict between the nationalists and militarists in China. But to all impartial observers, it is apparent that the Chinese people in general are in sympathy with the ideals of the Chinese nationalists; and it is through the popular sympathy and co-operation that the forces of the Kuo-min-tang have been so eminently successful in their fight against the militarists. The nationalist army, under General Chiang-kai-Shek, has undoubtedly a military genius at its head, and the rank and file are inspired by the ideal of freeing China from the tyranny of the Chinese militarists and their foreign supporters. However, the weapon which has been most effectively used by the Kuo-min-tang is the weapon of propaganda among the people and the soldiers of the enemy ranks. The Chinese nationalists have extensively used the weapon of the general strike; and sympathetic mass-demonstrations, in their favour, have preceded the victorious entry of the nationalist army in cities like Shanghai, Hankow and Nanking.

To secure the support of the Chinese people, the Kuo-min-tang leaders have used their propaganda machines, in the form of proclamations of military officers. The following, issued after the fall of Shanghai to nationalist hands, is a typical example of it:—

"Shanghai—March 23:—General Pai Chung-hsi, Commander of the Southern forces in Shanghai and Chief of the Staff to General Chiang kai-Shek, the Southern Commander-in-Chief, has addressed a manifesto to the Chinese people saying:—

"For (80) eighty years the Imperialists, under the protection of unequal treaties, have reduced China to a state of vassalage. After the revolution of 1911, the Imperialists continually supplied the Chinese Imperialists with rifles and guns, with which they waged war for the past fifteen (15) years. On the one hand, the foreign imperialists have checked the development of Chinese education and industries and on the other hand, have secured for themselves special privileges.

"But the Chinese have awakened and Shanghai, the greatest commercial centre in the Far East, will become not only a strong base for Chinese Nationalism but for the world revolution. The Chinese people must distinguish, however, between attacking Imperialism and foreigners. They must not insult foreigners or destroy their property." *The Times* (London), March 24, 1927, page 14.

It may not be generally known (in India) that the Chinese nationalists, in co-operation with the Indian revolutionists abroad, carried on systematic propaganda among the Indian

soldiers; and leaflets urging the Indian soldiers not to attack the Chinese, striving to free their country from foreign oppression, but to go back to India to work for the freedom of India, were circulated among the Indian soldiers. Some of the Indians were arrested by the British authorities in Shanghai for carrying on such subversive propaganda. It seems clear that the British authorities thought it wise not to send any more Indian soldiers to China, fearing that they might be infected with the propaganda which might later on spread in the Indian army in India, after the return of the Indian soldiers to India from China.

The Chinese nationalists have carried on systematic propaganda among the English sailors and soldiers. The following is a sample of a leaflet widely circulated among the British sailors:—

"British sailors, we must know that you are sent here to fight armless people who are inspired by ideals of independence and democracy. You are sent here to crush a revolutionary movement which struggles against militarism, to form *Government By the Chinese People, Of the Chinese People and For the Chinese People*. This is not your business. Don't interfere! Go back to your homes!

"Do not be fooled by your masters, the British capitalists and their servants, your officers and admirals. Do away with that, damned superstitious race-hatred. We are your friends, and have more in common with you than you have with your own countrymen of that type who sent you. Either go back home or join us for the sake of the liberation of all the exploited masses of the world and for the sake of your own liberation.

"British sailors, you come to China at a time when a Democratic Revolution goes on here. You are sent to be Henchmen (of the British capitalists) against this Revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants will not stand it. They will put up a bitter struggle for their independence and liberty. Remember that! Do not think about us, the Chinese toiling masses as about the "Chinks" whom you can slaughter like cattle. Those times have passed for ever. Do not interfere in Our Revolution. This is our own affair." *The Times* (London), March 24, 1927.

It is generally expected that factional fights among the Chinese nationalists will be soon over and the Chinese nationalists under the leadership of General Chiang kai-Shek, supported by the majority of Chinese intelligentsia, merchants, students, workers and peasants will be supreme. According to a Paris despatch of April 27, to the *Munchner Nveste Nachrichten*, already the far-sighted Chinese nationalists in Europe are in accord with the programme of General Chiang kai-Shek. After a meeting of the Kuo-min-tang

party in Europe, held in Paris, the General secretary of the party has made known his views officially to the French press to the following effect :—

"The Kuo-min-tang Party is for Chinese nationalism and not for the Third International. They are not following the teachings of Karl Marx or Lenin. On the contrary they are trying to fulfil the ideals of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, by securing complete independence of China from foreign control, abolition of all unequal treaties and ending of all concessions. The Chinese people and the Kuo-min-tang Party fully appreciate the friendship of Soviet Russia which has given up extra-territorial jurisdiction, concessions and unequal treaties; but they cannot allow the Soviet agents to carry on propaganda or activities in China which may be detrimental to Chinese interests. In future the Kuo-min-tang Party in Europe will follow the moderate course, outlined by General Chiang kai-Shek, who, as a friend and disciple of Sun Yat Sen, is trying to carry out his programme of united China, ruled by a democratic popular Government for the interest of the Chinese people."

It seems to us that Great Britain and America, Japan and France will support Chiang kai-Shek, with the expectation that through his efforts China will be prevented from championing Soviet Russian policy, particularly in foreign affairs. It is conceivable that Great Britain and America might have learnt their lessons that, because they failed to support the Government of Kerensky adequately, the Bolsheviks secured the upper hand in the fight for control of Russia. Similarly, if the moderate element of the Chinese nationalists, led by General Chiang kai-Shek, be not supported by the governments of Great Britain and the United States, and these governments follow the policy of intervention in China, as they tried in Russia, they will strengthen the hands of Soviet Russia and the Chinese radicals.

In fact, it is now an open secret that, Mr. Coolidge's government is not anxious to adopt any further coercive measures against the Chinese nationalists, to enforce the demands presented to the Hankow Government regarding the Nanking affairs. The

American government will prefer that Chiang kai-Shek overthrows the Hankow Government and follows a pro-American foreign policy. General Chiang kai-Shek has proved himself to be a diplomat as well as a military genius. The Powers, particularly Britain and America, have been very loud against the Chinese nationalists, on the pretext that they were tools of the Soviet Government in Russia and thus enemies of law and order. By taking steps to free the Kuo-min-tang Party from the control of the Chinese radicals and Russian influence, he has taken steps to test American friendship and the sincerity of various declarations of the Baldwin Government. General Chiang's victory over the radicals will mean that the former will be able to demand considerate treatment from the Powers, particularly America and Britain. General Chiang thinks that for the success of the nationalist cause, it is necessary that the nationalists must avoid, in every possible way, foreign intervention in China. If through General Chiang's sagacity, the Chinese nationalists can follow a course which may insure that there will be no intervention against the Nationalist cause by the Powers, then the Chinese militarists will either have to come to terms with the Chinese nationalists peaceably, or the Chinese nationalist forces will march towards Peking.

The future of the Chinese nationalist cause depends largely, if not entirely, upon the termination of the Chinese Civil War. It is needless to say that the Chinese nationalists will not sacrifice the fundamental principles of their programme to purchase international support or to secure a truce with the militarists; and it is to be hoped that in the near future the object of the Chinese Revolution will be fulfilled with the victory of the Chinese nationalist cause.

(Concluded)

MUNICH, GERMANY.

May 1, 1927.

LEGISLATION, RE THE MINIMUM MARRIAGEABLE AGE

By JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA

Vakil, High Court, Allahabad

PRESENT POSITION WITH RESPECT TO EARLY MARRIAGES

"A tiny little tot embarking on the uncharted seas of matrimony without any knowledge of her destination or destiny—at an age when her little sister in the West is still in the kindergarten." How true this description of an Indian girl wife by the Illustrated Times of India, yet how sad and heart-rending especially when one looks to the simple child-like looks of an innocent prey to social tyranny and unfounded religious bogey. And yet this is not a solitary instance in the fair and hoary land of India. This is a normal feature of an ordinary Indian family. The Census Report for 1921 points out that "the marriage of girls at an age when they are still children is a custom common among the Hindus." The Census Report of 1911 recorded that "infant marriages are both customary

and common, the average age for marriage being 8—12." It went on to say that "the marriage before the age of ten was most prevalent in Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Baroda, Central India tract and Hyderabad. It records a custom of marriage performed of children even before they are born! The following tables, taken from the Census Report for 1921 will show at a glance the seriousness of the cancer that is poisoning our entire social system.

Table showing the proportion of unmarried, married and widowed per 1,000 of each sex in India.

Age	Unmarried		Married		Widowed	
	Males—	Females.	Males—	Females.	Males—	Fems.
0-5	994	988	6	11	—	1
5-10	966	907	32	88	2	5
10-15	879	601	116	382	5	17
15-20	687	188	298	771	15	41
20-25	402	51	564	877	34	72

Table showing the total population and the number of married and widowed of each sex at different age periods.

Age.	Population.			Married.		Widowed.	
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females	Males.	Females
<i>all</i>	<i>315,350,442</i>	<i>162,081,273</i>	<i>153,269,164</i>	<i>71,057,754</i>	<i>71,593,131</i>	<i>10,338,392</i>	<i>26,834,838</i>
0-1	9,237,210	4,638,721	4,598,489	6,921	9,066	355	759
1-2	4,537,945	2,238,393	2,299,552	6,687	11,595	378	612
2-3	7,676,606	3,729,731	3,946,875	16,484	32,197	959	1,600
3-4	9,155,184	4,390,695	4,764,489	28,985	60,755	1,628	3,475
4-5	9,049,465	4,487,261	4,562,204	51,667	164,850	3,161	8,693
<i>Total 0-5</i>	<i>39,656,410</i>	<i>19,484,801</i>	<i>20,171,609</i>	<i>110,684</i>	<i>218,163</i>	<i>6,481</i>	<i>15,139</i>
5-10	46,747,388	23,846,133	22,901,255	757,405	2,016,687	40,579	102,293
10-15	36,741,852	20,171,326	16,570,526	2,341,066	6,330,207	109,384	279,124
15-20	26,144,890	13,648,824	12,496,066	4,977,400	9,635,340	198,278	517,898
20-25	26,066,102	12,563,822	13,502,280	7,935,997	11,849,920	4,27,723	966,617

Are the figures in the last four columns not blood-curdling, heart-rending such as will raise the hair of the most hard-headed conservative and the worst bureaucrat? The total number of girls married before ten is over twenty-two lacs and of widows over one lac seventeen thousand!

Report proceeds to say that "infant and child-marriage is still prevalent, but there is evidence to show that the age of marriage

is increasing especially in the case of males. Only in the most advanced classes is there any tendency for the age of marriage after puberty to increase."

Thus the Census Report rightly observes that "there is little evidence in the Census figures to suggest that the practice (of early marriages) is dying out." Under these circumstances if the wound is allowed to take its own time to heal, the poison will

spread in all parts of our system, there will be no resisting power left in us, all the limbs of our social system will cease to function and we shall all collapse much before the time comes—if it comes at all when child-marriages will be abolished. We can ill afford to be silent spectators to the ruin of our race. Like prudent surgeons, let us apply the sharp knife of a legislative enactment and powerful propaganda.

THE TWO BILLS

In order to put a stop to this suicidal policy of early marriages Dr. Sir H. Singh Gour—the indomitable fighter for social reform through legislation and Mr. Har Bilas Sarda have introduced Bills in the Legislative Assembly. Under the terms of Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code any person who has sexual intercourse with his wife under thirteen years of age is guilty of rape and is punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and also with fine. Sir Hari seeks to raise the age to fourteen.

According to the Hindu Child-Marriage Bill of Mr. Har Bilas Sarda no marriage of a Hindu girl under twelve years of age or of a Hindu boy under fifteen years will be valid (S.S. 3 and 4). The marriage of a Hindu girl between the age of 11-12 years will be valid if her guardian obtains a license from the District Magistrate of the place where the girl ordinarily resides, authorising or permitting such marriage (S5). The Magistrate shall grant a license to the guardian who files a written application with "an affidavit swearing to the fact that the girl has completed her eleventh year, and that the guardian conscientiously believes that the tenets of the religion, which the girl professes, enjoin that the girls should not be kept unmarried any longer".

The statement of objects and reasons attached to the bill, says:

1. "The object of the Bill is two-fold. The main object, by declaring invalid the marriages of girls below 12 years of age, is to put a stop to such girls becoming widows. The second object, by laying down the minimum marriageable ages of boys and girls, is to prevent, so far as may be their physical and moral deterioration by removing a principal obstacle to their physical and mental development.

2. The deplorable feature of the situation, however, is that the majority of these child widows are prevented by Hindu custom and usage from re-marrying. Such a lamentable state of affairs exists in no country, civilised or uncivilised, in the

world. And it is high time that the law came to the assistance of these helpless victims of social customs, which, whatever their origin or justification in old days, are admittedly out of date and are the source of untold misery and harm at the present time.

3. According to the Brahmins, the most ancient and the most authoritative book containing the laws of the Hindus, the minimum marriageable age of man is 24 and of woman 16. And if the welfare of the girl were the only consideration in fixing the age, the law should fix 16 as the minimum age for the valid marriage of a girl. But amongst Hindus, there are people who hold the belief that a girl should not remain unmarried after she attains puberty. And as in this country, some girls attain puberty at an age as early as 12, the Bill fixes 12 as the minimum age for the valid marriage of a Hindu girl.

4. In order however, to make the Bill acceptable to the most conservative Hindu opinion provision is made in the Bill that for conscientious reasons, the marriage of a Hindu girl would be permissible even when she is 11 years old. No Hindu Sastra enjoins marriage of a girl before she attains puberty, and the time has arrived and public opinion sufficiently developed when the first step towards the accomplishment of the social reform so necessary for the removal of a great injustice to its helpless victims and so essential to the interests of a large part of humanity, should be taken, by enacting a law declaring invalid the marriages of girls below 11 years of age.

5. With regard to boys, the Sastras do not enjoin marriage at a particular age. Thoughtful public opinion amongst Hindus would fix 18 as the minimum marriageable age for a boy. But as some classes of Hindus would regard such legislation as too drastic, the Bill takes the line of least resistance by providing 15 years as the age below which the marriage of a Hindu boy shall be invalid. Even in England, where child marriages are unknown and early marriages are exceptions, it has been found necessary to fix the ages below which boys and girls may not marry."

It will thus appear that though the author in accordance with the thoughtful public opinion among Hindus would fix 18 as the minimum marriageable age for boys and 16 for girls. Yet he out of regard for the susceptibilities and feelings of the orthodox and conservatives and in order to meet their so-called religious and conscientious objections and as a first step in legislation affecting minimum marriageable age, has drafted his bill on moderate and non-contentious lines so that it might be plain sailing and take the line of no resistance or opposition. It may also be noticed that the bill does not provide any punishment, whatsoever to the parent or guardian who marries the child *under age*. It simply declares such marriage invalid.

GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION

It was understood that such a non-contentious and extremely non-contentious and yet

highly beneficial measure would be welcomed by Government and would meet with no opposition whatsoever from it but its attitude has staggered us all.

The Assembly has established a convention that it will not oppose the mere introduction of a bill. Bound by this convention, the Home member did not—he could not oppose the introduction of this Bill but he could not restrain himself and laid the gauntlet at the feet of the Health, Maternity and Child welfare workers, the doctors and the social reformer by saying that he would oppose it at all future stages. It is very unfortunate that the Government has taken a very hostile attitude to the raising of the age of consent and the marriageable age since the question was first mooted in 1921 in the League of Nations on the question of traffic in white girls. Is it not very strange that a Government which is very fond of proclaiming that it is the *ma bap* of the dumb Indians should actively and consistently oppose all attempts to improve a pernicious practice which is cutting the ground from under their very feet. It is not very curious that Englishmen with all their proud feelings of respect for womanhood should not only connive but be actively participating in bringing about untold misery which is the necessary consequence of early marriages?

May I also bring to the Government's notice the following reply which was given to an interpellation in the Legislative Assembly only a few days after its inauguration:

"23. Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala. Do the Government intend to undertake legislation forbidding marriage of girls before the age of 11 and that of boys before the age of 14?"

Mr. S. P. O'Donnel: The answer is in the negative. Government consider that under present conditions, in a matter of this kind which intimately concerns the social customs and religious beliefs of the people it is preferable that the initiative should be taken by non-officials rather than by Government."—Legislative Assembly Debates Vol. I. P. 138 for 17th February 1921.

I would go to the whole length of saying that this declaration of Governmental policy by the then Home Secretary clearly shows that though the Government at that time was opposed to take the initiative in this matter it never contemplated to offer any opposition to such a measure if mooted by a non-official.

The Census Report is an official document prepared at considerable expense to the taxpayer under the direct control and super-

vision of a member of its own steel frame. The Government cannot lightly ignore the facts, figures and conclusions drawn in it. This is why I have taken care to quote from it. It observes:

"It is difficult to gauge to what extent the statutory sanction contributes to the fall in the number of infant marriages, but as was remarked by my predecessor, the indirect effect on public opinion of a definite attitude of the state towards the practice cannot but be beneficial.

Might I also tell the Law officers of the Government that the marital tie carries with it the conjugal right for the husband to the immediate society of the wife. Under the general principles of marriage laws and the laws of all civilized countries a wife cannot refuse to live with her husband. The courts will always give a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights if even a child wife refuses to live with her husband. Now section 375 of the Indian Penal Code threatens to send the husband to jail for 10 years if he has access to his wife under 13 years of age. It, therefore, follows as a logical consequence that the minimum marriageable age should be the same as the age in this section. There is no fun in allowing a man to assume by law a certain status, viz., of husband, which carries with it certain rights viz., to the society of the wife, and yet sending him to jail if he avails himself of those rights.

Bharatpur, Mysore and Baroda States have laws forbidding marriages below certain years. China has passed a law forbidding marriages of girls below 16 and of boys below 18. Many European countries have minimum marriageable age laws though the institution of early marriage is unknown to them. What then is there to prevent our Legislature from passing such a measure? What is there for the Government to oppose this bill? Is it its alien nature, cussedness, disregard for the welfare of the Hindus or something else? If we are denied political reforms can we also not have social reforms till the system of present Government lasts? Is it not its imperative duty to pass this bill as it passed the Sutee Abolition Act or the Widow Re-marriage Act? Would it not be thus preventing over thirty lacs of children becoming girl wives and over two lacs of innocent "temples of God" becoming widows before they enter their 'teens'. The least that the Government can do is to sit silent and leave the question to the vote of the Hindn members in the Assembly.

ADVANCED PUBLIC OPINION.

While condemning the practice of early wifehood and motherhood in his book, *Tuberculosis in India*, Lankester meets the argument that a warm climate favours precocity and that girls in India develop at an earlier age than in more temperate climates thus :

"Let even as much as two years be conceded and in place of 18 years, which may be reckoned as the lower limiting age in ordinary cases of marriage in the west, let 16 years be the age which popular opinion shall regard as the normal one for marriage in this country. The result would be an incalculable gain in the health of women of India and also in that of the children whom they bear."

Following this advice the advanced social reformer would do well to keep in mind that 16 and 18 should be the minimum

marriageable age for girls and boys respectively. Let him move amendments to this bill to raise the age to this ideal or at least to 14 for girls and 16 for boys and also for the addition of a clause which would penalise the parent or guardian who violates the law. But if he fails in his amendments let him accept the present bill as a first step towards legislation providing a minimum age for marriages. Let the Health, Maternity and Child-welfare organisations, the Hindu Sabha, the Arya Samaj, the Women's Association under the able leadership of Mrs. Cousins and the *Mohila Samitis* and other social bodies all work incessantly till they have seen this bill in its present or improved form and also the amending bill of Sir Hari Singh Gour placed on the statute book.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN JAPAN

By T. K. VADIVELU

WITH the restoration of the Mikado (Emperor) to his legitimate rights as the supreme ruler in 1868 commences the new era of Modern Japan. The visit of the American Expeditionary Squadron, under the command of Commodore Perry in 1853, marked an epochal change in the history of Modern Japan, with the result that the country was gradually led into closer association with the western world. For the previous three hundred years the actual administrative power of the country had rested with the Shogun (feudal lord). But with the restoration of the emperor the entire system of national life in politics, social order, and educational policies underwent radical reform.

The early history of Japan was mostly influenced by Chinese culture. The teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism constituted the basic factors in the development of Chinese civilization. The introduction of Confucianism into Japan dates back to 285 A.D. when Wani was invited to the Mikado's court. Buddhism was introduced about the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era. During this period frequent exchange of visits of priests and students took place between Japan and China and Korea.

The Nara epoch covered the eighth century followed by the Heian epoch which continued until the twelfth century. Art and literature flourished during these epochs. This period ushered in an era of military rule marked by the continuous rising and falling of different ruling houses. This may be called the dark age in Japanese history during which time education was entirely neglected. It was only enjoyed by a small group of people, viz., priests, courtiers and other non-military people. Ieyasu Tokugawa, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603, was one of the greatest military leaders and statesmen Japan has produced. Under the regime of the Tokugawas more liberal and universal education was encouraged. As a result classical studies were revived and many notable scholars appeared.

In 1868 His Imperial Majesty the late Emperor Meiji promulgated the famous charter oath of five articles, which is called the Magna Charta of the Japanese Empire. The principles embodied in the Magna Charta are of a most radical nature—being a change from the most conservative feudalistic idea to the most progressive modern idea. These five articles read as follows :

1. All affairs of the state shall be decided by public discussion;

2. Both rulers and ruled shall unite for the advancement of the national interests;

3. All the people shall be given opportunity to satisfy their legitimate desires;

4. All customs of former times shall be abolished and justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions;

5. And knowledge shall be sought for far and wide and thus will the foundation of the Imperial policy be greatly strengthened.

The last mentioned "that knowledge shall be sought for far and wide" has constituted the basic factor in the foundation of the modern education policy of Japan. In obedience to this proclamation the government took the necessary measures to improve the social and political systems and institutions after the most enlightened models, and the work in education received the greatest share of attention.

Four years later, in 1872 (fifth year of Meiji), another Imperial Edict was issued concerning universal education, which contains this interesting statement:

"Henceforward education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member, regardless of class. If a child, male or female, does not attend an elementary school the guardian is responsible for such neglect."

A large number of scholars and students were sent abroad to study the system of education in arts, sciences, and technical knowledge in different countries in Europe and America. And with the newly acquired knowledge of these students the Japanese educational policies and principles, and all activities of national life have been so moulded as to meet the requirements of the changed conditions. During the early Meiji era a large number of foreign scholars and technical experts were engaged by the Japanese Government to assist in the reconstruction of the national life. But it is quite evident that very few of them remain in the service today, for Japanese themselves are filling the positions formerly held by the foreign scholars and experts.

The fundamental ideals of education in Japan can best be understood from the Imperial Rescript on Education which was issued in the year 1870. All the children are required to commit this rescript to memory. A translation of it reads:

"Know, ye, Our Subjects:

"Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our

subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and Subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

"The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji."

In this it can be seen that the ideals contained in it are mostly influenced by the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism, and at the same time we find the best principles of the Occidental educational system embodied in it.

It will afford much interest to look into the system of educational administration in Japan. The department of education is on an equal basis with other departments, and is under the direct control of the national government. The minister of education has charge of all matters relating to education, literature, arts, and religion of the country. The general policy of education is decided, by the department; however, the management of the schools is left partly with the local public bodies. Under the system of compulsory education, all children at the age of six, are entered in the first grade of the primary schools for a six years' course. After graduating from the primary schools some of them enter the higher primary schools for a two years' course. However, the boys generally enter middle schools for a five years' course, and the girls enter girls' high schools for a four or five years' course. After that three years are further required to complete the work in the higher schools before they are eligible to compete in the entrance examinations for colleges and universities. Primary education in Japan is

given in elementary schools and continuation schools; secondary education in middle schools for boys and in girls' high schools for girls and technical schools of second grade; and higher education in the higher schools, colleges and universities. For the training of teachers there are normal schools for both men and women; for the training of men of business and other vocations there is a number of vocational and technical schools.

Statistics compiled by the Education Department in 1921 shows that there were 43,890 schools. Of these 74 are government institutions, and 41,821 established and maintained by local bodies. There were also 1930 private schools and 220,877 teachers. The entire enrolment of pupils and students was 10,435,364. (The population of Japan in 1921 was 56,787,300) According to the census taken by the government at the end of March, 1924, there were 4,633,480 boys, and 4,374,559 girls, a total of 9,008,039 children, of school age, that is from six to twelve years. Out of these children, 99.30 per cent of boys and 99.03 per cent of girls—average 99.17 per cent are registered in schools. Taking these figures into consideration it cannot but be reckoned that the compulsory system of primary education is a phenomenal success in Japan. Even those American and European countries which boast of possessing highly developed education cannot compare with Japan in this phase of education. If there is indeed any country more thorough-going than Japan in the education of its children it will be the Scandinavian countries. On one occasion during a World Conference on Education held in San Francisco some years ago, a lady from Norway said that 100 per cent of their children were educated.

The figures quoted above eloquently show how much the Japanese people are interested in the education of children and young people. The desire of the common masses of the country—both the parents and also the young people themselves—for higher education cannot be met by the authorities of the department. The sad feature of the educational situation in Japan today is the

fact that the government cannot build an adequate number of schools, owing to lack of funds, to take care of the vastly increasing number of students who seek higher education.

One of the most difficult problems Japan has been endeavoring to solve during the last fifty years is her overpopulation with a limited area of land. The entire area of Japan proper is no larger than the State of California. Japan being a country of volcanic formation, the proportion of arable land is very small. Only 16 per cent of the entire land is productive. About five and a half million families, or thirty million people, which is roughly half of the population, cultivate fifteen million acres, a little less than three acres per family, and half an acre per individual. During the last five years the population of Japan has increased three million and a half. The farm lands for cultivation in Japan proper are almost exhausted, while the increase in the population is almost uncontrollable. The natural resources of the country are very poor. Under these adverse conditions Japan today faces a new problem in the re-establishment of her national economic status.

It is an interesting fact to note that the United States has had much to do with the promotion of education in Japan. One of the noteworthy things which the American missionaries have done in the field of education has been the encouragement of education for women. A number of mission schools have been especially built for the education of Japanese women and they have produced many eminent leaders in the educational field as well as in social work. It is recorded in the history of education in Japan that an eminent scholar from the United States in the person of Dr. David Murry was engaged as an adviser to the Minister of Education from 1875-1897.

Through the aid of education only can a nation make progress and bring to the people a fuller realization of life. Through the aid of education the advancement of humankind is made possible, and at the same time, international peace and unity, which is so much talked about today, can be established.

MORE ABOUT SIND

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE "SUNBEAM"

DURING my stay at Karachi Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Brassey visited India. While he travelled overland in the country his yacht, the "Sunbeam", lay at anchor in the Karachi harbour. Visitors were admitted to inspect the vessel and along with some friends I went to see it. It was a dainty little thing and rested lightly on the water like a white sea gull. But it was roomy enough inside, luxuriously and tastefully furnished. I was struck by a bright brass plate fixed to the door of one of the cabins and bearing the inscription "Mr. Gladstone's Room". On entering the cabin I found it was the library with a comfortable brass bed screwed to the floor. Mr. Gladstone had on one occasion taken a sea voyage on medical advice round the coast of Scotland and Lord Brassey had placed his beautiful yacht at his disposal. On the voyage the great statesman had occupied the cabin that bore his name. The brass plate was an acknowledgment of the honour that had been done to the owner of the yacht. It was a graceful tribute of wealth to greatness.

NALIN BIHARI SIRCAR

Messrs. Kerr Tarruck & Co. had a branch of their firm at Karachi and while I was there Nalin Bihari Sircar, the second son of Tarruck Chunder Sircar, came to Karachi to inspect the office. I had met him several times in Calcutta but we were not intimate friends. His youngest brother, Sarat, was a great friend of mine. At Karachi Nalin Bihari and I became close friends and he used to come to my house almost every day and frequently took his meals with me. Nalin was a capable man of business, and a very frank and modest man in society. After leaving Sind I met him at the Allahabad Congress in 1892, when we stayed together in the same house and travelled down to Calcutta together. I met him again in Calcutta some years later. Nalin Bihari was a Municipal Commissioner

of Calcutta and one of the stalwart twenty-eight who resigned their seats as a protest against the Municipal Act curtailing the powers of the Corporation. He was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta and died comparatively young.

SACRED CROCODILES

A few miles from Karachi there are two or three hot springs, though the water is not so hot as at Sitakunda, Monghyr. There are a few groves of date and cocoanut palms near the springs. At a little distance from the springs there is a pond into which the water flows and which is surrounded by a mud wall. In this pond there are a number of crocodiles which are considered sacred and are fed by visitors with goat's meat and mutton. The place is called Mungo or Mugger (crocodile) Pir. No one knows how the crocodiles came there, for they are not found in the sea and there are no fresh water rivers or lakes in the neighbourhood. The people in the village near by and the man in charge of the springs and the crocodiles say that the pond was not always walled round and formerly the crocodiles used to go out foraging at night and devoured stray sheep and goats, and even children were sometimes missing. Then the village people built the wall and the depredations of the crocodiles ceased. We watched them being fed by the visitors who bought legs of mutton and lumps of meat and threw them to the crocodiles. Seemingly sluggish and inert these saurians became amazingly active as they rushed about and fought for the meat. There was a huge male of a monstrous size which lay apart and disdained to take part in the general scramble and we soon found out the reason. Its snout and head were smeared with vermillion, and we learned that it was worshipped as the Raja, or king of the crocodiles. One of the keepers took a lump of meat, crossed over the wall and fearlessly approached the brute, calling out, Raja, Raja ! When the meat was placed in front of it the monster made no sign, because it was

excessively pampered and overfed. The man then actually caught the snout and opened the cavernous mouth of the Raja, displaying the formidable teeth, took the meat and thrust his hand to the elbow and shoved the meat down the animal's throat! It was only when the man had withdrawn his hand that the Raja closed its mouth and swallowed the meat. It knew the man and was quite tame.

A DEFECT OF MEMORY

Shortly after my arrival at Karachi I found that the Sindhis found it difficult to pronounce my full name, and I found it more convenient to retain my surname with an initial letter. This was a satisfactory solution. On the other hand, Sindhi names sounded very strange to me. I had to come into contact with all educated Sindhis and also with others who did not speak English. When I met a new man for the first time I, of course, heard his name but forgot it immediately afterwards on account of the unfamiliarity of the sound and form. And when I saw the same man the next time I recalled his face perfectly well but the name escaped my memory. I could not ask his name again for that would look awkward and I managed to make conversation until some one else mentioned my visitor's name. And this developed into a defect of memory and I have ever since found it difficult to remember new names. But this failing does not apply to earlier years for I remember perfectly names that I heard as a young boy.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Sind has changed considerably in half a century though many old customs are still retained. The large majority of the people is Mahomedan by conversion. The Amils and the Bhaibandhs are in reality the same class of people divided by their occupations. The Amils served under the Mahomedan rulers known as Mirs and adopted Mahomedan ways just as English ways are now adopted by many Indians. Among the Amils the men wear at home pyjamas and a shirt, and the head is always covered with a small skull cap. The Amils are generally Nanakpanthis and read the Granth Saheb and recite the Japji. The *likanas* or temples are Sikh Gurudwaras. There are a few Singhs, or followers of Guru Govind,

who keep long hair and retain the other symbols of the Khalsa. The women also wear pyjamas called *sutthans*, a long shirt and a piece of muslin cloth called *rao* (રો) to cover the head. When going out they put on a gown called *Peshgir*, but *Saris* are now coming into use. They wore slippers into which only two or three toes could be thrust in, so that while walking women had to drag their feet as the slippers dropped off if the feet were lifted from the ground. Of the ornaments worn the most fearful were the bangles and armlets of ivory, a custom borrowed from the women of Marwar. These bangles were looked upon as a sign of wifehood like the vermilion mark between the parted hair and the single thin iron bangle in Bengal. A nose-ring with a ruby pendant was also an indication of married womanhood in Sind. The ear-rings, usually of silver and gold, were numerous and I counted as many as ten in a single ear of a little girl. The ivory bangles were almost an instrument of torture for they produced discolouration and ulceration of the skin and were taken out only rarely to be washed and cleaned. These hideous things have now gone out of use. When my wife first went to Hyderabad, Sind, where she stayed at the house of Navabai and Hiranand, she was invited to visit other Amil houses and everywhere she was greeted with a chorus of amazed consternation, "*Huth bootli, nuk bootli, kun bootli, hi muudum ake*—her hands (the gold *churis* and *balas* were not taken into account), her nose, her ears are bare, this is a madam (European lady)."

The elaboration of courtesy amused me while visiting Sindhi houses. The inquiries about health usually took several minutes and went the round of all the visitors. The Sindhi equivalent of Sir is Sain (Swami) and the interrogatories started somewhat in this fashion: "*Sain, Khush ahyo, chango bhalo, taza tawana, mardana*—Sir are you cheerful, well, fresh and strong?" The words "*Kien ahyo*—How are you?" sometimes opened the battery, but all the guns were unmasked and fired without fail. It reminded me of the ancient custom of numerous questions regarding one's welfare that we read in the Mahabharata. The effects of Mahomedan influence are apparent among the Amil community in Sind.

The Banias and Bhaibandhs invariably wear *dhotis* and a long coat with a white or

red turban for a headdress. The Banias of Hyderabad and Shikarpur are an enterprising community. They are to be found in Afghanistan, Central Asia, Africa, China and Japan, and in large cities in India like Bombay and Calcutta. The Banias are numerically larger than the Amils and more prosperous. The Mahomedans are mostly agriculturists with a few large landowners.

LANGUAGE.

There can be no manner of doubt that the Sindhis are descended from a Sanscrit-speaking people. In spite of a large admixture of Persian words due to a long period of Mahomedan rule the Sindhi language remains the most direct and closest derivative from the Sanscrit. It has not been leavened materially by any form of Prakrit as is to be found in Bengali, Gujrati and other languages. The pronouns 'we' and 'you' in Sindhi are Sanscrit with a slight alteration. One of the Sanscrit words meaning a frog is *dardur* (দর্দুর), and in Sindhi a frog is called *dedar* (ডেডর). The word *dittho* (ডিঠো), see, is clearly the Sanscrit word *drishti* (দৃষ্টি). *Achho* (অচ্ছো), come, is unmistakably *agachha* (আগচ্ছ). But the Sindhi language has been thoroughly Persianised in form, the declensions of words and the use of genders. The Sindhi alphabet is Persian with some modifications. Women use the Gurmukhi script for writing letters. There is no culture of Sanscrit in Sind and students at college take up either Persian or French for a second language.

THE RUINS OF BRAHMANABAD

In the desert district of Thar and Parker there are some ruins of an ancient Aryan city known as Brahmanabad. There are no historical data but there is a very old tradition that the city in the desert was prosperous and had a large number of Brahman residents. The last king was a young Kshatriya of dissolute habits, who had no regard for

Brahmans and no respect for their women. He was cursed by a holy Brahman for his sinfulness and shortly afterwards the city of Brahmanabad was overwhelmed by a sand storm which buried the city under mountainous heaps of sand.

Umerkot, where Akbar was born, is also in the Thar and Parker district and is a town of some importance.

BUDDHISM IN SIND

When the great Chinese pilgrim-traveller, Hieuen Tsang, came to India in the seventh century he passed through Sind (Sin-tu). The capital was called Vichavapura (Pi-shen-po-pu-lo). The agricultural conditions were much the same as they are now. "The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals and produces abundance of wheat and millet." Rice is also grown in the Larkana district and in Lar, Lower Sind, in the delta of the mouths of the Indus. The traveller saw camels which are still the ships of the Sind desert. Very striking is Hieuen Tsang's testimony to the spread of Buddhism in Sind. He writes :--- "They (the people) have faith in the law of Buddha. There are several hundred *sangharamas*, occupied by about 10,000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle (Hinayana) according to the *Sammattiya* school." This may account for the fact that there are no statues of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas in Sind as the Hinayana school of Buddhism was opposed to the making of images and all the Buddhistic sculptures belong to the Mahayana, or Great Vehicle, sect. Of the king he writes :--- "The King is of the Sudra (Shu-to-lo) caste. He is by nature honest and sincere, and he reverences the law of Buddha." The *Sangharamas* have disappeared as completely as the teachings of the Buddha from Sind and there are no reports of any archaeological discoveries of Buddhist relics. Hieuen Tsang also noticed Brahmanical temples. "There are about thirty Deva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate."

WHAT AMERICANS SAY ABOUT SUBJECT INDIA!

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THIS article consists of two parts.

In part one I cite utterances of honored Americans about *all national bondage*, all forced rule of one nation by another,—which, of course, includes India, although India is not mentioned by name.

In part two I quote things said by distinguished Americans about *India itself*, as held in subjection by Great Britain.

PART I

What have honored Americans said, and what are they saying, about the *right* of all nations and peoples to *freedom* and *self-determination*?

1. THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This most conspicuous utterance of this country to the world affirms:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

If words mean anything, the principles here set forth apply to India to-day as directly, as exactly and as fully as they did to the American Colonies in 1776; with these differences, however, that: (1) the people who suffered oppression in the Colonies numbered only three millions, whereas those who suffer in India number three hundred millions; (2) the oppressions and wrongs of the Colonists were very much lighter as well as of shorter duration than are those of the Indian people; (3) the British had much more right to rule over the Colonists than they have over the people of India, because they (the British) had largely *created* the colonies, and the inhabitants were largely British in blood and civilization; whereas the British did not in any sense create India; none of the people of India except a

bare handful are British or even descendants of the British, and the civilization of India is far removed from that of Great Britain.

2. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The word of no American carries more weight in his own country, or among all nations, than that of this great statesman and emancipator. Here are some of Lincoln's utterances, which, while not mentioning India, are unanswerable arguments in support of the right of the Indian people to freedom and self-government.

"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If a nation robs another of its freedom, it does not deserve freedom for itself, and under a just God it will not long retain it."

Again:

"In all ages of the world tyrants have justified themselves in conquering and enslaving peoples by declaring that they were doing it for their benefit. Turn it whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for their enslaving the men of some other race, it is the same old serpent. They all say that they bstride the necks of the people not because they want to do this but because the people are so much better off for being ridden. You work and I eat. You toil and I will enjoy the fruit of your toil. The argument is the same and the bondage is the same."

Still further:

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off an existing government which they deem unjust and tyrannical, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred, right,—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

If Lincoln had had India directly in mind he could not possibly have covered her case more perfectly.

3. WOODROW WILSON

No man ever uttered nobler words in advocacy of the right of all nations to be free and to govern themselves, than this great American. Although he suffered partial defeat in his efforts to get them carried into

immediate practical realization (a defeat which cost him his life), some of his utterances are immortal, and will hearten fighters for liberty in every coming age.

Said President Wilson in an Address to the United States Senate (April 2, 1927):

"We fight for the liberation of all the world's peoples...for the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere choose their way of life and of obedience."

If this means anything, it means India.

In an Address to Congress (February 11, 1918):

"National aspirations must be respected. Peoples may be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

This applies exactly to India.

In a Message to Russia (May 26, 1917):

"We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples.....No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

India again.

In an Address to the Senate (January 22, 1917):

"No peace can last or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.....I am proposing that every people shall be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unaided: the little along with the great and powerful...These are American principles. We can stand for no others. They are principles of mankind, and must prevail."

If these great utterances do not apply perfectly and unequivocally to the case of India, then words have no meaning.

PART II

I come now to declarations of honored Americans *directly about India*.

1. WILLIAM T. HARRIS

United States Commissioner of Education :

"England's educational policy in India is a blight on civilization. I have studied the problem pretty closely. In the latter part of the eighteenth century Wilberforce, the English philanthropist, proposed to send school teachers to India, but a Director of the East India Company objected, saying; 'We have just lost America from our folly in allowing the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.'"

"There are no free public schools in India [in British India], and no compulsory system of even

primary education. Young Indians are hungry for education; and it is England's duty to do whatever she can to help the spread of education in that great country of ancient culture and wonderful philosophy."

These words are part of an address delivered by Dr. Harris before the American National Council of Education at its meeting in Cleveland, in 1908. The British Government has made almost no advance in popular education in India since these statements were made.

2. CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL

President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

On returning from his second tour through India as "Barrows Lecturer," Dr. Hall gave an address in the New York Bar Association Club Rooms (January, 1908) in which he said :

"There is no denying the fact that England is administering India for England's benefit and not for India's. It is hard for me to say this, because until I went to India my sympathies were all on the English side. My early education was much in England, and I have many dear personal friends there. But it is the truth and the truth must be told.

"Mr. Morley made a speech in which he said that he 'hoped he would not be blamed for the Indian famine; he did not suppose even Indians will demand of the Secretary of State that he play the part of Elijah on Mount Carmel,' implying that the only difficulty is the failure of rains. But this is not true, and it seems incredible that any intelligent, adequately informed man could so mistake the situation. There are factors in this terrible problem which I would not care to discuss in this room. But the obvious fact remains that there is at no time, in no year, any shortage of food-substance in India, if all produce were allowed to remain where it was produced. The trouble is that the taxes imposed by the English government being 50 per cent of the values produced, the Indian starves that England's annual revenue may not be diminished by a dollar. Eighty-five per cent., of the whole population has been thrown back upon the soil, because England's discriminating duties have ruined practically every branch of native manufacture; and these tillers of the soil, when they have over and over again mortgaged their crops and their bit of land, when they have sold themselves for the last time to the money-lender, are 'sold out' by the tax collector, to wander about until they drop by starvation.

"Once when I was in Rugah, just after a terrible famine, I saw several small children viciously hitting another, a little girl, and trying to take something away from her. It proved to be a lump of mud mixed with a little wheat chaff she had found in a shed. She was carrying it away to eat, and the others, brutal from hunger, were trying to get it from her. Later, I was visiting in Rubitan at the home of a well-known mission-

ary. He told me that in a field adjoining their house there had been a fire burning day and night for three months, the fuel of which was dead-bodies, the harvest of famine and its inevitable companion, plague. We send ship loads of grain to India, but there is plenty of grain in India. The trouble is, the people are too poor to buy it. Famine is chronic there now, though the same shipments of food-stuffs are made annually to England, the same drainage of millions of dollars goes on every year."

3. HENRY GEORGE

In his well-known book, "Progress and Poverty," we find the following passage (P.17) which gives the result of Henry George's study of the Indian situation :

"The millions of India have bowed their necks beneath the yoke of many conquerors, but worst of all is the steady grinding weight of the English domination—a weight which is literally crushing millions out of existence, and, as shown by English writers themselves, is tending inevitably to a wide catastrophe. Other conquerors have lived in the land, and though bad and tyrannous in their rule, have understood, and been understood by the people. But India now is like a great estate owned by an absentee and alien landlord."

4. ANDREW CARNEGIE

Mr. Carnegie made a visit to India, and after his return contributed several articles to periodicals giving his impressions. From one published in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, of August, 1906, and a second, in *Der Morgen*, a German paper (January 17, 1908, republished in English in *The Mahratta* of Poona, India, February, 1908), I take the following brief passages :

"I have traveled through India and been introduced to leading natives as well as to British officials. To the Briton, his master, the Indian is naturally reserved ; but to the American he is drawn by sympathetic bonds : thus I believe I obtained an insight into the situation in India which few Britons can secure. There is a strong desire on the part of the educated Indians to govern their own country. Education makes rebels against invaders and conquerors. Young Indians know the long and glorious struggle of the English people against absolute monarchy ; they also know the story of Washington and the American Revolution. These histories cannot be read by men whose country is under a foreign yoke without inspiring in them an invincible resolve to free and govern their own country..... It is not Russia or any foreign attack that the British military officials dread. It is the strong home rule sentiment. It is not against the foreigners, but against the Indian people, that the legions are to be moved.....It seems the fashion to speak of India as 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown.' God grant that this gem may not one day glow blood-red ! If a native of India lives in contentment while his country is ruled by

foreigners, we despise him..... I do not believe God ever made any man or any nation good enough to rule another man or another nation."

5. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Mr. Bryan made a trip around the world, stopping for a somewhat extended visit in India, and on his return published a pamphlet on "British Rule in India" which had a large circulation in this country and England. In the pamphlet he says :

"I have met in India some of the leading English officers (the Viceroy and the chief executives of the province of Bengal the United Provinces of Agra and Oude, and the President of Bombay, the three largest Indian States) and a number of officials in subordinate positions ; I have talked with educated Indians—Hindus, Mohammedans and Parsis ; have seen the people, rich and poor, in the cities and in the country, and have examined statistics and read speeches, reports petitions and other literature that does not find its way to the United States ; and British rule in India is far worse, far more burdensome to the people and far more unjust than I had supposed.

"The trouble is that England acquired India for England's advantage, not for India's she holds : India for England's benefit, not for India's ; and she administers India with an eye to England's interests, not to India's."

6. CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

This diplomat and author of many books says (in an article in *Young India*, New York, August, 1920) :

"I know of nothing more extraordinary than that any American could think or speak favorably or even tolerantly of political absolutism, political despotism,—that which exists in India to-day, or any other. If America does not stand for free government, everywhere, will some one kindly tell me what it does stand for ? The idea that we are to applaud political autocracy because it is British is somewhat refreshing. Does wearing the British name change its character ? We are not called upon to admire absolutism because it is Russian or Turkish, or was at one time Prussian. There is no more reason why we should admire or tolerate it because it is British. The subjugation and rule of one nation by another, wherever it may be found, is loathsome, hateful, poisonous to the people who are compelled to live under it. Yet this is what we have in India,—a foreign rule forced on a great civilized people by the power of the bayonet, and the bomb-bearing aeroplane.

"Sad as is the condition of India under British domination, there is one phase of the discussion of the subject that is not without its grim humor. We are told that this domination of India is actually kind, benevolent, maintained by the British 'for India's good ;' and that the Indian people like it, are grateful for it ! Ah ! yes ! After 160 years of this sort of benevolence the gratitude of the people is so very great that they are hourly expected to rise and tear their benefactors to pieces ! Is it

conceivable that if the Government were really good the people would be incessantly plotting and planning how to get rid of it? Or that it would be necessary to suppress free speech among them? Or forbid the right of assembly, or arrest thousands of them without warrant and send them to prison without trial? Or watch them always with jealous care lest they obtain any kind of weapon?

"Every careful observer who has studied in India the problem of India knows perfectly well that nothing keeps the Indian people from driving their foreign rulers out of the land and back to their far-off home, but the rigorous care with which arms are kept out of their hands. And, notwithstanding the great influence for peace of Mahatma Gandhi, there are many ominous signs of an uprising at no distant day compared with which the revolution of 1857 was but an incident; unless, *unless*, of course, the British are willing to grant to the people whom they have so long exploited, the self-government which is their right.

"I traveled up from Ahmedabad to Jaipur with an open-minded Englishman whose years in India had not obsessed him with race prejudice and fatuous confidence. As we went through villages and saw everywhere the scowling and sinister faces turned upon us, the half-starved people, the wretched huts, the children that do not play and the women who do not smile, and heard everywhere the same mutterings and curscs. I said to my companion;

"When is this volcano going to burst forth?

He gripped me by the arm and looked me soberly in the eye, and said:

'Any moment.'

Can there be widespread discontent under a good benevolent and just Government? Will vast masses of people risk their lives to cast from them their own good? Do revolutions ever go backward? And above everything I ask again: Can there be anywhere on the earth a tolerable autocracy, an endurable domination by force of one nation over another?"

7. UNITED STATES SENATOR, GEORGE W. NORRIS NEBRASKA.

Much has been said at one time and another in both houses of the United States Congress, condemning the forced rule of one nation by another, especially the most conspicuous case of such rule now existing in the world, that of great historic, civilized India by Britain.

In a speech delivered in the Senate in February, 1920, Senator Norris defended the right of the people of India to freedom, and especially condemned the conduct of Great Britain in refusing to give India self-government after she had sent more than a million men into the Great War of 1914-18 to fight on Britain's side.

"The fact that England treats Canada well," declared Senator Norris, "is no defense or justification of her when she

abuses India. No nation on earth should be ruled without its consent."

8. SENATOR JOSEPH I. FRANCE

On the 14th of October, 1919, Senator France, of Maryland, delivered a speech in the United States Senate, on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty. He opposed the ratification on several grounds, one of which was that the treaty practically guaranteed the perpetuity of British rule in India,—a rule which, he contended, had reduced the Indian people from a great, rich and influential nation, to a condition of helplessness and abject poverty. He summed up by saying:

"Gentlemen of the Senate, We, the United States of America cannot justify ourselves in signing and sealing an international agreement which thus sanctions and aims to make permanent the practical enslavement of a great nation, and which, making the situation still worse, also gives and guarantees to Great Britain nearly 931,000 additional square miles of territory, to rule and exploit for British benefit, as India has been ruled and exploited."

9. CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM E. MASON

On March 2, 1920, Congressman Mason, of Illinois, carried the cause of India into the United States House of Representatives, delivering an address on Great Britain's misdeed in holding a great civilized nation, such as India is, in forced subjection, and the duty of this country to sympathize with the Indian people in their struggle for freedom, and to extend to them such moral support as may lie in our power. At the close of his address, he introduced into the House the following Concurrent Resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed, with the expectation that later it would come before both Houses of Congress.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

"Whereas all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed; and

Whereas it has been the policy of the Republic of the United States to give recognition without intervention to the struggling peoples who seek self-determination; and

Whereas the atrocities committed in India by British soldiers and officers, which have met the approval of the British officials, has shocked the sense of justice of the American people; and

Whereas as a result of the great war many of the heretofore oppressed peoples of the world are being recognized by the United States as they seek to govern themselves; and

Whereas the American people believe the same rule of self-determination should apply to peoples

century! Everywhere Government officials, engineers and scientists are saying there must be no more. But what is to be done, and how?

If one day late last April, you could have stood in Memphis, Tennessee watching the crest of the flood sweep slowly by, you would have realized something of its overwhelming power. Two million cubic feet of water flowing past every second—more than a billion gallons every twenty-four hours the volume of ten Niagaras in a single stream!

And if, a few days later, you had been a few miles from Vicksburg, where one of the strongest of the river levees gave way, you would have seen



Scenes Of The Mississippi Flood

the Mississippi then as an immense, overburdened storm sewer, fed by 240 tributaries with the drainage of two-thirds of the nation's territory.

In that one stream you would have witnessed the joining of many distant waters, drained from an area of more than a million and a quarter square miles, brought down from as far west as the Rockies, as far east as the Alleghanies, and as far north as the Canadian border! The

Missouri from Montana and the Dakotas; the Platte from Wyoming and Nebraska; the Arkansas from Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma; the Ohio from Pennsylvania; the Illinois from the region of Chicago; the Des Moines, Wabash, Tennessee, Cumberland—these and hundreds of other lesser rivers and streams you would have found mingled there in devastating flood tide. Small wonder that embankments of earth and sand should fail to bridle them all!

Yet experts believe that final mastery not only is possible, but practical. Plans are already under way for a scientific survey of the flood regions. The chief of Army engineers, Maj. Gen. Edgar Jadwin, after a personal inspection, has predicted that the present Mississippi levees will be heightened at least five feet. Others have proposed rebuilding the entire 2,000 mile levee system, making it stronger, higher, and uniform in structure. At a cost representing one half the losses of the latest flood, we are told, the levees could be built strong enough to assure safety for all time.

—*Popular Science.*

The Chinese God of Destiny



The Chinese God of Destiny, Above, Seems a Fitting Leader for the Warring Factions.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

A Fire in the Sky

Fire 400 feet from the Ground, in a mass of wooden scaffolding at the top of a skyscraper under construction, and so lofty that the firemen could

not reach it, has caused much discussion and some alarm in New York. It has been regarded by some as an additional argument against excessively tall structures.

—*The Literary Digest*

Miss. Foo Foo Wong



New York's Highest Fire
The blazing scaffolding at the pinnacle of the new
38-story hotel on Fifth Avenue which gave New
Yorkers a new thrill



Canton's Joan of Arc Miss Foo Foo-Wong, Leader
of the Amazon Corps of the Southern Army

The "Emperor" Faces some of His First Problems in Life



Otto the Son of the Late Emperor of Austria, Now an exile with his family in Spain, at work on a Problem in Algebra given to the Royal Children by their tutor.

—Times Wide World Photos.

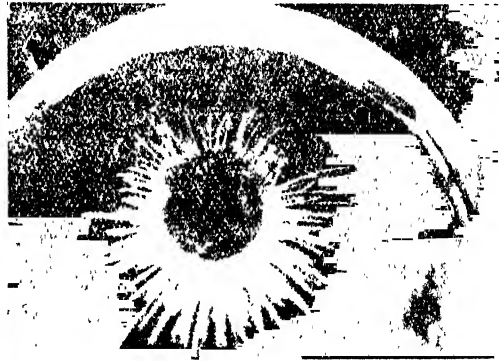
Secrets of "Cold Light"

Scientists are on the verge of far-reaching discoveries which eventually may make the incandescent electric light as out-of-date as the old-fashioned kerosene lamp. They are learning the secrets of a lighting system used by Nature for ages, yet always a mystery to man—the production of light without heat.

In a laboratory at Princeton University, Dr. E. Newton Harvey, professor of physiology, recently utilized the materials employed by fireflies in the summer to flash their lamps, and by fishes in the seas' depths to light their lanterns to produce continuous "cold light." Doctor Harvey believes that science will be able soon to create these materials artificially.

At the United States Bureau of Standards in Washington, two other scientists, Dr. W. W. Coblentz and Dr. C. W. Hughes, have just succeeded in analyzing and recording the intensity of the light emitted by various luminous animals and plants. By studying the spectrum—that is, by dividing the light into the rainbow of various colors, or wave lengths, that compose it, they have demonstrated that this "living light" is virtually a hundred percent efficient in its radiation. In comparison, our best electric lamps, wonderful as they are, are woefully wasteful. In the laboratories of some of the larger electrical companies,

still other experimenters have made lifeless substances glow without heat under strange invisible rays.



This luminous jellyfish, found in the Sargasso Sea, is one of thousands of creatures that illuminate the ocean. The beautiful corona, or halo, is thrown by its own living light

Since the beginning of time men have produced light by heat, by burning substances such as wood, tallow, oil or gas. The higher the temperature, the brighter the light. In the modern electric lamp we use electrical energy to heat a metal filament to the highest possible temperature and make it glow.

The incandescent lamp, marvellous invention though it is, shares with every other form of hot light the drawback that most of its radiation is in the form of heat, and not light at all. Less than two percent of it is visible light. The rest is wasted for the reason that the heat cannot be separated from the light.

Luminescence, or living light, on the other hand, contains nothing but visible light, as Doctor Coblentz's experiments have proved. The firefly's light is all light. It is fifty times as efficient in light radiation as the finest incandescent lamp!

The glow of living creatures is only one of several different kinds of cold light, produced in widely different ways. Place your hand under a strong electric lamp, and your skin and finger nails will give off a glow. This glow is not reflected light, but is actually produced in the skin and nails. If the lamp light can be screened from view, the strange glow will become visible. Your hair, teeth, eyes, or almost any other part of your body can be made to give off similar light. This is fluorescence. It is explained by the theory that the body tissue has the mysterious faculty of converting rays of one wave length into rays of another wave length.

Light, as we commonly know it, is simply the part of radiant energy visible to our eyes. In common with radio, X-rays, ultra-violet rays and other forms of radiation, it consists of ether vibrations, or waves. The differences between all of these lies simply in the length of their waves. Thus, the wave lengths of ultra-violet rays and X-rays, for example, are shorter than those of visible light, while heat waves and radio waves are longer. The different colors of the rainbow

vary in wave length, too, from the shortest waves of violet to the longest waves of red.

Usually, in fluorescence, short wave lengths are converted into longer wave lengths. Thus, many substances, including silk, wool, bone, horn and numerous kinds of living matter, have the ability to convert invisible ultra-violet light, which has extremely short wave lengths, into visible fluorescent light.

On the earth, in the sky, and in the sea are countless living things that manufacture light. Passengers on ocean liners often see the sea apparently burst into a vivid glow when stirred by the passing ship. This light, commonly called phosphorescence, comes from millions of light-making animals, most of them so small that they can be seen only with a microscope. And in the depths of the ocean are strange fishes that dangle gleaming lanterns from long stalks projecting from their heads; others with rows of lights along their sides, like a ship with lighted portholes.

There are marine worms that turn on their lamps when attacked: luminous sponges, jellyfish, earthworms, centipedes, starfish, glowworms, shrimps, crabs and many others. They number tens of thousands. In all, at least forty orders of animals include one or more forms capable of producing cold light.

—*Popular Science*

Mlle Jovita Fuentes



A Japanese Prima Donna with a Spanish Name Now Singing in the Italian Language the Leading Role in "Madame Butterfly" with a German Cast at the Austrian Capital, Vienna. (*Times Wide World Photos.*)

East and West



IS THE MAN WITH THE WHIP LOSING INFLUENCE?
—*Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch.*

Tunes Played by Light Rays on Novel Instrument



Where Light Rays Play Tunes: Part of the Apparatus for Transforming Illumination into Sound

Light was converted into sound and made to play tunes in a demonstration before members of the New York electrical society. Rays from small lamps were passed through tiny holes in a rotating metal disk and were transformed into electrical impulses amplified by loud-speaking units. A button control to turn the different lights on and off was provided.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA

By DR. NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI M. A., Ph.D., (*Contab*)

THE first modern traveller venturing into the deserts of Central Asia was Dr. A. Regel, a German botanist in the service of Russia. His expedition to the oasis of Turfan in 1879 did not produce any practical results, but furnished proof of the existence of numerous ruins and other remains in the locality.*

After him the Russian brothers G. and M. Grum Grzhimaylo explored parts of Chinese Turkestan, particularly the Turfan oasis. Their works were published in 1896-1907,† but being written in Russian did not attract the notice of scholars, as many of them were not acquainted with this difficult language.

In 1898 Messrs. Donner and Baron Munck of Helsingfors, Finland, undertook an expedition to Turkestan and Western China.**

In the same year Dr. Klementz†† of Russia undertook a journey to Chinese Turkestan and worked in Idikutshahri, also called Dakianus, (Qocho or Kao-ch'ang, 17 miles to the east of modern Turfan and some other ancient sites near-by close to the modern settlements of Astana and Kara Khoja, ancient Kao-ch'ang Turfan capital of T'ang and Uigur times and also in Toyuq, Murtuk and different other ancient sites.

Though his results were unsatisfactory his reports gave a fresh impetus and directed the attention of many western scholars to the antiquities of Chinese Turkestan and that of the German scholars to Turfan particularly. The credit of forming the plan of systematic expeditions to Central Asia must however be given to the Russians when in 1899 Mr. Radloff suggested in the Oriental congress at Rome the formation of an International Association for expedition to Central and Eastern Asia.

* Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1879. Heft. X. XI; 1880, Heft. VI; 1881 Heft X. Gotha, J. Perthes.

† G. and M. Grum-Grzhimaylo:—Description of a journey to West China. St. Petersburg, 1896-1907, 3 vols.

** Otto Donner. Reise Central-Asien. 1898 Helsingfors, 1901.

†† A. Klementz. Turfan und seine Alterthumer; Publicationen der Kaiserl. Acad. d. Wiss. St. Petersburg, 1898.

Even before the journey of Dr. Klementz the acquisition in 1891, of the famous birch-bark codex by Col. Bower caused a great sensation amongst Indologists, whose doubts about the importance of archaeological expeditions to Central Asia were thereby dispelled. The history of the discovery of this invaluable manuscript is rather interesting.* In the year 1890 two Turks had found a birch-bark MS. in a *stupa* near Kum-Tura, in the neighbourhood of Kucha. They sold it to Col. Bower who was then in Kucha. He sent it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in 1891 Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, who was then the Philological Secretary of the Society, published a report on the MS.† The MS. was complete and very well preserved and was written in Gupta characters. Its place of origin was North Western India and paleographically it was declared to belong to the second half of the 4th century.§ It should be remembered that the climatic condition of India is not at all favourable to the preservation of MSS. The earliest palm-leaf MSS. belong only to the western part of the country and to Nepal and date back mostly to the beginning of the 11th. century. Earlier than these, so far known, were the two isolated palm-leaves now preserved in the celebrated Horiuji monastery of Japan, which found their way to that country through China in the beginning of the 7th. cent. A. D.

The Bower MS. which is now preserved in the famous Bodleian Library of Oxford, contain 7 texts of which three have medical contents. The author of the MS. was a Buddhist and in this we have at least the oldest datable medical text preserved to us. One of these texts speaks of the origin of garlic, which according to the author, is able to cure many diseases and can extend the life to 100 years. Besides, the MS. speaks about digestion, about an elixer for a life of 1000 years, about the correct mixing of

* For details c.f. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. November, 1890.

† c. f. *Ibid.* April, 1891,

§ c. f. J. A. S., B. 1891 p. 79 ff.

ingredients, about other medicines, lotion and ointment for eyes etc. A second fragment contains 14 medical formulas for external and internal use. The biggest portion is the Navanitaka (नावनीतक) i. e. 'cream' which contains an abstract of the best earlier treatises, and which in 16 sections deals with the preparation of powder, decoctions, oils, and also with injections, elixirs, aphrodisiacs, nursing of children, recipes etc. As the concluding portion of the work is missing, the name of the author is not preserved. All these works are partly metrical. But they have throughout an antique expression. The language is Sanskrit mixed with many Prakritisms. Many authorities on medicine are quoted in the Navanataka, particularly Agnivesha Bheda, Harita, Jatukarna, Ksharapani (क्षारपाणि) Parashara and Shushruta. We have now found MSS. belonging to a still earlier period like the dramatic fragment of Asvaghosa collected by the German mission and published by Prof. Luders and the MS. of the Udanavarga, a Sanskrit version of the Dhammapada, brought by the French mission. Both are written in quasi-Kushan character of the 2nd century. Of the latter work I have the honour to be entrusted with the publication along with other MSS. of the same work, preserved in the French collection. In a subsequent monograph I have a mind to discuss these MSS. in fuller details.

Thus the desert sands had things concealed in their bosom which were long lost to India. After this more interesting discovery there was a regular campaign among scholars of different nationalities to collect MSS., through the representatives on the spot of the various Governments and some of the more energetic ones began to collect independently. These MSS., technically known by the names of agents through whom they were collected, such as Petrovski, Macartney and Weber MSS., were sent to Petrograd and Calcutta. A report on the British collection of antiquities was published by Rudolf Hoernle in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal of 1889 and 1901. The documents were distributed amongst the specialists in Europe and one volume was published with many facsimiles in 1916 under the title '*Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan.*' The publication of the subsequent volumes was delayed by the death of this eminent scholar and I have been told by Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office

Library, that though the MSS. were ready, they have not yet been sent for publication for want of revision by some competent scholars.

In the meanwhile, another very important discovery was made in the southern part of the Chinese Turkestan. A French mission to Tibet was sent in 1892 under the leadership of Dutreuil de Rhins. He secured, in a place not very far from Khotan, a part of a very old birch-bark MS. The find spot has been identified with the Goshin-ga vihara of which Hiuan Tsang gives a vivid account and which is known as Goshirsha in the Tibetan records. The MS. was written in Kharosthi character, prevalent in the N. W. India and in parts of Central Asia, particularly in S. Eastern Turkestan, till the 3rd and the 4th century of the Christian era. It belongs paleographically to the 2nd century A. D., and represents a version of the Dhammapada. But its language is a form of Prakrit which has not been hitherto found in any other Buddhistic literary works. It was also the first Buddhistic work in Kharosthi. When M. Senart, the French savant, to whom it was sent for examination, communicated its importance and contents to the delegates of the 11th. International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, in September, 1897, it created a sensation in the Aryan section. Soon after the communication of the find had been made to the French Academy, M. Senart learnt through M. Petrovski, the Russian consul general at Kashgar, that fragments of a Kharosthi MS. of the Dhammapada had also been taken to the Russian capital by a Russian traveller. Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg, also submitted during the Paris Congress, facsimile of a leaf out of these fragments to the Indologists. On examination M. Senart, at once came to the conclusion that both the Paris and the Russian fragments formed parts of the same original MS. The fragments in the French collection were published by M. Senart but those in the Russian collection have yet to be published. During a conversation with me last summer the French scholar intimated that he was trying to get hold of the Russian fragments and was hoping to give a complete edition of the work.

We have seen so far that such discoveries were dependent more or less on chance and it was not till a few years later that the first regular expedition to these parts was undertaken. Tradition about painted grottos in Kucha and Turfan was very strong and the

natives of Central Asia wanted to profit by this zeal of rival scholars in securing MSS. and other finds. Manuscripts from Central Asia began to reach Hoernle, many of which later on were detected to be forgeries. Necessity of a regular search was strongly felt. The British Government was the first to organise a systematic expedition.

As a result of this, the first British-Indian expedition was undertaken in the year 1900-01 by order of the Government of India in the southern portion of Chinese Turkestan, particularly in the province of Khotan, under the leadership of Sir Marc Aurel Stein, who was then in the Indian Educational Service as the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. He had already a thorough knowledge of the North-Western frontier provinces, the Punjab and Kashmir and his zeal for such an expedition was quite well-known.* The admirable results of this expedition have been incorporated in Sir A. Stein's monumental work, "Ancient Khotan".† Even a glance at these volumes would suffice to assure us of the importance of that ancient civilisation which the joint influences of Buddhist India, China and the Hellenistic Near-East had fostered in the scattered oases of these remote Central-Asian passagelands.

About the same time as Stein, Sven Hedin the Swedish expeditionist visited the N. Eastern portion of Loh-nor, a ruined city of the 1st. cent. A. D. which he mistook as the old city of Lou-lan. He brought back a number of papers and inscribed tablets.

The success of Sir A. Stein gave a new impetus to German scholars with the result that in 1902 the *Koenigliche Museum fuer Voelkerkunde*, proposed to send out Prof. Gruenwedel, Dr. G. Huth and Herr Bartus to Central Asia. As Sir Aurel's expedition was led mainly to Khotan, in the south-western part of the desert, the German one was taken to Turfan, in the Northern part of it, in 1902-3. Besides Turfan Prof. Gruenwedel examined several old settlements to the North-West of Kucha.

In the meantime through the untiring

efforts of Prof. Pischel of the University of Berlin, the Government came forward to render financial help for these expeditions. A committee was formed for the purpose and the Second German or the First Royal Prussian expedition to Turfan was undertaken in September, 1904, under the leadership of Dr. A. Von Le Coq and Herr Bartus. Dr. Le Coq's excavations were mainly confined to Turfan and the neighbourhood; but before he had finished his task the second Royal Prussian Expedition was sent under Prof. Gruenwedel in September, 1904. Six important sites in Kucha, Karashahr and Turfan oases were more or less thoroughly searched [Ming-öi near Qumtura, Qyzyl, Kiris, Shorchuq, Bāzāklīk (Murtuq) and Toyoq Mazār] till the return journey was taken early in April of 1907. As a result of these two expeditions various important specimens of Buddhist art were collected and Manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, Syriac, Soghdian (in Manichaean and Soghdian characters), Middle and Neo-persian languages (Manichaean alphabet), Tangut and 'Runic' Turkish, including the unknown languages commonly known as Tocharian or Kuchean, and North-Aryan or ancient Khotanese were recovered in large numbers.*

The second Central Asian expedition was taken by Sir Aurel Stein under the orders of the Government of India in 1906 with the same object in view as before. It proceeded further to the East, through Khotan and from there right up to the Northern extremity across the Taklamakan desert. Excavations were made chiefly in Khotan, the ancient capital of the Oasis, Domoko to the East and Niya. His greatest discovery, as has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Lueders, was in the district of Tun-huang. Here he discovered the western part of the famous Chinese wall built as a defence against the invasions of the Huns. It was here that he also found the artificial caves numbering about 500 cells of various dimensions which are known under the modern name of "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas."† In one of these cells, which had been walled up but was opened by chance in 1900, was found a very handsome collection comprising a whole library of Manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk which had been hidden away early in the 11th

* c. f. Detailed Report of an Archaeological tour with the Buner field force. By M. A. Stein. 1898.

† Ancient Khotan. Vols. I and II. Oxford, 1907. For a popular version "The Sand buried cities of Khotan."

§ For the report of this expedition C. F. Bericht ueber archaologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung. Muenchen, 1906.

* For details c. f. Altbuddhistische kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan by Albert Gruenwedel Berlin, 1911.

† For details c. f. Stein 'The Thousand Buddhas', London, 1921.

century together with other relics. The manuscripts were partly examined and collected by Sir A. Stein and partly by M. Pelliot, the French Sinologist, who visited Turkestan in 1906-8 and the rest were transferred to Peking under Government orders. The detailed report on the scientific results of this second expedition of Stein is contained in his newly published masterpiece in five volumes, *Serindia*. In these volumes, to quote his own words, he has very carefully noticed the "topography of the ancient routes which had witnessed that interchange of civilisations between India, Western Asia, and the Far East, maintained as it was during centuries in the face of very serious physical obstacles through trade, religious missions and the Chinese Empire's intermittent efforts at political and military expansion into Central Asia".

During this expedition the more important excavations were undertaken at :

1. Khotan:* the capital of the oasis, where a rich harvest of small antiques was obtained.

2. Domoko: to the East, in which place were found antiques and Manuscript remains in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese, dating from the close of the T'ang period.†

3. Niya: (where the excavation was resumed in October). This site has been abandoned to the desert sands since the third century A. D. Here he made rich discoveries of wooden documents in Kharosthi script and in a Prakrit dialect, besides 'other ancient records in Chinese and a mass of miscellaneous antiquities helping further to illustrate the life and civilisation prevailing in the oasis of the Tarim basin, at that early period'.‡

4. The exploration of the Lou-lan site (the walled Chinese station) and of an outlying smaller settlement, yielded an abundance of written records in Chinese and Kharosthi, dating mainly from the 3rd century A. D., and many interesting remains of architectural and industrial art of that period.**

5. During the excavations at Miran, Tibetan records on wood and paper were obtained and also fragments of Turkish 'Runic' documents. These mostly belonged to the 8th century A. D. But much older remains were obtained by the clearing of certain Buddhist shrines, which showed fine wall paintings with legends in Kharosthi, which, according

to Sir A. Stein, 'offered striking testimony to the powerful influence which Hellenistic art, as transplanted from the Near-East to Gandhara, had exercised even on the very confines of China.'*

With the same end in view and in order to undertake more detailed explorations in the sites already visited or left out and extending further to the East and North, a third expedition was taken by Sir Aurel Stein in the summer of 1913. This time he started from the South and proceeded Eastward as far as Kan-chou, visiting on his way the sites of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood of Khotan, Niya and Tun-huang. He then crossed the desert of Pei Shan from South East to North West, and visited Barkul, Guchen and Jimasa to the North. On his way to Kashgar he examined the sites of Idikut Shahri, the ancient capital of Turfan during T'ang rule (7th and 8th centuries A. D.) and the subsequent Uigur period and other important sites (Yi-pan to the West of Lou-lan, Kucha, Aksu, and various other smaller sites) which were not already very carefully examined by the German scholars. In July 1915 he left Kashgar for his journey across the Russian Pamirs and the mountains to the North of the Oxus. But his activities were not confined only to mountains and deserts of Central Asia.

On his way back to India he visited Samarkand, Khorasan and the Persian portion of Seistan, the ancient Sakasthana, or the land of the Scythians. His finds in the last mentioned place, which "served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near-East towards Buddhist India", were none the less interesting.

There, among other interesting finds he discovered on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-i-Khwaja, the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first of its kind traced on Iranian soil. Here he found behind the later masonry, fresco-paintings of the Sassanian period. On the wall of a gallery were also found paintings of a distinctly Hellenistic style. The importance of these pictorial relics lies mainly in the fact, as remarked by Sir Aurel himself, that they 'illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Graeco-Buddhist art of the extreme North-West of India with the

* c. f. *Serindia* Chapter III.

† Ibid. Chap. V.

‡ Ibid. Chapter IV.

** Ibid. Chap. XI.

* Ibid. Chap. XIII.

† *Geographical Journal*, August, Sept. 1916.

Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflected with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest.' The details of this most interesting expedition are shortly to be published in his forthcoming work "The Innermost Asia."

Besides the French, German and British Indian missions there were three more Russian missions sent out to Turkestan. The second Russian mission under Mr. Berisovsky went to Kucha in 1906-07 but its result was rather unsatisfactory. In 1908 the 3rd Russian mission was led by Kazaloff who discovered the ancient city of Khara-khoto. He brought home a mass of mediaeval Tangut (a language of the Turco-mongol family) works and Chinese documents of great importance. These have partly been published in Russian by Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg. In 1914 the fourth Russian mission visited Tunhuang the results of which have not yet been published.

While Europe and India were sending out missions, the Far East also was not silently watching the progress. As early as 1904, the first Japanese mission under Count Otani visited Russian Turkestan, Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Turfan. The mission collected many prehistoric remains, primitive pottery, terra-cotta seals going back to the Han period, remains of Gandhara art and several important MSS. in Chinese, Uigur and Soghdian. A second Japanese expedition under Tachibana visited Mongolia, T'ien-shan, Turfan, Kucha, Lobnor and Khotan, collecting various documents in Chinese and Kuchean. Some of



Rock-cut Buddhist Caves of Central Asia

these have been published from Tokyo, with grand plates, but unfortunately the works are in Japanese and are not accessible to most of the scholars outside Japan.

Last of all I come back to the French mission which I only incidentally referred to in connection with the Stein expedition. But here also I shall mainly confine myself to the discovery made by the French mission at Tun-huang.

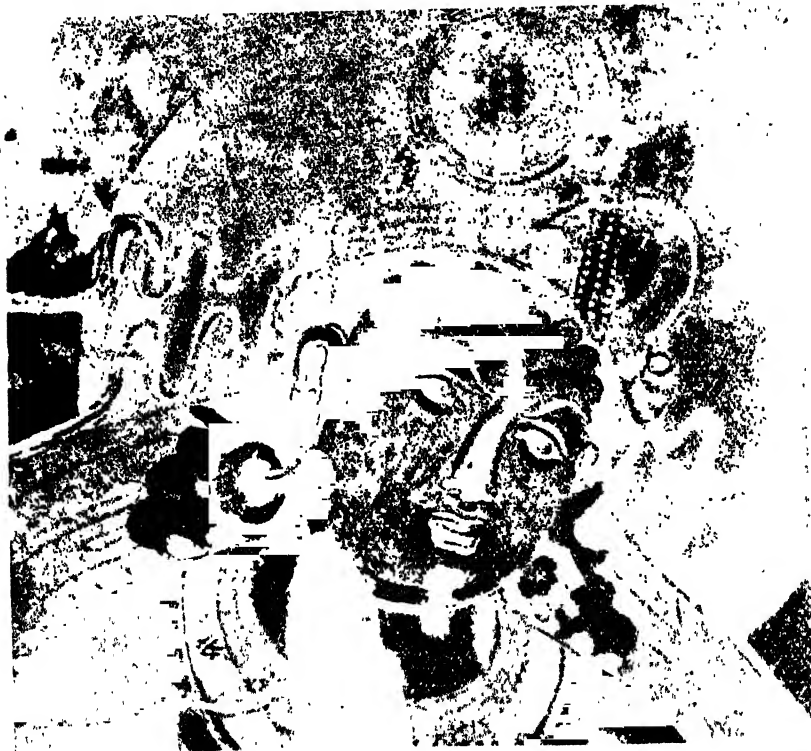
This mission was organised by the *Comite Francais de l'Association Internationale pour l'exploration de l'Asie centrale* with M. Senart as President. Free help was rendered by the French Government, the Academie Francaise, the French Geographical Society



Devotees of the desert saluting Lord Buddha



Buddhist Saints



Central Asian Fresco—Avalokiteswara

and the French School of the Far East at Hanoi (Indo-China). The party under the leadership of M. Paul Pelliot, now a Pro-

fessor at the College de France, left Paris on the 15th June, 1906 and passing through Moscow and Tashkhand, reached Kashgar on the N. of the Pamirs.

This site was studied from geographical and linguistic points of view rather than archaeological, and the party left for Kucha, where the German and Russian missions were already present. After some excavation work at Tum-shuk, a small village full of ruins, already noticed by Sven Hedin, they reached Kucha in January, 1907. Excavation work was undertaken at Ming-öis, which is a Turkish word signifying 'thousand habitations.' This consists of a series of curious and artificial grottos in sandstone which were dug up into Buddhist sanctuaries before the introduction of Islam. There were Ming-öis on the slope to the S. of T'ien shan popularly known under the name of *Ts'ien-fo-tong* or the caves of 1000 Buddhas. These caves were famous in Chinese works

and were also noticed by European travellers. They were full of mural-paintings belonging to the period within 7th-10th centuries. The Germans, the Japanese and the Russians had already exploited the site but still there were some which were neglected by them. Here the French party collected some MSS. in Sanskrit and Kuchean and on the whole the work was satisfactory. Early in February, 1908 the party, reached via Urumtsi, Tun-huang, at the western extremity of Kan-shu, where Fortune favoured them with a wonderful discovery and it would be worthwhile to give the description in the words of M. Pelliot.

"At our departure from Paris", says the French savant, "Tun-huang was fixed as one of the big stages of our travel. It was known that there was, about 20 kilometres to S. E. of the city, a considerable group of caves known as *Ts'ien-fo-tong* or the 'grottos of the 1000 Buddhas', dug out at dates not precisely known till then, but which were covered with mural-paintings which Islam had not yet disfigured. We wanted to devote ourselves to their study, which no other archaeologist had done till then, though their importance was known all the time. ... We were not deceived in our expectation and found that the caves of Tun-huang preserved some of the most precious monuments of Chinese Buddhistic art between 7th and 10th centuries. But another interest was added to the visit in course of our travel. At Urumtsi I heard about a find of MSS. made in the caves of Tun-huang in 1900. ... I came to know gradually how this discovery was made. A Taoist monk, Wang-tao, digging one of the big caves, had by chance opened a small cave, which he had found quite full of MSS. Although our colleague Stein had passed Tun-huang a little before us, I had the hope of still reaping a good harvest. Just after our arrival there, I made enquiries about Wang-tao. It was easy to find him and he decided to come to the caves. He opened for me, at last, the niche, and at once I found a small cave which was not even a metre in every direction, crammed with MSS. They were of all sorts, mostly in rolls but some in folios, too, written in Chinese, Tibetan, Uigur and Sanskrit. You can imagine easily what an emotion had seized me : I was in front of the most formidable discovery of Chinese MSS, the like of which was never recorded in the history of the Far East. I asked to myself, have I only to be contented

with having a glance at them and then go away empty handed, and let these doomed treasures go to destruction little by little ? Fortunately, Wang-tao was illiterate and needed money for the reconstruction of the shrines. everything was arranged and I sat down in the cave with feverish excitement. Devoting three weeks I made an inventory of the Library.

"Of the 15000 rolls, which had thus passed through my hands, I took all that had by their date and contents struck me as of primary interest—about one-third of the whole. Amongst these I put in all texts in Brahmi writing and Uigur, many Tibetan but mostly Chinese. There was for the sinologist some invaluable treasures. Many of these were on Buddhism without doubt but some also were on history, geography, philosophy, classics, literature proper and again deeds of all sorts, accounts, notes taken from day to day, and all were anterior to the 11th century. In the year 1035 the invaders came from the East and the monks had stocked* books and paintings in a hiding place which they walled up and plastered and the opening was adorned with decorations. Massacred or dispersed by the invaders, the knowledge of the library perished with the monks, to be rediscovered by chance in 1900."

Thus the Pelliot mission ended in triumph and all honours were accorded to it on its return to Paris. The ancient Chinese manuscripts are rare in China itself and there was none in Europe till then. Now for the first time a sinologist can work on the archives, in imitation of the historians of Europe. During my stay in Paris I had the good fortune of examining over 3000 fragments written in Central Asian Brahmi, on different Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Kuchean and Khotanese. Of the Chinese collection also, which may be called now decidedly the best in Europe, those from the grottos number about 3000.

The bulky reports, full of most interesting details, which have so far been published, furnish a proof of the repeated hard toils and untiring energy of the great seekers after truth and how all their troubles and risks have at length been crowned with glorious success. They have furnished to the students of ancient civilisation materials, interesting from every point of view, of the culture of a country which, as we have already noticed, formed the connecting link between the West and the Far East on the one hand, and India on the other, and thus

UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF THE PROVINCES UNDER THE REFORMS

Substance of a Lecture Delivered

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

I want for my country the fullest political and economic and social and religious freedom hitherto attained, or attainable by man in the years to come. But I do not know exactly how it can be attained. The paths that may lead to freedom seem different to different minds. As it is not right to dogmatise, no righteous and legitimate means should be ruled out. Some Indian politicians appear to think that the Montagu-Chelmsford "Reforms" contain within them the seeds of a free constitution for India. I do not think so. I do not think that they are either intended or bound to lead to full self-rule. But as some good may be done and some mischief prevented by working them, though at the cost of a disproportionately large expenditure of time money and energy, I intend to show how in some important matters the provinces have been treated differently under the "Reforms". I do not know whether this has been done intentionally. I do not know whether it was foreseen that such unequal treatment would give rise to discontent and to provincial jealousies. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that the provinces have received differential treatment at the hands of the authorities.

Mill on Representation

The first point to which I wish to draw attention is the representation of the provinces in the Central Legislature. I do not intend to discuss all the theories and methods of representation. It will suffice for my purpose to refer to some principles which, according to John Stuart Mill, should govern the extension of the suffrage and its limitations. Some politicians may consider Mill's *Representative Government* out of date and old-fashioned; but it still holds the field as a classic on the subject. He regarded the representative system as the highest ideal of polity, though his ideal was by no means that popular government should involve a mere counting of heads, or absolute

equality of value among the citizens. While holding that "no arrangement of the suffrage can be permanently satisfactory in which any person or class is peremptorily excluded, or in which the electoral privilege is not open to all persons of full age who desire to obtain it," he insisted on "certain exclusions." For instance, he insisted that universal education should precede universal enfranchisement, and laid it down that if education to the required amount had not become universally accessible and thus a hardship arose, this was a hardship that had to be borne. He would not grant the suffrage to any one who could not read, write and perform a sum in the rule of three. Further, he insisted on the electors being taxpayers, and emphasised the view that, as a condition annexed to representation, such taxation should descend to the poorest class "in a visible shape." He was in favour of a form of plural voting, so that the intellectual classes of the community should have more proportionate weight than the numerically larger working classes: "though every one ought to have a voice, that every one should have an equal voice is a totally different proposition." The well-informed and capable man's opinion being more valuable than that of the barely qualified elector, it should be given more effect by a system of plural voting, which should give him more votes than one. As to the test of value of opinion, Mill was careful to say that he did not mean property—though the principle was so important that he would not abolish such a test where it existed—but individual mental superiority, which he would gauge by the rough indication afforded by occupation in the higher forms of business or profession, or by such a criterion as a University degree or the passing of an examination of a fairly high standard. It will be clear from the above summary of some of Mill's views that, in order to judge whether a province is adequately represented, due regard should be had to its population, to

the spread of elementary and high education in it, and to the total revenues collected in it as indicating the property its inhabitants possess.

Basis of Representation in U. S. A., Australia, Canada and France

Though according to the constitution which India possesses at present it cannot be spoken of as a federation of autonomous states, like the United States of America or the Australian Commonwealth, yet it cannot be gainsaid that almost all our politicians are in favour of provincial autonomy and a federal system linking the provinces under a central government. It will not, therefore, be improper to compare the representation of the Indian provinces in the central legislature with the representation of the states constituting the U. S. A. in the Senate and the House of Representatives, of the states constituting the Australian Commonwealth in the two chambers of its federal parliament, and of the states of Canada in the two houses of the Canadian parliament. I shall refer also to the Chamber of Deputies in France.

In the United States of America much controversy had raged over the conflicting principles of the equal representation of states and representation on the basis of numbers, the larger states advocating the latter, the smaller states the former principle. Due recognition was given to both principles by the adoption of a bicameral system. One house, the Senate, contains the representatives of the states, every state sending two; the other, the House of Representatives, contains members elected on a basis of population, the representation of each state being in proportion to its numbers.

The parliament of the Australian Commonwealth consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The former consists of six representatives from each state; the latter of seventy-five members elected by districts as nearly equal in numbers as possible (but ranging from 30,000 to 45,000), except in Tasmania, to which five members are allotted irrespective of its insufficient population.

In Canada the Dominion Parliament consists of an Upper House, styled the Senate, and the House of Commons. The Senate originally consisted of 72 members, 24 from

Quebec, 24 from Ontario, and 24 from the maritime provinces, but this number has been from time to time slightly increased as new provinces have been added. The House of Commons consists of a number of members, originally 196, which is subject to change after each decennial census. The basis adopted in the British North America Act is that Quebec shall always have 65 representatives, and each of the other provinces such a number as will give the same proportion of members to its population as the number 65 bears to the population of Quebec at each census.

In France, the Chamber of Deputies consists of deputies elected on the basis of one deputy per 75,000 inhabitants.

The Council of State

From the brief description of representative bodies in different countries given above, it will be seen that the upper chambers of federal or central legislatures generally consist of an equal number of members from the provinces or states, and the lower chambers consist of members elected by the provinces or states on the basis of population. In India's mock parliament or debating society, the Council of State is considered the Upper House, and the Legislative Assembly the Lower House. But the provinces do not send an equal number of members to the Council of State, as on the federal plan they ought to, the number varying from 6 each for Bombay and Bengal to 1 each for the Central Provinces and Assam.

The Legislative Assembly

As regards the Legislative Assembly, one finds that the basis of population has not been followed in assigning to each province its number of elected members, as the tabular statement given below will show. In it the population is given according to the census of 1921, and the number of members according to the parliamentary "Return showing the results of elections in India, 1923."

The Basis of Population

As the elected European members do not represent the people of India, I have shown the number of European representatives in a separate column.

Province.	Total No. of Elected mem- bers in L. A.	No. of Euro- pean repre- sentatives	Population.
Madras	16	1	42,318,985
Bombay	16	2	19,348,219
Bengal	17	3	46,695,536
U. P.	16	1	45,375,787
Punjab	12	0	20,685,024
Bihar & Orissa	12	0	34,002,189
C. P.	6	0	13,912,760
Assam	4	1	7,606,230
Delhi	1	0	488,188
Burma	4	1	13,212,192
Ajmer-Merwara	1	0	495,271

The table shows that on the basis of numbers, some provinces have been under-represented and some over-represented. That fact will be clear whatever province we may take as the standard according to which the representation of the other provinces is to be judged. As Bombay is the least populous among the Presidencies and major provinces and its citizens are good fighters for their rights, the representation of Bombay may be taken as the standard. Its population is twenty millions in round numbers and the number of its elected members in the Legislative Assembly is 16. So, for convenience of calculation, I may say that the rule is that there is to be one elected member per $1\frac{1}{4}$ million (or 1,250,000) inhabitants. Calculating according to this rule, we have the following table:—

Province	Present No. of elected members	The No. as it would be
Bombay	16	16
Madras	16	34
Bengal	17	37
U. P.	16	36
Punjab	12	16
Bihar & Orissa	12	27
C. P. & Berar	6	11
Assam	4	6
Delhi	1	Nil
Burma	4	10
Ajmer-Merwara	1	Nil

It may be thought that even at present Bengal of all provinces has the largest number of elected representatives. But that is not true so far as the Indian inhabitants, *the people*, of Bengal are concerned. The European elected members (and, of course, the non-elected European members, too,) do

not represent the people of any province. Omitting them, the provinces have the following numbers of elected representatives:—

Province.	Elected Representa- tives of Indians.
Madras	15
Bombay	14
Bengal	14
U. P.	15
Punjab	12
Bihar & Orissa	12
C. P.	6
Assam	3
Delhi	1
Burma	3
Ajmer Merwara	1

This table makes it clearer still that the representation of the provinces has not at all been according to population. That, on the basis of numbers, the Europeans would not have been entitled to return a single member in any province, supposing even that they all lived in each province in some single area, is too well understood to need detailed exposition. Yet, of the eleven provinces which send representatives to the Legislative Assembly, six, namely, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Assam and Burma, have been saddled with representatives of the European community. This incubus is the heaviest in the case of Bengal. As the interests of Indians and Europeans conflict, the efforts of the European representatives in the Legislative Assembly go to counter the efforts of the Indian representatives in many vital matters. This injury to Indian interests is greatest in the case of Bengal, as the number of European representatives is greatest in this province. It is true, Bengal is to blame for furnishing the excuse for handicapping her with the largest European representation: for, by her business incapacity or inattention or lack of energy, she has allowed almost the whole of her commerce and industry to be almost monopolized by outsiders. But for this fault and neglect on her part, her punishment, in the shape of her wealth being drained away, has been already more than adequate. The under-representation of her Indian inhabitants and the over-representation of her European birds of passage are an additional punishment which she should have been spared.

Predominance of the Minority

We are all acquainted with the expression "tyranny of the majority." Similarly

there can be a tyranny of the minority. But tyranny is a harsh word, and I do not suggest any kind of tyranny. What ought to be prevented, so far as that is practicable, is the predominance of the minority over the majority; when the minority and the majority consist of the same kinds of persons. The latter clause is important, as there may be a minority of mentally and morally very superior persons whose voice may, in some circumstances, prevail, without harm, over the voice of the majority. But the inhabitants of the different provinces of India may be taken, I think, to be on the whole of the same mental calibre. Such being the case, no arrangement can be said to be right which gives the minority a greater voice in public affairs than the majority. But that is exactly the case under the Reforms in the Legislative Assembly. The total population of the British Provinces of India is 247,003,293. Out of this total, 134,390,308, that is, the majority, live in Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces, and 109,750,073, that is, a minority, in Bombay, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Delhi, Burma and Ajmer-Merwara. The majority are represented in the Legislative Assembly by a total of 49 (forty-nine) elected members, and the minority by a total of 56 (fifty-six) elected members. Here, therefore, is a case of the minority having a larger number of votes than the majority. There is no mental superiority to justify this giving of a larger number of votes to the minority, as it cannot be contended that the people of Bombay, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Delhi, Burma, and Ajmer-Merwara are intellectually and morally superior to or more and better educated than the people of Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Basis of Literacy

Let me now see whether the number of elected representatives assigned to each province is in proportion to the number of its literates and literates in English. The table given below will show that it is not so. Taking Bombay as the standard, I have shown what the number of elected representatives, of each province would be in proportion to the number of its literates.

Province.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Present No. of Elected Members.	What the No. Would Be on Literacy Basis.
Assam	4,83,105	70,809	4	4
Bengal	42,46,601	7,73,161	17	42
Bihar-Orissa	15,86,257	1,32,062	12	15
Bombay	16,45,533	2,76,333	16	16
Burma	36,52,043	1,13,413	4	36
C. P.	6,33,293	62,736	6	6
Madras	36,21,908	3,98,883	16	36
U. P.	16,88,872	1,75,239	16	16
Punjab	8,33,492	1,39,535	12	8

Instead of taking the numbers of those who are merely literate or merely literate in English (according to the census of 1921), as I have done, I might have taken the numbers of graduates and under-graduates in each province, say, in the year 1924-25, which is the latest for which they are available.

Province	Number of Graduates and Under-graduates in 1924-25.
Madras	12,579
Bombay	9,755
Bengal	25,832
U. P.	6,126
Punjab	9,029
Burma	979
Bihar and Orissa	3,475
C. P. and Berar	1,338
Assam	1,380

The tables, I have given, have, I hope, shown that the representation in the Legislative Assembly given to the provinces under the Reforms is neither in proportion to the numbers of their inhabitants, nor in proportion to the numbers of their literates or of their better educated persons.

Taxation Basis

It is not possible to give the numbers of persons in each province who pay any tax, rate or cess;—no such figures are available. Hence I cannot discuss whether representation has been given on the basis of the number of such persons in each province. But I hope the figures of the revenue collections in each province which I am going to mention shortly would show that representation under the Reforms has not been given to each province on the basis of the revenue collections in each province.

The Qualifications of Electors

The Council of State

The qualifications of electors are neither the same nor equivalent in all the provinces.

cannot now discuss this subject in detail. But I shall illustrate my remark simply by referring to the rules relating to electors paying income-tax in the different provinces. A person can become an elector for the Council of State if he was in the 'previous year' assessed: *in Madras*, on an income of not less than Rs. 20,000; *in Bombay*, on an income of not less than Rs. 30,000; *in Bengal*, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,000 *in the case of Non-Muhammadans* and Rs. 6,000 *in the case of Muhammadans*; *in the U. P.* on an income of not less than Rs. 10,000; *in the Punjab* on an income of not less than Rs. 15,000; *in Bihar and Orissa*, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,800 *in the case of Non-Muhammadans* and Rs. 6,400 *in the case of Muhammadans*; *in the Central Provinces*, on an income of not less than Rs. 20,000; *in Assam*, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,000; and *in Burma*, on an income of not less than Rs. 5,000. There are similar inequalities between the provinces in the qualifications of those who are holders of land, cultivators, tenants, &c. I cannot enter into details now. I shall only mention how, as in the case of the income-tax, Non-Muhammadans are discriminated against and Muhammadans favoured in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa. A Non-Muhammadan in Bengal becomes an elector if he pays land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 7500 in the Burdwan or Presidency Division and not less than Rs. 5000 in the Dacca, Rajshahi or Chittagong division; but a Muhammadan becomes an elector everywhere in Bengal if he pays land revenue amounting only to not less than Rs. 600. In Bihar and Orissa, a Non-Muhammadan can become an elector if he pays land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 1200; but a Muhammadan obtains the same right by paying not less than Rs. 750 land revenue. Note also the difference between the amounts in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa.

The Legislative Assembly

As regards the Legislative Assembly, I shall mention only the inequalities in the qualification relating to the payment of the income tax. In Madras, U. P., the Central Provinces, Burma, and Bombay one becomes qualified if he was in the previous year assessed to income tax (the possession of the minimum assessable income would do). But in Bengal, Delhi and the Punjab he must have

been assessed on an income of not less than Rs. 5,000; in Bihar and Orissa on an income of not less than Rs. 3,840; and in Assam not less than Rs. 3600.

Thus do political and civic human values differ from province to province, and in some provinces according to the creed one professes! A Muhammadan is *ipso facto* more qualified to exercise the right of citizenship than a Non-Muhammadan!

The Meston Award

I shall now make some observations on the Meston Award, according to which revenues from some sources have been assigned to the provinces and those from some other sources to the central government. For some years past, in my two Bengali and English magazines, I have drawn attention to the very inadequate amounts which have fallen to the share of Bengal under this arrangement. Let me once again show by means of a tabular statement how, though Bengal is the most populous province, it gets the least sum of money for all its administrative and other purposes. I need show the population and budgetted income of only the five most populous provinces.

Province	Population (1921)	Budgetted Income, 1927-28
Bengal	4,66,95,536	Rs. 10,73,39,000
Madras	4,23,18,985	" 16,54,80,000
Bombay	1,93,48,210	" 15,08,00,000
U. P.	4,53,75,787	" 12,94,50,000
Punjab	2,06,85,024	" 11,13,00,000

One result of the most populous of these five provinces getting the smallest amount for its expenses is the chronic starvation of its "nation-building" departments. Take education, for example. In 1924-25, the latest year for which figures are available, the expenditure on education from different sources was as follows:—

Province	From Govt. Funds.	From Fees
Madras	1,71,38,548	84,32,991
Bombay	1,84,47,165	60,13,969
Bengal	1,33,82,962	1,46,56,126
U. P.	1,72,28,490	42,14,354
Punjab	1,18,34,364	52,87,444

Bengal gets from the Government only a little more than the Punjab (of which the population is less than half that of Bengal) and less than each of the other major provinces.

Note also that Bengal is the only province which pays for its education more in fees than it receives from the Government.

If Bengal contributed less revenue than any other major province, one could under-

Sources	Madras	Bombay
Jute	0	0
Income tax	1,31,56,365	4,03,77,094
Salt	1,89,91,727	1,73,33,902
Land	6,15,05,867	5,16,52,815
Excise	4,90,59,071	4,15,09,132
Stamps	2,41,51,274	1,78,06,484
Forest	55,73,761	73,07,964
Cotton	9,03,764	1,87,03,383
Total	17,33,41,829	19,46,90,774
Irrigation	2,82,54,234	1,28,51,915
Grand Total	20,15,96,063	20,75,42,689

I have not been able to find out from the *Statistical Abstract* revenues from other heads shown separately province by province. But I hope the table I have compiled will indicate roughly the position of the provinces as revenue-bringers.

Irrigation

I have given two totals ; first, excluding, second, including irrigation revenue. The reason for my doing so is that as the Government has done practically nothing for irrigation in Bengal compared to what it has done for the other provinces, it cannot justly penalise Bengal for the smallness of its irrigation revenue. There are large areas in Bengal, particularly in the districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan and Midnapur, which badly require irrigation ; but very little has been done by the Government in this direction. That Bengal is not considered fit for the production of wheat and cotton, at least of good qualities, may in part explain the inattention of the Government to irrigation in this province. In their own interests, the British people attach great importance to the production of wheat and cotton in India and their export to Great Britain.

Under the heading Productive Irrigation Works, I find the following the figures indicating miles :—

Province. Main Canals and Branches. Distributories.		
Madras	4,049	8,303
Bombay	5,698	794
U. P.	1,459	8,805
Punjab	3,438	13,119
Bengal	Nil.	Nil.

*In the *Statistical Abstract* the salt revenue is not shown separately for the Punjab and the United provinces : a total of Rs. 1,07,05,368 is shown against Northern India Salt Revenue Department. Out of this amount I have given credit for 70 lakhs to the U. P. and 30 lakhs to the Punjab, in proportion to their population, leaving 7 lakhs odd for other north-Indian areas.

stand the niggardly treatment received by her ; but her contributions are not insignificant, as the following statement for 1924-25, compiled from the *Statistical Abstract*, will show :—

	Bengal	U. P.	Punjab
	3,75,63,920	0	0
	5,54,73,933	78,87,089	60,67,102
	2,35,90,897	70,00,000*	30,00,000*
	3,10,73,587	6,71,08,534	3,53,68,120
	2,15,53,443	1,32,29,792	1,19,47,490
	3,36,67,757	1,71,40,031	1,16,61,337
	24,75,529	69,21,987	37,27,312
	2,62,518	6,88,558	19,268
	20,56,61,584	12,02,75,991	7,17,90,669
	23,613	1,31,93,884	6,86,16,428
	20,58,99,197	13,34,69,835	14,04,07,097

Under the heading Unproductive Irrigation Works I find the following :—

Province. Main Canals and Branches. Distributories		
Madras	751	705
Bombay	1,898	1,106
Bengal	69	254
U. P.	428	1,362
Panjab	160	152

But even if irrigation revenue were included, Bengal would not make a poor show, as the grand total shows. If the total revenue collections of the provinces were made the basis for representation, a re-adjustment would be necessary.

Bengal Governor's Opinion

Recently, in his reply to the address of the Mahajan Sabha, the Governor of Bengal said :

"There is, I think, general agreement that Bengal has cause for complaint of the financial settlement arrived at under what is known as the Meston Award. As regards finance, the experience of this Presidency during the years of the Reforms has more and more demonstrated that it is impossible to be content with a theoretical demarcation of spheres of taxation, provincial and central. Practical working has shown that for the proper administration of this Industrial Province some share of the revenues now allotted to central finance must be allocated to the Province."

If there is "general agreement," why does Bengal continue to starve ?

The Permanent Settlement

In order to explain away the starvation of Bengal by Lord Meston and others, it is

said that, on account of the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue in Bengal, it pays less proportionately than other provinces and consequently gets less. But in the form of other taxes, it pays more. Why is that fact not taken into consideration? Moreover, neither the Government of Bengal nor the people of Bengal are responsible for the Permanent Settlement. It was the Government of India which was responsible for the Permanent Settlement. It is an admitted fact that it was advocated and made because it was understood that it would place the finances of the Government on a more stable basis. The parties to it, who have benefited thereby, were the Government of India and the revenue farmers or landowners called Zemindars. The generality of the people of Bengal were not responsible for it and have not reaped the main advantage from it, if they have at all been benefited by it. Directly or indirectly, most of them live by agriculture, and have to pay in the shape of legal, non-legal and illegal demands not less than their fellows in the other provinces. If the Permanent Settlement has been a mistake, it would be neither honest nor honorable for the Government of India to indirectly compel either the Government or the people of Bengal to raise an outcry against it by starving them. It is the Government of India which ought to find the proper remedy. It is not my purpose to pronounce any opinion upon or discuss the pros and cons of the Permanent Settlement. What I want to show is that, whether it remains or goes, Bengal is entitled to get at least as much money for its expenses as any other province.

Jute Export Duty

Just as land revenue has been rightly and logically assigned to the provinces, so ought the jute export duty, as it is derived from what grows on the soil. I have never been able to understand on what just grounds Bengal has been robbed of the jute export duty. It has been argued that the jute export duty is not paid by the people of Bengal, but by the foreign purchasers of jute. This is not axiomatic. For, as pointed out by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Legislative Assembly on the 10th of March this year, in the opinion of the Fiscal Commission, page 100 of their Report, "*some portion, if not the whole, of an export duty falls on the home producer.*" The same gentleman pointed out

in the same place and on the same day, that the Taxation Enquiry Committee observed in paragraph 150 of their Report:—

"In spite of the monopolistic character of the product, there exists a possibility that, in certain conditions of the trade, a portion of the export duty may fall on the producer."

Even *The Statesman* writes thus in its issue of July 21 last:—

The members of the Bengal National Chamber asked that the proceeds of the jute export duty should be handed over to Bengal, for its local purposes. Sir Basil is reported to have said that, while he is not personally in favour of maintaining the duty, if it is maintained the proceeds must go to the Central Government as the duty "is paid not by the producers but by the consumers." There Sir Basil Blackett runs counter to what we had supposed to be the least controverted doctrine in economics—that the ultimate incidence of an export duty was always upon the producer. It may be that jute being a monopoly of Bengal the Finance Member believes that the foreign buyer will always have to pay the Bengal price plus the duty, but if that be the argument it is legitimate to say that the Bengal price is kept lower than it would otherwise be by the effect of the duty. There is a limit beyond which the foreign purchaser will not buy. If he is willing to pay a sovereign for a particular parcel of jute and no more and the seller must sell, then the seller pays the duty and receives the sovereign. The buyer would still be willing to pay a sovereign for the goods were there no duty included in the price. The purpose of an export duty is to keep goods in a country, just as the purpose of an export bounty is to send them out. The effect is to lower prices in the home market practically by the amount of the duty, and it is the producer who gets the lower price. Obviously if the foreign purchaser will only pay a sovereign with the duty included and could still afford to pay a sovereign if the duty did not exist, the home purchaser, if he wished to get the goods, would have to pay a sovereign for them, whereas he now obtains them for an amount below a sovereign equal to the duty which would have to be paid upon export.

So Bengal is entitled to at least part of the proceeds of the jute export duty. But assuming that the producer does not pay any part of the duty, according to what principle of justice or equity, except the hero's right of might, does the Government of India lay hold of the entire proceeds? It is in Bengal that the thing is produced. It is the Bengal Government which does something, however little it may be, for the improvement of the cultivation of jute. It is the people of Bengal who toil to produce the raw jute. It is they who suffer from the contaminated water and the maldouras resulting from the steeping of jute. It is they who suffer from the pollution of the river

waters by the septic tanks of the jute mills. It is the public health department of Bengal which does something, however little, for counteracting the injurious effects of the production of raw and manufactured jute. The Government of India simply looks on from its serene heights all the while, and it is only when the proceeds of the export duty are collected that it swoops down and carries off the booty in its mighty talons. The Meston Award, which has legalised this plunder, is absolutely iniquitous. *Bengal ought to have the whole of the jute export duty.* According to Mr. K. C. Neogy, up to the 31st March, 1927, the Government of India have, by means of this tax, netted at least 34 crores of rupees, starving all the "nation-building" departments of Bengal.

Income Tax

The grounds on which, it is said, Bombay and Bengal are deprived of the proceeds of the income tax require to be examined.

It has been argued that as the whole of the income tax revenue collected in Bombay and Bengal is not really paid by their inhabitants, they have no claim to it. Perhaps it is meant that the purchasers in other provinces of the things made or imported by manufacturers or importers in Bombay and Bengal pay part of the income tax collected in these two provinces; for these manufacturers and importers include the income tax in fixing prices. Assuming the cogency of this argument, at least the portion of this revenue which is paid by private individuals out of their incomes in Bombay and Bengal,

can certainly be claimed by Bombay and Bengal. And as for the portion of this tax paid by manufacturers and importers, surely the provinces which are able to give them a local habitation and opportunities of enterprise owing to their geographical and other advantages, ought to be entitled to what they pay as income tax. Great Britain is mainly a manufacturing country, and its manufactures are for the most part sold in various foreign lands, including India. In fixing prices British manufacturers take into consideration the income tax they would have to pay. Therefore, in reality, it is the foreign purchasers of British goods who pay most of the British income tax. But does the British Treasury for that reason send to the public treasuries of the purchasing countries the bulk or any portion of the British income tax collections? If that were done, we Indians should be very glad indeed to have our share!

Conclusion.

For all these reasons I have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that Bengal should be given as much money as Madras, or as Bombay, which has less than half of its population. I do not in the least suggest that Madras or Bombay or any other province should be robbed to do justice to Bengal. Nothing of the kind. There is ample room for economy in the spending departments of the Government of India. Let there be retrenchment there, and all will be well.

RECENT HINDI LITERATURE

By ILA CHANDRA JOSHI

SELF-PRESERVATION is the first law of nature and self-deception is the foremost law of the spirit of nationalism as it is in most countries. A typical nationalist deceives himself by believing that everything that belongs to his nation is excellent. Even if he feels in the innermost depths of his heart that his nation is inferior in many

respects to a great many nations of the world, he spares no pains in throwing dust into the eyes of the people of other nations and tries his best to prove to them that his nation is far superior to theirs in matters of art, culture, philosophy and everything else. For the modern cult of nationalism is, beyond doubt, the cult of hatred. It has

never been and will never be the cult of truth. This venomous spirit is purely a product of the West and our political leaders have now begun to confess that the dream of the "political salvation" of India can only be realized if we can fully assimilate this western spirit.

Owing to this very spirit of nationalism (or, in this case, may we call it provincialism which is the twin brother of nationalism?) the critics and writers of Hindi literature have been deceiving themselves, for sometime past, by believing that modern Hindi literature is in no way inferior to any other literature of India, if not of the whole world. This self-deceptive, envious, and suicidal belief is so strongly current throughout the Hindi-reading public, that if anybody, shocked at this crude and naive exaggeration, ventures to disprove the fact, he is supposed to be a heretic, a *kafir*, a traitor to the cause of his mother tongue. Oaths and abuses are hurled upon him from all sides and he is left terror-stricken like a man standing amidst a furious and enraged mob.

Now, let us look facts squarely in the face and try to judge the merits and demerits of recent Hindi literature without any prejudice or ill-will. *Premashram* is supposed to be the best work of fiction in our literature. This very work of fiction has made our men of letters (I am speaking as a member of the Hindi-reading public) realize for the first time the greatness of our literature. The author of this novel has exercised such a great influence upon the Hindi-reading public that he is supposed to be the "master novelist" of our age. Now let us see what are the merits of this master-piece that led the public to speak highly of it in rapturous outbursts. Our leading literary critics who guide the public in the matter of artistic tastes are unanimous in their statement that one great cause that accounts for the greatness and popularity of this work of fiction is this that the true spirit of nationalism pervades the whole work. To judge art according to this standard is to strangle the very spirit of truth. It is to bring down art to such a low level as is beyond comprehension. The one and sole aim of art is to make man acquainted with the greatest ideals of *humanity* by analysing the mysteries of the human soul. One "great problem" which the author of *Premashram* had attempted to solve, when he began to write the book, was quite an ephemeral one. It was the problem of

council-entry. The book was published before the Swarajists sought to enter the councils. Now that the problem has been solved somehow or other, in one sense the utility of this novel has been lost. But a few more problems have been tackled in this "masterpiece", the most important of them being the problem of *Zemindari* or landlordism. The author has shown how the Zemindars or landlords of our country oppress their miserable tenants, and he has tried to draw the sympathy of the public towards the poor victims. He has doubtless succeeded in his attempt. But what we want to say is this that from the artistic standpoint this "masterpiece" of fiction is an utter failure.

All the greatest artists of the world have always tried to solve the problems of *humanity* in their works. They have written for all countries and for all ages. They have condemned all those writers who have tried to "nationalize" their works. Romain Rolland, the great French writer, says in his *Theatre du peuple*, "If we would create strong souls, let us nourish them with the strength of the whole world, for, the nation alone is not enough." Schiller, the great German dramatist, used to say, "I write as a citizen of the world. Early in my life I exchanged my fatherland for humanity." Goethe, the greatest German poet, said almost a hundred years ago, "National literature means very little to-day: world literature is at hand and each one must labour to make it an accomplished fact." He also said somewhere, "It is evident, and has been for a long time, that the greatest geniuses of all nations have kept all of humanity before their eyes. You will invariably perceive this general idea standing out above national ideas and the peculiarities of the writer. The most beautiful works are those that belong to all mankind." This he said at a time when speaking anything against national belief was supposed to be blasphemy, almost a crime. But our critics and men of letters do not want to see the truth and they have shut their eyes to the light. Popularity, and not truth, is their sole criterion. We would have let them remain undisturbed in their paradise. But they have corrupted and vitiated the taste of the public and have made its aesthetic sense and faculty of appreciating art quite blunt. It is quite a deplorable state of things, no doubt. The critics of the Hindi world of letters have led the public to believe that the works of Tagore, the enlight-

end and serene poet of love and joy, and of Gorki, "the master of sorrow and of pathos," are nothing but a means of political or social propaganda. One wonders what these most venerable writers would have thought had they been informed of this charge brought against them. The public has been misled by the false criticisms of these critics and takes every word spoken by them to be true.

Mr. Premchand, the author of *Premashram*, has lately written another big novel, entitled *Rangabhumi* or "The Stage". According to Shakespeare the whole of the world is a stage in which scenes of love, fear, hope, pity and other tender emotions of man are seen day and night. But in this "Stage" of our master writer horrible scenes of political and social triflings, petty, nonsensical "national" sentiments have been displayed. Only the bright illumination of its enthusiastic style has dazzled the eyes of the spectators.

The short stories written by Mr. Premchand are counted among the best stories in Indian Literature, if not in the literature of the world, by our literary men. I have read not more than two volumes of his short stories. This I must confess. But the stories contained in these volumes are counted among the best he has written. In one of these stories he has endeavoured to show that the bonfire of foreign clothes is unobjectionable on both ethical and political grounds. In another he has shown that it is very dangerous to be ensnared by the lures and wiles of a harlot, or a woman of a loose character. In yet another he has tried to prove that God punishes those men who rob other people of their money or property by treacherous means. The subjects of almost all the stories are as trifling and commonplace as these. And despite all this he is supposed, without any scruple or hesitation, to be the worthiest rival of the masters of the art of story-writing! A certain publisher of Mr. Premchand actually published the false statement in the preface to one of his books that Mr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the Bengali novelist, thought the stories of Mr. Premchand in no way inferior to those of Dr. Tagore. Our literary men were, of course, much flattered by this statement, and it was made much of in the periodicals. When, however, this was brought to the notice of Mr. Chatterjee he contradicted it vehemently and felt ill at ease. Such is the condition of the current Hindi literature. The young

writers are great admirers and staunch devotees of Mr. Premchand. All of them follow in his footsteps. If any one manages, somehow or other, to get out of that beaten track, he is swayed by dilettantism.

As with fiction, so with poetry. The poets are guided by some trilling and petty conventions, and nobody ventures to transcend the limits of conventionalism. *Priyapravasa*, written by Mr. Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya, is supposed to be the greatest poem in the Hindi literature of the present day. Some set phrases, hackneyed similes and metaphors and conventional expressions borrowed from some old Sanskrit books of verses, are heaped up in this poem. Nothing vital, original and substantial can be found in it. *Bharat-Bharali*, another "great poetical work" of another "great poet," is nothing but a narration of facts. In it the author has described the past glory of India in a chronological order and has deplored in a melodramatic way her present downfall. The poems of young poets that appear occasionally in monthly magazines and weekly papers are either "national" in spirit or full of dilettantism.

There are many small circles in the Hindi world of letters of the day and each circle has its own foolish conventions in matters of art. There was a time in Russia when there an editor of a certain magazine refused to publish the remaining one-third of Tolstoi's greatest work of art, *Anna Karenina*, after having published two-thirds of it serially in his magazine. The reason of this sudden surprising refusal was that the editor differed from the author "on the Serbian question" which was being discussed in the political circles of Russia at that time. Tolstoi, who was struck with amazement by the attitude of the editor, published the remaining part of his masterpiece in a separate pamphlet. Such exactly is the case with the Hindi literary circles of to-day. There also the editor of a certain journal will not publish your article, no matter however excellently it is written, if he differs from you on that accursed "Serbian question." Darkness reigns there supreme. Nobody wants to see the light and every "literary man" desires to live in a fool's paradise. Every writer is actuated by the sole motive of money-making and popularity. The Hindi-reading public is stifling under the pressure of a despotism of the most furious type—literary tsarism—that ever prevailed in the realm of literature. The voice of truth is being mercilessly smothered.

Nothing short of a great revolution will bring this tsarism to its senses. All men of genius are centrifugal in temperament. They shatter the walls of petty conventions of their nations to pieces and always transcend the conventional ideas without caring about the furious howling of the mob. Such a real genius—a Napoleon, is wanted who will revolutionise the whole of the Hindi world of letters from one extremity to the other. We are acquainted with four great literary revolutionists of modern times. These are : Goethe, Tolstoi, Romain Rolland and Tagore. These great revolutionaries have throughout their lives combated falsehood and they were victorious in the long run. In their love of truth they never cared about

other people's opinion. They never sought popularity ; they always sought truth. In the preface to his world-famous revolutionary writing *Au-dessus de la Mellee*, Romain Rolland writes, "Ma tache est de dire ce que je crois juste et humain. Que cela plaise ou que cela irrite, cela ne me regarde plus." That is : "My task is to say what I believe to be just and humane. Whom it pleases and whom it grieves, that has nothing to do with me." Yes, we want such a brave-hearted man in our midst. We want a Romain Rolland,—a Jean Christophe. We are in doubt whether the spirit of Jean Christophe will ever be roused in our hearts and the present tsarism will ever be overthrown. Yet let us hope for the best.

BLIND

By SAROJINI NAIDU

I

I pray you keep my eyes
Till I return one day to Paradise.
Bereaved of you, Beloved, I am blind,
A broken petal drifting in the wind,
A sightless song-bird with a wounded wing,
Forlornly wandering.

II

O Love, how shall I know
If Spring has kindled the high, limpid snow
Into rich crucibles of amethyst,
Or in far meadows lulled in silver-mist.
Wild poppies waken to the tender rune
Of the frail, pearl-blue moon ?

III

I shall not see alas !
Sumptuous and swift, life's bridal pageants pass,
Or radiant martyr-youth sorely ride
In death's gay cohorts mailed in dazzling pride ;
Watch mystic hordes assail like pilgrim seas
Time's ageless sanctuaries.

IV

No lambent rays retrieve
The brooding dark in which I grope and grieve,
Banished, remote from the consoling grace,
The wise, compassionate radiance of your face.—
When will you call me back to Paradise,
Love, to redeem my eyes ?

COMMON ELECTORATES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE agreement over the common electorate proposal is a great achievement, which alone may suffice to give lustre to Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's regime as Congress President. Reactionaries and persons interested in keeping up the atmosphere of communal discord may still oppose the proposal. Whatever may be the result, that such a proposal has been influentially supported is one of the most note-worthy triumphs of good sense in recent times. There is nothing so effective as a long rope for people to learn lessons. The wisdom of the exclusivists has been given a full trial and found by all to be most damaging in result. That way lies no hope for the nation or any community for that matter.

Voluntary forms of untouchability are no better than that enforced variety which is known as a blot on Hinduism. Untouchability is an evil not only when it is a social bar between high and low caste, but also when it takes the shape of a political bar between two components of a population that must live together for good or evil. Though not imposed by ancient custom, but invented by modern politicians, the system of separate electorates is a form of untouchability. Untouchability is bad socially ; so also is it bad politically. In both cases both sides suffer.

From exclusive and separate electorates to a joint electoral roll is a great advance. There may not be inter-communal confidence enough yet for men to give up the divisional idea altogether and to accept complete identification with other communities. An easy path-way to personal position and power which communal exclusivism opens out to fortunate members of a minority community is yet too much of a temptation for individual ambition to resist in the larger interest of national growth. But any step in advance is in itself to be welcomed. We must wait patiently, for all the lessons to be learnt. The full course of affliction must be gone through for truth and good sense to triumph completely. Wisdom learnt that way is burned into us and will be permanent.

Let us, then, not be impatient. When

men get really to govern themselves through their representatives, when our democratic institutions are not as now mere clubs of the pushful, but real institutions responsible for the happiness and misery distributed among the people, the latter, i. e., the governed, will see that there is no particular advantage in having men of this or that persuasion to manage their affairs. They will then see that it is more important to put good and able men in charge and that a man of one's own caste or faith, if bad or foolish, does terrible injury, not to be compensated for by the consciousness that a member of one's own faith or caste is enjoying power.

Even if seats are still reserved for particular communities, there are distinct advantages in a joint electoral roll. Candidates, both Mussalman and Hindu, will come forward whose conduct has obtained the approbation of Mussaimans as well as Hindus. Those who have set the one against the other community must lose the votes of the one or the other, and cannot hope to win the majority of votes in a joint electorate. It will gradually bring men to see that the path to political position and power lies through broad-minded and non-sectarian activities and true service, and not by playing to communal passions and prejudices. Every aspiring public worker will see that narrow interpretations of patriotism serve to diminish one's opportunities for being chosen to render public service.

It may be thought that even if we have joint electorates, men will go on working up communal prejudices and appealing to voters on the basis of caste or religion, privately, if not publicly. This cannot long continue, for anything done on a large scale cannot but get known and bring its consequences with it. Some may try to secure the votes of a solid mass of voters by appealing to communal patriotism and may thus successfully defeat rival candidates working on more difficult and non-sectarian lines. This may be so as long as there is a paucity of candidates. But as time goes on, the natural result of opportunities afforded will be that a number of candidates will come forward

from the same community, and they will perceive that in the competition among themselves he who by his non-clannishness secures votes from the electorates of both communities, has an advantage over one who plays to religious or sectarian prejudice. This will tend certainly in course of time to lead the activities of public men in the right direction. Let us therefore hope that all men of

far-sighted patriotism will support the principle of communal electorates. This is not merely a phase of the working of the present Montford reforms or a question only for the Royal Commission for the revision of the Reforms but is a substantive principle affecting the permanent fate of India. It is a step towards Swaraj.

TRUTH ABOUT THE POSITION OF THE HINDUS IN THE UNITED STATES

By MARY K. DAS

WHEN I wrote the article on Truth About the Position of the Hindus in U. S. A. published in the April issue of the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), through the kindness of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the famous Pandit case had not been decided by the United States Supreme Court. Since then Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney-at-Law of Los Angeles, California, has won his case before the U. S. Supreme Court. Mr. Pandit's victory has established a precedent in favour of those Hindus against whom cases for cancellation of naturalization were pending before various U. S. Courts. However, so far nothing has happened to change any of the conclusions expressed in my former article on the subject.

Many misinformed Americans as well as Hindus think and write in newspapers in America and India that the 69 Hindus who were naturalized are now restored to their former American citizenship as an outcome of the Pandit case.

In a letter from the U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., May 20th 1927, Hon. Raymond C. Crist, Commissioner of Naturalization, gives information, which is entirely different from the general impression on the subject. The Government of the United States, according to the Department of Labor, is not anxious to keep its faith with *all* the Hindus who were duly naturalized. The Department of Labor does not recommend, so far as we can judge, the restoration of citizenship of all the Hindus who were duly naturalized, but it recommends

that the cases should be withdrawn only against those whose cases are still pending. Of the 69 Hindus, duly naturalized, in 45 cases, through the efforts of the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice, naturalizations have been cancelled. These forty-five persons are rendered stateless, because the United States Government saw fit not to keep faith. The letter reads as follows :—

"Mr. Walter N. Nelson
Attorney and Counsellor
1438 Dime Bank Bldg.
Detroit, Michigan

"Dear Sir :

Answering your letter of May 7, you are advised that recently the Attorney General, in accordance with this department's recommendation, authorized the respective United States Attorneys to discontinue suits to cancel the naturalization of certain Hindus, which has the status of pending cases. This probably is the subject-matter to which the press report in question had reference.

Very truly yours
Raymond C. Crist
Commissioner of Naturalization."

The position of the United States Department of Labor, regarding the status of the Hindus in the United States, as to their right to become citizens and also if the 69 Hindus who were once naturalized by the U. S. Courts (fourteen U. S. District Courts) are citizens or not, has been further explained in the following letter of the Acting Secretary of Labor, Hon. Mr. White, addressed to Senator Royal S. Copeland of the United States Senate. The letter reads as follows :—

Department of Labor
Office of the Secretary
Washington

265-c-445063
May 21, 1927

Hon. Royal S. Copeland
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator :

This is to acknowledge receipt of communication of Mr. W. W. Blakely of Dexter, Michigan, dated the 8th instant, requesting information concerning the naturalization status of Hindus, which your secretary Mr. Chesley Journey, left at the Bureau of Naturalization on the 10th instant.

For Mr. Blakely's information, the Commissioner of Naturalization informs me that recently the Attorney-General, in accordance with this department's recommendation, authorized the respective United States Attorneys to discontinue suits which had been instituted to cancel naturalization of certain Hindus and which had the status of pending cases. This probably is the subject-matter of the press report to which Mr. T. D. Sharman called Mr. Blakely's attention. The action taken by the Attorney-General has no bearing upon the cases of those Hindus whose naturalizations have already been cancelled. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of U. S. v. Thind, 261 U. S. 204, that Hindus are ineligible racially for naturalization, is in no wise affected by the Attorney-General's action. The recommendation of this department to the Attorney-General was submitted in letters dated March 25 and April 2, 1927.

I take great pleasure in returning Mr. Blakely's letter herewith.

Cordially yours
Robt Carl White
Acting Secretary.

From Hon. Mr. White's statement, it is clear to us that, the U. S. Department of Labor wanted that 69 Hindus who were duly naturalized should be deprived of their citizenship; and according to the wishes of the said department, the U. S. Attorney-General—representing the Department of Justice—started suits to cancel their American citizenship. In 45 cases naturalization certificates were cancelled by U. S. (lower) courts; and these Hindus did not have sufficient means and influence to fight their cases up to the Supreme Court of the

United States. These 45 Hindus had been duly naturalized as others against whom cases for cancellation of citizenship were pending. However, they have been deprived of their American citizenship and rendered "stateless", because the United States Government has failed to keep faith with these Hindus and have persecuted them and the rest of the 69, by starting suits to cancel their naturalization. None should forget that this was done, in accordance with the recent settled policy of the United States, that no Asiatic should be a citizen of the United States. Secondly, Hon. Mr. White makes it clear that the U. S. Supreme Court's decision that "*Hindus are ineligible racially for naturalization*" remains unaffected. So in future, unless the situation changes, no Hindu can become a citizen of the United States, and it is because he is an Asiatic, in other words, "*racially ineligible*."

First of all, the people of India should take into consideration what can be done to restore these 45 stateless Hindus to their rightful position of American citizens. We thought that, through proper legislation by the U. S. Congress, this injustice could be remedied. Last year, my husband and I, at considerable personal sacrifice and expense, tried this method, but we failed. It may be that, further efforts, directed towards the same purpose, will fail again. In that case what should be done by the people of India and the Indian Government? Lastly, what are the Indian people going to do to remove the existing discriminatory legislations against them in various parts of the world—within the British Empire and the United States of America, Panama, etc.—? The Indian people cannot expect to secure help from other quarters, unless they are willing to do their share in the fight to retain their rights as human beings and effectively oppose racial discriminations of all forms.

Munich, Germany
June 18, 1927.

"WHY DO I SIGH"

Why do I Sigh
When there is so much splendour in the sky?
Why do I grieve
When there is so much sweetness in the eve?
Why do I weep
When jewelled stars adorn the voiceless deep?
Why do I cast
A mournful shadow on the ancient vast

Of this great world
With multitudinous serene unfurled?
Is it because
Beauty is prisoned in relentless laws,
And I and stars
Gaze at each other through dividing bars?

H. CHATTOPADHYAY

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE PYTHAGORIAN WAY OF LIFE: By Mrs. *Hallie Watters* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar) Pp. 70. Price Rs. 1-4 (Board).

In the Introduction the authoress discusses the sources of information in regard to Pythagoras and the Pythagorians.

The second chapter deals with the biography, and position and influence of Pythagoras as Philosopher, Scientist and Religious Reformer.

In the third chapter she describes the school of Pythagoras and two Pythagorean schools.

In the fourth chapter the authoress has given an English translation of the Golden Verses which are generally attributed to Pythagoras. She has also discussed the authorship of the verses. Her commentary on the verses is excellent.

There is a bibliography (pp. 65-70) at the end of the book.

It is a precious volume.

SPENCE TRAINING COLLEGE ANNUAL, 1926: Pp. 155. Price 8 as. for students and Re. 1 for others.

This interesting Annual contains a short history of the Spence Training College, Jubbalpur and also some articles of pedagogical interest.

OUR SPIRITUAL WANTS AND THEIR SUPPLY: By *Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan*. Pp. 21. Price as. 4.

Presidential address delivered at the forty-ninth Annual meeting of the Sadaran Brahma Samaj. Well-thoughtout and well-written.

RETRANSFORMATION OF SELF: By *Shyam Lal B. A.* Published by *G. S. Nivas Lash Kar, Gwalior*. Pp. 279+XXX. Price Rs. 2.

The author writes in the Prefatory Note that in this book "the condition of the whole of the Universal Existence and of its parts with their formation, transformation and re-transformation has been described in a logical coherence step by step from beginning".

He further says:—"The book will, doubtless, immensely benefit the reader even if he finds himself unable, for any reason, to go a step beyond reading".

GNOSTICISM: By *Mary W. Barrie, M. A.* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). Pp. 115. Price 1-4 (Wrappers); Rs. 2 (cloth).

It contains the substance of lectures delivered in the Brahma Vidya Ashrama, Adyar Madras.

A popular exposition of pre-Christian and Christian Gnosticism.

GODS IN EXILE: By *J. J. Van Deer Leeuw, LL.D.* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). Pp. 129. Price Rs. 1-8 (Board).

This booklet is "based on an awakening of Ego-consciousness" which came to him some little time ago.

It contains the following chapters:—(i) The Drama of the Soul in Exile. (ii) The Way to the Ego. (iii) The World of the Ego. (iv) The Powers of the Ego. (v) The Return of the Exile, and an Afterword.

Theosophical Standpoint.

A REVIEW OF "THE HEART OF JAINISM": By *Jagmanderlal Jaini, Chief Justice, High Court, Indore.* Published by *Shri Atmanand, Jain Tract Society, Ambala City*. Pp. 54. Price. 4. as.

"The Heart of Jainism" belongs to the series "The Religious Quest of India" and is written by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson.

Justice Jagmanderlal shows that this book is full of mistakes and misrepresentations; and is marred by the "Christian Prejudice" of the authoress.

NIRVANA: By *George S. Arundale.* Published by *The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.* Pp. 219. Price Rs. 2-4 (Board).

This 'Nirvana' has nothing to do with Buddhistic Nirvana. It is one of the stages of Theosophical consciousness. The author has "just been born into Nirvana" (p. xiii) and this book contains the outpourings of that consciousness.

DECAYING HINDUISM AND HOW TO REVIVE IT: By *Prof. (anga) Bishen and Prof. Amba Datta (R. S. D. College, Ferozepur)*. Pp. 30.

Partly historical. According to the authors "Hinduism can be best revived by leading the life as our forefathers led before". By this life they mean "four asramas."

"HINDU MIND": By *G. N. Ananta Ramayya Sastri* Pp. IV+11.

"Rendered from Sanskrit stray-thought verses."

MUSINGS ON LIFE: By *P. V. Chalapati Rao.* Pp. 33. Price 8 as.

Written in verse.

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR AUGUST, 1927

SREE RAM CHANDRA : *By M. Sitarama Rao, B. A., L. T. Pp. 72 ; price 7 as.*

Biography of Rama of Ayodhya.

ROUSSEAU'S EDUCATIONAL THEORY : *By Shamsul Ghani Khan, Headmaster, Government Training School, Ajmer. Pp. 39 (Price not known).*

It contains a short life and a lucid analysis of the educational theory of Rousseau.

THE MEDIATOR AND OTHER THEOSOPHICAL ESSAYS : *By C. Jinarajadasa. (Theosophical Publishing House) Pp. 95. Price Re. 1-4 (Board)*

Theosophical thoughts of the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society.

THOUGHTS ON FORMS & SYMBOLS IN SIKHISM : *Edited by Gyani Sher Sing. Lahore. Pp. 89. Price 8 as.*

Contains views of some Sikh thinkers.

RAJARSHI RAMMOHAN ROY : *By Manilal C. Parekh, B. A. (Oriental Christ House Rajkot, Kathiawad). Pp. viii+186. Price Rs. 2 (Board). Rs. 3 (cloth).*

There are 15 chapters in the book dealing with the various aspects of Raja's life. The author has adopted Trinitarian Christianity but is an admirer of Rammohan Roy. The Raja published the 'Precepts of Jesus' omitting the birth story, miracles, crucifixion and resurrection. But our author thinks that, this "to say the least, was like acting the play of Hamlet without the part of Hamlet and hence was tantamount to taking away its life and soul" (p. 45). That the doctrines of Trinity and Incarnation were 'stumbling-blocks' to him, was, our author thinks, "owing to his Mahomedan training and bias" (p. 53).

VOICES FROM WITHIN : *By Rai Sahib Gopin Lal Bonnerjee. Published by Jitendriya Banerjee 11, Patwatala Lane, Calcutta. 5½ x 4". P. 92. Price Re. 1-4.*

250 short paragraphs. Good thoughts.

MANES CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE INDIAN COLONY OF SIAM : *By Prof. Phanindranath Bose M.A., Published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.*

In the present volume Prof. Bose gives us an useful resume of the researches of European scholars into the history and literature of ancient Siam which was once an important Hindu Colony and which is at present the only independent Buddhist power of Asia. Dr. Probodhchandra Bagchi, in his learned preface has explained the character of Indo-Thai contributions which went to make Siam what it is to-day. Prof. Bose has in the narrow compass of 170 pages, succeeded in giving us a clear and interesting picture of the Hindu civilisation in the Menam valley. The religion and literature, the archaeological monuments and political institutions of ancient Siam have been described in a way that is sure to rouse the interest of the general public in the history of Greater India beyond the seas. We recommend the book to all lovers of Hindu culture history.

INDIA AND CHINA : *By Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., D. Litt (Paris). Greater India Bulletin no. 2.*

In this monograph Dr. Bagchi has given a masterly summary of the extensive cultural relations of India and China. Dr. Bagchi had the unique opportunity of studying the original Chinese texts with Great French Sinologists like Prof. Sylvain Levi, Prof. Pelliot and others. Consequently his presentation of the propagation of Buddhism and Indian culture in the Far East is the result of a critical and exhaustive analysis of the original Chinese sources, which he is the first Indian to handle. He brings out with a rare clarity and conviction how the cultural collaboration of India and China was an event of extraordinary importance in the history of Asia. We are thankful to Dr. Bagchi for reminding us of this great historic truth and strongly recommend the book to the public.

INDIAN CULTURE IN JAVA AND SUMATRA : *By Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee, D. Litt (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Greater India Society Bulletin no. 3.*

Dr. Chatterjee has specialised in the history of Hindu cultural colonisation in Indo-China and Indonesia. He gives here a much-needed summary of the history of the Hindu colonies of Java and Sumatra, which were ignored by Indian scholars on account of their unfamiliarity with the Dutch language in which the principal studies are written. Dr. Chatterjee has done a great service to us by giving in a simple yet attractive English style the results of the researches of the Dutch and the French scholars in that domain. His Chapter on the Javanese and Malayan Ramayana is of enthralling interest. Indian readers would get much pleasure and profit by reading this essay. The Bulletin would be had by ordering to the Greater India Society's Office, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

NIRVANA : *By Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghose, C.I.E., Darsanasastri. Published by A. S. Ghosh Esqr., 140-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*

Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghose is well-known to the public of Bengal through his munificent gifts to the cause of higher education and social service. He is a leader of the Indian Christian Community. His metrical musings on *Nirvana*, bear a striking testimony to the fact that the soul of an Indian Christian is sensitive to all the deeper spiritual realisations of India. In every line we feel the profound sincerity and directness of a religious mind :

"The Light which is lightened
by the Super Light,
The eye is opened which is
the third,
The life which is unified
with the Brahmic
As a water-drop with the ocean ;
That which is in words
unspeakable—
The burying of the Self
is Nirvana."

Through the various scriptures of different ages, the author glides on to the religion of spiritual synthesis beyond dogma and creed—

"That which is the end
of Saints,
The supreme ecstasy of their
hearts...."

Here he takes his stand on the eternal and unshakable foundation of Peace and Harmony towards which Humanity is ever striving through centuries of trials and tribulations. We recommend the book to all serious students of spiritual progress.

K. N.

JAINA JATAKAS, BEING AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF BOOK I CANTO I OF HEMACHANDRA'S TRISHASHTI-SALAKAPURUSHACARITRA TRANSLATED by Prof. Amulyacharan Vidyabhusana and Revised and Edited with notes and introductions By Prof. Banarsi Das Jain, M. A. Published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Price Rs. 4 only.

The Buddhist Jataka stories have now become well-known to the scholars through the efforts of Fansbol and Rhys Davids. But the Jaina Jatakas have not yet gained as much publicity. We, therefore, welcome the *Jaina Jatakas*, published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot of Lahore. The present work is a translation of the first canto of Book (Parvan) I of Hemachandra's *Trishashtisalaka-purusacaritra*. It contains the history of sixty-three heroes—both mythological and historical—of the Jaina religion. There is some difference between a Buddhist and a Jaina Jataka. In a Buddhist Jataka, the future Buddha is always represented in a benevolent character, but in a Jaina Jataka or *Purvabhava*, the life of the future Jina is often depicted in dark colour. In various sculptures, we get the representations of the Buddhist Jatakas, but unfortunately no sculptural representations of the Jaina Jatakas have as yet been discovered. In an able introduction, Prof. Banarsi Das Jain discusses various topics relating to the text and gives a short biographical sketch of the poet Hemachandra. The book is an addition to the Jaina literature. One only wishes that the translator would undertake the complete translation of the Jaina Jatakas and thus render them accessible to the general public. The book does credit to Moti Lal Banarsi Das, who are rendering good service by their Punjab Oriental Series of books.

P. B.

ARCTIC SWALLOWS: By Swami Sri Ananda Acharya Gaurisankar. Published by the Brahmakul Gaurisankar Math, Scandinavia.

The Swamiji, Sri Ananda Acharya Gaurisankar, author of these imaginative swallow flights from the east to the west and back again, whose sturdy figure on his horse Balkari both prefaces the verses and closes them, and to whom are strictly secured "all rights, especially that of translation," is today known mostly to anthologists. These aerial fancies from the land of the Midnight sun will, it may be hoped, contribute towards his popularity among the reading public. The Swamiji is prolific in imagination and the list of his works appended to the book at its close is impressive enough, varied in topic and published from Norway and Sweden, London and New York, dating from the Year 1913 till today. The long series of errata is a little disquieting, though. But when we take courage in both hands and dip into it we may be

assured of finds that will satisfy our sense of poetry. The author's use of words like Saji, yuntui, Gouri-guru, Barsa etc., is an attempt to impart a strange and exotic air to his performance, but striking touches of originality are not wholly absent; e.g., speaking of Rameswar Setubandha, says the poet.

"It is the bridge of love 'twixt me and Bharat ever expanding, as far and far I wander towards the northern pole."

Again, a little girl smiling at swallows flying round her head, reminds him that "there is a thread of love between earth-goers and sky-goers." "A forest of blossoming Kadamba" is likened to "happy life gazing at paradise in the beyond." But it is difficult to find the chain which links or holds the quatrains together from end to end; now he is speaking of the all-soul, now of his mother's prayer in his days of infancy. In one place, he praises the deer feeding the tiger for its act of "self-offering" (page 73). Writing on "metamorphosis," "cataclysm," "crematorium," our "unintuited self," "the emergent many mirrored forth by the one absolute Me," and the "be-minted moment," he could not be expected to keep his verses always to the level of poetry. There are many commonplace lines.

"Winter rouses reflection and consolidates friendship" Marking the contrast in the Sone as at the source and at Deri, he muses—"why do things so gentle at birth become so violent in youth?" Sentences like—

"Life is like an autumn cloud, speeding to what unknown sky?" will hardly pass the purity test.

All things considered, the book is inviting because of its excellent and unconventional get-up (excluding the numerous errors in printing scattered throughout with a generous hand); its eastern way of putting things, its occasional gleam of true poetic glow,—and the writer is a personality well calculated to arouse interest.

X

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE: By Dr. T. Chaudhury, M.A., Ph.D., A. I. C. (Chakravarty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15 College Square, Calcutta). Priced at Rs. 1-8 (Indian) and 3s. 6d (Foreign) fourth edition.

It is a book of about two hundred pages, and within this small compass the author has attempted to give a brief outline of the typical phases of the history of Sanskrit Literature, dealing with the literature of the Vedic period and that of the post-Vedic period technically called the Sanskrit period, the mutual influence between India, the West and the East, the condition of the Society, manners and customs as can be generally gathered from the internal evidence of the literature. Dr. Chaudhury is under no delusion and points out (page—57) the "Mobile condition of the ancient Hindu Society which became gradually obsolete with the preponderating influence of more and more caste—stagnation or was purposely ignored in the later Brahmanical times". He has differed from Western authors in some minor respects, not without reason. The author's criticism is fair and pointed. The language of the book is pleasant to read and the book is nicely printed and its get-up is good. Although the book is meant for students of Indian Universities and Colleges, we

think that the subjects under Chapter XV might be more generously treated.

G. S.

HINDI

BIHARI—RATNAKAR: *By Mr. Jagannath Das "Ratnakar", B.A. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. 18th edition, 1926. Pp. XXXI+296+46. Price Rs. 5.*

We at once recognise this work as a landmark of literary scholarship in modern Hindi. The *Satsai* of Biharidas, the best writer of love poems in Hindi, is here edited, perhaps for the first time, with all the care, labour and accuracy which it deserves. The Bihari-literature in Hindi is not insignificant, as, according to the *Hindi-Navaratna*, no less than 25 writers have written on it both in prose and verse. But this edition which is the result of the author's labour for over a quarter of a century, has supplied the critical apparatus for the study of the master. Of the six MSS. of the text, five are laid under contribution. The oldest manuscript which is in the Durbar Library of Jaipur, has been tackled for the first time. The number of *dohas* recognised to be of the poet is 713. In an appendix there is a list of 143 *dohas* which are attributed to the poet. As in the text so in his explanation the editor differs with the other writers and gives his reasons. We await with anxiety for the Introduction which the editor promises to publish in another volume. The portraits of Biharidas and Mirza Raja Jayashah, commonly known as Maharaja Jaysingh, which are reproduced in colours, were brought from Jaipur where the poet and his patron lived.

This work forms the first volume of a contemplated series on the old masters of Hindi literature. Judging from the merits of the volume under review the editor and publishers will thus not only do honour to the masters but also to themselves.

SACHITRA HINDI MAHAHBHARAT—PART I: *Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-4.*

The Hindi-knowing public are indebted to the publishers for this nicely got-up, and profusely illustrated translation of the Mahabharata from the original Sanskrit. The style is simple and charming. There are five coloured plates besides a number of pictures in black and white. This publication is up to the standard of the Indian Press, Ltd. It should be treasured in every household for instruction and enjoyment.

RAMES BASU.

MARATHI

HRIDAYACHE BOL OR WORDS FROM THE HEART: *By S. B. Pai of Belgaum. Pages 112. Price Re. 1.*

The economic and moral decline of Indian villages is described in this book. The style is verbose and highly figurative.

GHARACHA VAKIL OR ONE'S OWN LAWYER: *By S. K. Damle, B.A., LL. B. Publisher—D. G.*

Khandekar, Law Printing Press, Poona City. Pages 340. Price Rs. three.

That the knowledge of laws and regulations of the country is indispensable to every resident, whether a citizen or a villager in these days is a truism which nobody will question. The varied transactions, monetary and others, as well as the frequent harassments to which peaceful citizens are subjected by the little gods armed with administrative powers, makes it incumbent on every persons to have at least a superficial knowledge of the laws which govern his worldly affairs. Such knowledge can be easily gained by a perusal of this book, which gives in a small compass the gist of principal sections of over forty Acts, and laws, such as the Hindu Law, Mahomedan Law, the I. P. Code, Transfer of Property Act, Land Revenue Code, the Municipal Act, the Police Act, etc. As a book of ready reference, the value of the publication cannot be exaggerated.

JEEWAN-RASAYAN-SHASTRA OR A TREATISE ON BIO-CHEMISTRY (TWELVE TISSUE REMEDIES): *By Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, II. M. D. Publishers—Messrs. Roy and Co. Pages 168+36. Price Rs. Two.*

Of the various "pathies" or schools of medicines prevalent in India at present that of the Twelve Tissue Remedies is one which deserves to be popular owing to the cheapness, harmlessness and efficaciousness of the drugs as well as the facility with which a proper remedy can be found by reference to the books on the subject. The book under notice is written with care, and the present reviewer can testify from personal experience to the usefulness of the book as well as the remedies suggested therein for several diseases. Some 30 pages are devoted at the end to the enumeration of Homeopathic medicines and the complaints they remove. The book will prove highly useful in every family as a book of reference in Bio-Chemic treatment.

V. G. ARTE.

GUJARATI

We have received the following booklets from the Vidyadrikari, Baroda State—1. STORY OF ROCKS, 2. ENGLAND'S SHIPPING, 3. WATER, 4. HEAT, 5. THRIFT, 6. AURANGZEB (in Hindi) and 7. CHAKRAVARTI ASHOKA. They belong to the Sayaji Bal Jnanmala, and are printed and published at Baroda and priced Rs. 0-6-0 uniformly. The majority are translations but they all bring out the subject very well, though in places very difficult words occur, as in the booklet on Ashoka. Juvenile students by themselves would find it difficult to grasp ideas conveyed by such words, and hence the help of teachers cannot be dispensed with, if that is the object of publishing the series.

BODHAK, SECOND BEAD: *By Chhaganlal Thakar Das Modi, B.A. printed at the Surat City Press, Surat. Thick card board. Pp. 16 unpriced (1926).*

In this small pamphlet Mr., Chhaganlal has garnered a number of happy pieces of advice on behaviour of men and women in the world. They are very valuable and if followed are sure to result in benefit to all and sundry.

RASAYAN : By Ramniklal Girdharlal Modi, M.A., printed at the Harihar Press, Surat. Pp. 196. (Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-12-0 (1926).

Lime, salt, pearl, mercury, talc, gold, silver, copper and many such other articles have their medicinal uses. Their different preparations were being used extensively in old times and even now are not out of use. An interesting and scientific exposition of the processes of their preparation and use is to be found in this book, which will repay perusal.

1. URBAN CO-OPERATIVE BANKS, 2. BANKING : By V. C. Jadav, B.A., Managing Director, Surat, Peoples' Co-operative Bank (1926.)

These two small pamphlets mark a departure

in the history of Co-operative work in Gujarat. The Co-operative Movement is making rapid progress in Gujarat, thanks to the organizing capacity of men like Dewan Bahadur A. U. Malji. Mr. Jadav is also a distinct organiser and as such having felt the want of books in Gujarati on the subject in order to facilitate the dissemination of the knowledge thereof, he has produced these two pamphlets, which give complete information in simple language, both about these Banks and the banking system observed there. They are priced moderately : 0-4-0 each.

We have received copies of a Weekly CALLED BE GHADI MOJ or Indian TIT BITS. We do not review Weeklies.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Hungarian Peasants

In a recent number of the *Modern Review* it was stated by a correspondent that the peasants in Hungary under the present regime have been reduced to a condition of abject debasement bordering on serfdom, inasmuch as when they see a landlord they go down on their knees and prostrate themselves before him and kiss the track of his motor car.

Having lived in Hungary for eight years, previous to the Great War during it and after, from 1912 to 1920, and having witnessed the great changes which swept over the country during the war and subsequent revolutions and anti-revolutions, I am in a position to refute the utterly absurd and baseless statement of your correspondent, who either does not know the Hungarians or belongs to some clique inimical to the country.

I shall not in this brief communication touch on the details of the changes and attitudes of the different communities, but can tell you from personal knowledge, that the Hungarian peasant, who is a most dignified and self-respecting person, proud and withal polite like a born gentleman, is incapable of cringing to anybody, or behaving in an abject fashion. He came to the country as a conqueror with the Hungarian leaders a thousand years ago from Asia, and even during the age of serfdom in Europe was a free man under his own ruler and shook off all vestiges of alien serfdom after the Revolution of 1848.

During the four months of Bolshevistic regime he stood opposed to the Soviet in Hungary, and it is incredible that since the re-establishment of the

present regime which he supported, he should have been reduced to such abject degradation as your correspondent describes. And this in the face of the fact that under the present Parliamentary Constitution which Admiral Horthy protects as a Governor, against Communism, the peasant now more than ever forms one of the main supports of the Government with his agricultural party. I never saw or heard of any degradation of the Hungarian peasant, who is now more prosperous than ever—which cannot be said of the city workman—since the Great War and its economic changes for the conquered people especially. The peasant gets more for his products than before and lives as simply as ever, and is thus becoming richer—and he was never poor in Hungary. Although I left Hungary about six years ago, when the present regime was well-established, friends have kept me well-informed about the state of things there, and recently I have learnt from friends who came to India that there has been no change for the worse so far as the peasants are concerned. I am told that not long ago an English traveller in Hungary was perplexed to find a peasant who came to his rescue after an accident to his motor-car, behaving just like a well-mannered and dignified gentleman, courteous and polite and withal proud and self-respecting, as if he did not belong to a boorish or unrefined class to which the peasants and workmen belong even in civilised Europe and America. He could hardly believe that his host was after all a peasant and a villager.

I can assure you that your informant is either misinformed or has some object in misrepresenting

the Hungarians owing to some party spirit or other reason.

I am no admirer of autocracies, or so-called democracies which in actual practice do not behave differently, and I believe in the right of the peasant above all, being an admirer and student of Tolstoy's ideas, but one must be just and not distort fact for fiction.

A PUNJABI.

Colour Prejudice in Edinburgh

To most of us the severe disabilities under which Indians are suffering and the indignities to which they are being subjected in Edinburgh will strike as strange and unusual. But such as have been watching the march of events in America during the past few years may attribute it to the contagion that has spread from that country eastward. The germ of colour discrimination might have also been communicated by that country through their missionary organisations in India, and I believe that this evil can be successfully counteracted through the instrumentality of Christian Missionaries of the United Kingdom in this country. They, by their contact with the public of both the places and also by their principal missionary message of equality and fraternity, occupy a position of advantage. But a change in their own attitude must precede a successful effort in this direction.

Those who are well-acquainted with the internal working of foreign missions in India will not be surprised to hear of the shutting out of Indians by foreigners from public places of amusement in their own country when foreign missionary bodies are doing worse in even religious matters in our own country. Although an Indian is not forbidden by law from attending service of worship at the Kellogg Memorial Church at Landour, a hill resort of American Missions in India, the treatment meted out to those who make bold to attend the service there makes it amply clear that they should consider their colour a serious disqualification, and should not dream of equality with their white brethren even in the house of God. The immediate and instantaneous shifting to a hotel by a few missionary boarders from a land-lady's boarding house on hearing from her that an Indian was coming to reside there for a short time, and their condemnation in unhesitating terms of the

idea of receiving white and coloured guests in the same house is another instance in point. The controversy aroused by the notice "Indians and dogs are not allowed" put up outside a church at another hill station will be still fresh on the minds of many. Some foreign missionaries seem to have gone so far as to take upon themselves the task of producing slave mentality in Indian Christians, not only during their social and official contact, but also in meetings of religious nature. An American professor of the Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, is said to have been teaching, in his Sunday school lessons, a book named Racial Problems, and there he has tried his best to drive home to his class that white races are destined to dominate dark ones, and the latter are doomed to remain under subjection for ever. The Indian Christian community has been smarting under these indignities, but a vast majority of its members being in mission employment had to put up with them as a necessary evil, and only such raised a dissentient voice as could afford to suffer the consequences of the criticism thereof.

The ban imposed on Indians at Edinburgh is an insult to the whole of Indian Nation. It is satisfying to note the unanimous condemnation of the ban by the Edinburgh town council, but the attitude of the trustees of Indian interests in the debate in the House of Commons is not easy to divine. The reply of Mr. Mac. Questen, M. P., to an invitation to attend a protest-meeting against the colour bar is extremely disappointing, because besides being characterised by want of sympathy, it possesses the sting of sarcasm in it. Escaping the chances of contracting undesirable acquaintances and of wasting the time to be spent in study are the reasons why according to Mr. Mac. Questen Indian parents should be glad of the ban. He advises Indians to reciprocate by excluding Scottish lads from such places in this country.

Before this colour prejudice assumes huge proportions, it is hoped that foreign Christian missionaries in India will rise to the occasion, and will not only wash themselves clean of all colour distinction within the small circle of the Indian Christian community, but will also take early steps to approach their brethren in their country and appeal to their sense of love and justice and exhort them to set an example of the high Christian ideals of inter-racial intercourse on terms of equality.

AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

JAPANESE WOMANHOOD

By D. C. GUPTA

NEITHER religion nor law has given women proper protection. For thousands of years, women have been subjected to cruel submission to the other sex. This has been particularly the case with Japanese women, says Mr. Matsumoto, M. P., who always supports the women's cause in

Parliament. He has made an extensive study of the subject and found all established creeds entirely contrary to the right principle as he believes, of perfect equality of sexes.

Women Ignored By Moses.—Mr. Matsumoto is sure that the Ten Commandments were a

moral code for men, women being mentioned as merely in connection with men. In the law-giver's eye there was no women, as the object of legislation. Even Christ himself, proceeds the learned politician, cast a contemptuous glance upon marriage. Peter and Paul, most important leaders of the Christian movement in the primitive stage, taught that women should submit to men at all times, not allowing any women to teach but instructing all women to keep silence. Mr. Matsumoto does not think it worth while extending his argument to any other religions, when the recognized "best one" is so much below the modern ideal.

Law Knows No Woman.—When Mr. Matsumoto says, "Law knows no women," he means the Japanese law, especially, the Civil and the Criminal Codes. Women's rights, if any, are ridiculously smaller than men's in all prospects. The special features of the legislation against the fair sex are all based upon the traditional thoughts deeply rooted in the religions and philosophies that have been ruling in the orient.

Manifest Irregularity.—Mr. Matsumoto refers to the recent deliberation at the proposed amendment of the Civil Code pointing to the funny expression, 'manifest irregularity' as ground for divorce not for the wife, but for the husband alone. As for the poor women, she may be put off for any offence even remote akin to adultery. The man is not blamed even in the revised Code for any irregularity that is not manifest. Mr. Matsumoto recalls the violent dispute over the use of such a "barbarous" phrase in the Imperial law. The opinion in favour of its insertion prevailed, because the members who advocated it argued that purity of blood ought to be maintained by a pure woman, while the husband had nothing to do with the blood.

Who will decide whether "Manifest" or not?

According to the legislation's view the presiding Judge, whoever it may be, will be authorized to distinguish between 'manifest' or not regarding the husband's irregularity. Such a Judge will be instructed to decide

the matter, according to the current social standard of morality.

There are 3581183 women wage-earners in Japan, in various kinds of works, ranking all the way from open air labour and mining to the higher professions, according to statistics, just published by the social affairs Bureau of Tokyo. Of the total 1315900 women were engaged in agricultural work, 980000 in the factories and mines, 428544 in Government service, teaching, medical, semi-medical and other professions, and 400000 in commercial activities.

The return for Tokyo alone, up to August, 1924, shows that women workers are classifiable into three groups, the first including teachers, doctors, pharmacists, journalists, authors, business clerks, guides and detectives. The second group includes dentists, masseurs and shampooers, midwives, typists, stenographers, telephone operators, hairdressers, actresses, artists, musicians and teachers of polite arts. The third group is of women who are engaged in physical labor.

In the matter of income, below 60 Yen a month is considered the minimum. Practising women physicians have a monthly income of 200 to 700 Yen; musicians and artists 150 to 500 Yen; stage and film actresses 100 to 800 Yen, dentists 150 to 600 Yen, beauty experts 120 to 150 Yen; hair-dressers 80 to 100 Yen; midwives 80 to 500 Yen; chauffeurs 80 to 300 Yen. These are grouped as the highest class.

The middle class includes teachers in middle grade education, guides, pharmacists, shampooers and masseurs, journalists, art models, stenographers, detectives, restaurant girls, office hands, car conductors, government and public officials and school teachers, who earn from 70 to 150 Yen a month.

Under the third group come typists with 30 to 100 Yen a month; office clerks 24 to 70 Yen; nurses 36 to 100 Yen; telephone operators 20 to 85 Yen; women for hire by the day 15 to 45 Yen; theatre and concert hall employers 30 to 50 Yen; factory hands 15 to 70 Yen. These are almost all young girls of 15 to 23 years of age.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Was Ashoka a Buddhist ?

Prof. B. M. Barua subjects the opinion of the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., that Ashoka was not a Buddhist but a Hindu, to 'critical examination in *The Mahabodhi* and comes to the conclusion :

Asoka was a man, a member of Hindu society, an Indian king, and, above all, a Buddhist. His inscriptions themselves, as I have sought to show, contain evidences proving his Buddhist faith. These evidences may now be summed up as follows:—

1. Asoka went on pilgrimage to Lumbini and worshipped there, because, as he knew, it was the village where the Buddha Sakyamuni was delivered. A Brahminical Hindu is never known to have gone on pilgrimage to Lumbini because it is the birth-place of Gautama Buddha.

2. Asoka undertook a pilgrimage to Nigali-Sagar on the road to Nepal for the consecration of the Stupa of the Buddha Konagamana enlarged by him five years back.

3. If Asoka had been a supporter of the Buddhist sect founded by Devadatta, he would have gone to the Stupa of a previous Buddha, such as Konagamana and avoided going to Lumbini, the birthplace of Gautama Sakyamuni, the Buddha whose name was *ex hypothesi* repugnant to a follower of Devadatta.

4. Asoka bestowed certain cave-dwellings upon the Ajivikas. But there is no evidence to show that he formally consecrated them. In the votive inscriptions Asoka has referred to the donee simply as Ajivikas, without such honorific prefix as 'Bhadanta,' while in the votive inscriptions of Dasaratha, the grandson and successor of Asoka, they are invariably honoured with such a prefix.

5. Asoka's statement that for a little over two-and-a-half years he remained a *upasaka*, and subsequently became associated with the Buddhist Sangha, is clear enough to indicate that he embraced the doctrines of Gautama. If it be not taken to imply his change of faith in favour of Buddhism, the successive periods of time during which he remained a *upasaka* and became associated with the Sangha are rendered unmeaning.

6. The First Minor Rock Edict which is an instance of *Dhammasavana* greatly emphasises the Buddhist cardinal principle of *Parakrama* or *Apmada*.

7. Asoka in his Bhabru Edict, assures the members of the Buddhist Brethren of his deep and extensive faith in the Buddhist Triad, which he could not have done if he were not a Buddhist.

8. In the same Bhabru Edict, Asoka has been concerned to recommend seven texts selected out of the Buddhist scriptures then known to him for the constant study and meditation by the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upasakas and Upasikas of the Buddhist community, and that with a view to making the Good Faith long endure. If he had been a non-Buddhist, he would not have referred to Buddhism

as *Saddhamma*, nor interested himself to make it long endure and ventured to recommend the selections made by him out of the Buddhist scriptures for the constant study among the Buddhists.

9. Asoka honoured all the sects with various kinds of honours in the sense that he showed various kinds of favours to them. If he had tolerated the different faith and impartially protected the law, he did so as a wise Indian monarch.

A Suggestion for Muhammadans.

The editor of *The Vedic Magazine* writes with reference to the Muslim agitation to secure punishment for attacks on their prophet.

It were far better to trust in the morals of the Prophet himself than in any uproar which the Muslims could raise against attacks on his life. For the former alone can stand the onset of time, while the latter is invariably found to be only a flimsy safeguard.

History is bound to sit in judgment on makers of history, of whom Muhammad was surely one. Instead of strangling the voice even of his enemies, let all have their say on the subject. The present is an age of liberty. Sometimes adverse criticism, even if malicious, has been found to pave the way to ultimate adoration.

It appears the faith of the Musalman in the intrinsic greatness of the Prophet is not deep enough, or else the intellectual level that the Islamic community has yet reached is miserably low. The insensate campaign they have launched against both the Hindu community and the Punjab judiciary is doing the cause of Muhammad a distinct disservice. The book which they are denouncing has been read and re-read throughout the province in the course of the lengthy trial of M. Rajpal in court. And now that the Muhammadan row against it is growing louder and louder, attention even of persons indifferent to religion is being drawn to it, and men of non-partisan mentality are getting confirmed in the belief that Muhammadan intellect must have found itself incapable of answering the attacks of non-Muslims in open polemics so as to have taken recourse to uproarious protests and frantic appeals to the Government.

German Trade and Shipping in Asia

Mr. St. Nihal Singh has contributed an article to *Welfare* to show how the Germans are gradually recovering their Asiatic trade with amazing rapidity and success. Here are some extracts :

What business had those intensely patriotic Britons on board a German ship ? Why were they

not travelling on a British steamer? Surely there were ships flying the Union Jack going from the Far Eastern to European ports of call. They, however, would have had to pay more had they travelled by a British instead of a German liner.

"Even the 'Jap' mail costs more," said a lady of British extraction, while discussing this matter with me. Another passenger—also an Anglo-Saxon—had calculated that if he had taken a British boat from Shanghai to Genoa instead of this it would have cost him nearly £20 more. "Quite a consideration, especially when a man is travelling with his wife and two or three kiddies," was his comment.

In the chase for economy sight is soon lost of patriotism, though patriotism hobs up in talk now and again. Inasmuch as Britons permit practical considerations to outweigh the patriotic impulses, I am not a bit surprised at their propensity to ascribe an action taken by members of another nationality to anything but a patriotic motive.

The Germans are winning back their trade because they possess many sterling qualities. They are both intelligent and industrious. Despite all libels upon their character, they give remarkably good value for the money. They do not, above all, become easily discouraged, but persist in using every resource at their command until success crowns their efforts.

The *Derfflinger* serves as a good example to illustrate the individual and national traits that are enabling Germany, by degrees, to overcome the handicap imposed upon her people by the war. The economy of labour with which efficiency was secured was really remarkable.

The steward who looked after my cabin cleaned it and also several other cabins near by. He helped, besides, to wash the windows and polish the brass. He awaited at table each meal time. The man who made my bath ready every morning went to the printing office when all the baths were over and set up the type, printed the menus for the day and the news bulletins received by wireless and at meal-time waited on table. So far as I could discover none of the stewards performed just one function, but had other jobs to which he must apply himself when one was finished.

There were only two stewardesses for the whole ship—one for the first and the other for the second class. They had to prepare the baths for all the women and the children passengers, clean the bath-rooms and lavatories even to the extent of scrubbing the floors, and attend to any ladies who might be suffering from sea-sickness or other ailments.

I never saw such economy of labour on any British ship by which I travelled. The owners of such steamers usually resort to a different expedient in order to cut down the running expenses. They employ Indians or Chinese at ridiculously low wages instead of paying the union scale to their own countrymen, who would, as well, refuse to work beyond the union hours.

On the *Derfflinger* the entire crew was German with the exception of the six Chinese employed to do laundry work.

Despite the economy of labour, the service was quite good—certainly no worse than that I have had from British stewards on the Atlantic and elsewhere. The cabin was always cleaned, the

beds made and the washstand attended to by the time the officers, made their tour of inspection daily, round about eleven o'clock in the morning.

Bengal Villages and revival of Cottage Industries

Mr. Haradaya Nag writes in *Welfare* :

Every one irrespective of sex and age has to pay some money in purchasing Lancashire cloth which may be fairly termed as tax. Even a poor family consisting of say, five members must pay at least fifty rupees a year; this it can hardly do without borrowing because it can hardly save any money for such a purpose. The destruction of cottage industries has thrown the bulk of village labour out of employment. There is no profitable use of this unemployed labour. The village people fully understand these difficulties but they do not know how to get out of them. Nothing but economic reconstruction of our villages can save them from their imminent economic ruin and such economic reconstruction must be based on the regeneration of our cottage industries. For such a purpose our village people are badly in need of intellectual strength and organising capacity. It is urged on behalf of the supporters of British Imperialism in India that cottage industries do not pay and cannot compete with the machine industries. Cottage industries may or may not bring riches to the villages, but they are sure to provide the impoverished villagers with sufficient food and clothing which they are so badly in need of. The question of competition does not arise when one who has not money to buy cheap foreign goods, has to provide himself with the bare necessities of life. Under the existing circumstances nothing but revival of cottage industries can save them from the all-devouring jaws of foreign exploitation. This should be brought home to the people of our dying villages by our selfless intellectuals and sacrificing patriots.

Panini's Excellence as a Grammarian

Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Panini avoids the confusion naturally caused in the Western system of grammar. We, who have learnt according to the Western system, have an idea that there is some inherent power in the concept itself, in other words, that there is a sort of *sabla sakti*, which determines the "part of speech." This confusion arises, as we have seen, because the compilers of grammars in the West have had no special terminology of their own, but have borrowed it from the science of thought. In fact, until quite recently, there had been practically no investigation of grammar *qua* grammar in the West. Panini, on the other hand, keeps the science of thought strictly apart and confines himself solely to the analysis of the *language*. And in the course of his investigations

he has fully understood the nature of the language he is analysing, he has grasped firmly the fact that the sentence is the unit of language and he has therefore, laid down that the *grammatical* worth of a word (in Sanskrit) is not dependent upon the concept embodied in it but is to be determined by the ending which has been added to it.

Hinduism and Proselytisation

Professor Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee writes in the *Hindu Mission Bulletin* :

One of the most noteworthy epigraphical documents of ancient India is the Besnagar Pillar Inscription in Gwalior state. It is in early Prakrit and in ancient Brahmi characters of the second or third century B. C. and is inscribed on a stone column which had the figure of Garuda, the divine bird, vehicle of Vishnu, on the top. The inscription records that this pillar, this "Garuda-dhvaja" of Vasudeva, the God of the Gods (*Devadevasa Vasudevasa Garudadhvae*) was set up by a Greek named Heliodoros, the son of Dion, who was the ambassador (Duta) from a Greek king of the North-Western Frontier of India named Antialcidas, to the court of a Hindu King Kasinutra Bhagabhadra. Heliodoros called himself a "Bhagavata," that is, a follower of Vishnu a Vaishnava.

This inscription is an incontrovertible evidence of Orthodox Hindu (i. e. Brahmanical, as opposed to Buddhists, Jaina and other heterodox, non-Brahmanical form of Hinduism) proselytisation of foreign "Mlechha" peoples in times before Christ.

Other evidence is not lacking. The Sakas, the Parthians and other foreign tribes, like the Greeks, were completely Hinduised, and in most cases they were accepted as Kshatriyas in the Orthodox Hindu community. In two or three generations non-Indian names like Zamotika, Damazada, Kanishka, Huvishka, Mihiragula, etc. give place to Jayadaman, Rudradaman, Vasudeva and other Sanskrit names, showing their Hinduisation. Large Indian communities which are now regarded by all as Orthodox and Hindu have been shown by historians to be of foreign and non-Hindu origin. Even within recent centuries, the Ahoms of Assam a Shan tribe allied to the Siamese, have become completely Hinduised : names like Su-ka-pha, and Su-kien-pha for instance are given up for Visvesvara Sinha and Gadadhara Sinha.

Conversion of original non-Hindus to orthodox Hinduism with the authority of the Brahmins has ever been a common event in the History of the Hindu people. The History of India in the early phase is in its cultural side is the History of the expansion of Hindu organisation and Hindu socioethical and philosophical ideals from the Punjab and the upper Ganges valley (the true Aryavarta) to the outlying tracts. This cultural expansion is still at work—silently, slowly and surely without any heat or conscious propaganda, through the innate force of the Hindu world of ideas, among the 'rude' peoples on the borders of the Hinduised tracts in Chota-Nagpur, in Assam, in Nepal, in the Central Provinces—among the Kols, the Bodos,

the Nagas, the Magars and Gurungs, the Gonds and others.

Orthodox Hinduism in the ancient days when it had not lost its vitality overflowed spontaneously the natural boundaries of India and was carried to the outlying lands—to Burma (Suvannabhumi), to Siam (Dvaravati), to Cambodia (Kamboja), to Cochin China (Champa), to Malaya (Kataha), to Sumatra (Srivijaya), to Java (Javadvipa), to Bali, to Borneo (Barhina). The original peoples were converted to orthodox Brahmanical Hinduism with Brahman priests from India and Vedic sacrifices and this we know from Sanskrit inscriptions found in those lands, later Buddhism followed suit. Even at the present day the people of Bali retain their Hindu religion, with the Hindu Gods, ritual of worship and philosophy and even the Hindu caste system. Brahmanical Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Yama, Indra, Kubera Sarasvati etc are even to-day worshipped and honoured in Japan. Hinduism spread as a cultural force no doubt; but its ethical and philosophical doctrines brought about no less a civilising and humanising influence on the outlook of the peoples (whether in India) who adopted it, spread along the path of of peace only : there is no evidence anywhere to suggest that it followed the path of the sword.

Santiniketan

Mr. B. G. Reddy writes in *The Volunteer* :

Rabindranath has a religious temperament from the very beginning, which we can trace in his earlier poems. He is very well-versed in Hindu scriptures, and he is second to none in his great admiration for Vedic India. Nevertheless he never failed to discern the degeneration of Modern India, from his Himalayan summits of learning and wisdom. He found that "the clear stream of reason" instead of fertilising the minds of people, "has lost its way into the dreary desert sands and dread habits." And in founding his small ashram at Santiniketan : he had laid the foundation stone for a big aqueduct to make the stream take its course through its former channels.

The second intention of the founder was to give perfect freedom of thought to his students. He himself was a great lover of that liberty and tasted its delicious fruits even in his no-nonsense. He wanted to give the same liberty he enjoyed to his pupils and allow them to have their own course of study, thus giving them scope for a full expression of their thought and creative power. In other institutions when a boy is found to possess different taste and capability his teachers will take particular care to check and curb them so that he may not fail in his history or geography examination. The result will naturally be a displeasure towards any sort of learning. In Santiniketan the students are saved from such misery.

Students have their own elected captains who look after their discipline. The teachers have practically nothing to do with their general conduct. Any misbehaviour of any student will be considered by the Panchayat or the committee of the

students. Students get up early in the morning and after finishing their morning rites, sit, meditate for 15 minutes like young *Rishis*. After their individual meditation, they all gather together in a circle and sing a hymn from the *Upanishads*. This is again performed in the evening after sunset. Every Wednesday, being a holiday, all the students and teachers attend the sermon in the *mandir*. Rabindranath himself, when he is not absent from the *Ashram* conducts the sermon. All the inmates anxiously wait for Wednesday to hear Rabindranath revealing the depths of many problems of the world in his peculiarly fluent and poetic language. Those who have not heard him speaking cannot have any idea of how he delivers his sermons. That one hour of Wednesday in the *mandir* will be the happiest and noblest hour in the whole week and they leave the *mandir* feeling that they have learnt something tangible. Every day before they begin their class-work they have "Baitalik" a religious song from Gitanjali or some other book sung in a chorus and another song before they go to bed after their daily routine. Thus religious instruction is imparted to the students.

The recent Great War had horrified Rabindranath a great deal. He had seen how every country in the West had fallen a victim to the heinous crimes of war, which are with great pride performed in the name of patriotism and nationalism. He also had found out how detrimental the spirit was to the establishment of world peace. This demon of false patriotism and aggressive nationalism, had not allowed him to rest in peace and he was greatly troubled by it. He had thought about the problem deeply and had come to the conclusion that unless these countries are tied with silken cords of cultural unity, world peace could not be established. He thought that an exchange of the knowledge of different cultures would make the people understand each other thoroughly by which there would be an end to these wars.

With this idea in his mind, he founded the Vishva-Bharati or international University, at Santiniketan in 1921 to provide a centre where scholars from East and West could gather together and exchange their thoughts. Scholars from France, Germany, Italy, Norway, China, Tibet, Russia and other countries have already responded, to the bugle call of Vishva-Bharati.

There are no class-rooms or lecture-halls at Santiniketan. Classes are held in the open air under the green shade trees and in the verandas of dormitories during rains. Class work is conducted from 7 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 4-30 in the after-noon. Only Wednesday full-moon and new-moon days are observed as holidays. There is regular arrangement for teaching from infant standard to B. A. and also there is the Vidyabhavan department where students are given facilities in Indology, philosophy and comparative philology etc. There are both boys and girls in all classes and special arrangements are made for lodging and boarding for the girls. The small boys and girls have their own special departments and they are kept under direct supervision of expert educationalists. They have their own library, association game, poultry, gardening, masonry etc. and are the objects of envy for all the inmates of the ashram, not excluding even the founder. They live in perfect happiness and cheerfulness and love

the *ashram* more than their homes. Specific arrangements are made for painting and music and this is the most successful department in Santiniketan. This forms the pivot of the congenial atmosphere of the place which is at the same time artistic, poetic and musical yet very simple.

Students leave Santiniketan reluctantly as the social functions are so varying and interesting.

Every day there will be some entertainment or other, literary associations, recitation competitions, picnics, feasts, musical entertainments, enacting dramas and so many other varieties of activities which keep the inmates ever active and cheerful. Poet Rabindranath himself very many times takes part in these functions, specially in musical entertainments and dramas.

Santiniketan students are known as very good sportsmen in Calcutta and other mollussils. Football, hockey cricket and tennis are their favourite games and they will be winning trophies every year. Very many students do exercise regularly both in the morning and evening and they are expert boxers, wrestlers and fencers. There are well-trained volunteers who go and render their services in all big gatherings in the vicinity.

We have expressed our difficulty in undertaking this great task of writing this article about our *alma mater* and we hope that this brief survey will give an idea of Santiniketan, its ideals and activities to the readers.

The Staff of Veterinary Colleges

The editor of *The Indian Veterinary Journal* says :

A lecturer on Rs. 120- or even less is a common sight in some of the Veterinary colleges! Is it not necessary that a certain amount of dignity or shall we say sanctity, should be attached to the post of a lecturer? If the Veterinary Advisers themselves can submit to the present state of treating their lecturers as such cheap men, who else would regard them (the lecturers) as men worthy to train the future Veterinary Surgeons of this land! How will the Alumni of such colleges be valued in the world? Cheapness is generally associated with bad labour. But it is unfair to suggest that the present incumbents are in any way lacking to justify the confidence placed in them. Our contention is that by merit and the responsible nature of the work alone, if by nothing else, they deserve to be raised to the Provincial gazetted rank. Prudence, necessity and professional dignity, all point in the same direction. How many Veterinary Advisers have moved in this matter?

Every province must have its own centre for production of Sera. The necessity for this is being felt more and more every day. What aggressive proposals have been placed before the Local Governments by their respective Veterinary Advisers? Will the Government dare to oppose such a measure? We hope not. Only, we fear, the matter is not pressed upon them as it ought to.

A comprehensive scheme of the extension of Veterinary aid in rural areas should be arrived at.

There ought to be a Provincial gazetted officer at the head of each district as in the case of the medical department. He should be held responsible for efficient control of any contagious disease within his district. He can help research work from the field and direct the activities of the assistants under him in the best interests of the ryots at large.

Hand and Mind

We pick out at random the following passages from D. Spencer Hatch's stimulating article on "Hand and Mind" in *The Young Men of India* :

Misguided youths, and possibly certain communities, will hardly understand these recent words of President Coolidge :

'I like to dispense with the kind of service that is necessary for me to have at the White House and wait on myself. If I find a strap is broken, I like to get out the tools that are used by shoe makers and harness makers, make a wax end, and repair it. I like to do a little blacksmithing around what is left of our old shop ; try my hand again with the carpenter's tools ; go out and repair the fence, when it is breaking down ; and mend the latch on the kitchen door. Most people in this country do these things themselves and do not hire them done. I want to keep in mind how people live and what is necessary for them to do to get along and meet their bills out of their ordinary income. My father and my people led that kind of a life, which is altogether natural and wholesome. It seems to me to be the foundation of independence.

The Board of Educational Survey, in its recently published survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, has this to say :

'The building in which the school is to be housed should be erected by the pupils, under the guidance of the teachers. In certain places this is done now and is found to be entirely feasible. Thus by placing responsibility for the construction of the buildings squarely on the shoulders of the pupils a twofold educational result is achieved. The pupils are made to acquire certain desirable carpentary skill and, through the example of teachers whom they respect, are taught a respect for manual labour.

'For similar reasons, the upkeep of the school plant should be a charge upon the pupils. All repair work should be undertaken by them, under the direction of proper instructors. There should be no janitors in these schools. One of the fine things in the elementary school noted by the members of the Commission was the pride exhibited by the pupils in keeping their buildings clean. Each building had its various squads for sweeping and polishing the floors and for the removal of waste. In sharp contrast was the situation found in the regular high school. Here there was as a rule no pride in the part of the pupils in a clean and well-ordered physical plant. Instead there was a well-ordered antipathy towards manual labour. In their minds the life of the student is incompatible with work with hands. If such a

spirit creeps into the rural high school, its doors may as well be closed.'

In 1924, commodities were produced in Philippine school gardens and on school farms to the value of 500,000 (approximately Rs. 1,500,000), but, of course, the value of the product in money is nothing to the value of the instruction given to the country.

The Government Unemployment Committee are now asking us what changes can be made in our system of education to prevent such an unemployment problem as we have among the educated classes of Travancore State, where we have so much education. First and foremost, by all possible means, let the schools teach the dignity of labour.

At our Rural Demonstration Centre we find that the boys of the Weaving School really enjoy thatching the school themselves when thatching is necessary. The night school has had to meet in the Weaving school among the looms. The inconvenient place impressed upon the students the need of a better place for the night classes. They decided to build themselves a building and they are building it meeting in their spare time each day and putting it up with their own hands. When the deep well needs cleaning, those who receive the benefits of the Demonstration Centre join together and clean it.

I have just been working out with the secretary in charge how much money must be provided for the new reading-room, the daily, weekly and monthly periodicals and the circulating library, which is to serve the central village and the villages around. After estimating cost of books, periodicals, furniture and lamps, I said, 'Now what will be small building we must build for the library and reading-room cost ?'

The answer was : 'Oh, we need provide nothing for that. The night school boys, our Boy Scouts and the readers will put up the building themselves.'

Serio-comic Aspiration of a Graduate

Parbati Kinkar Chatterjee writes in *St. Xavier's Magazine* :

After weary days of strenuous labour and toil through hope and despair I am at long last a graduate. From dreams let me turn to facts. I am not the son of a rich man and hence I cannot go in for a costly course of training. The medical and engineering lines are thus out of my reach. Post graduate studies are a fine cluster of grapes but of a kind that would set my teeth on edge. How about the Law College with its wide open doors and roomy passages? After three short years I could pass out with flying colours, but the envious eyes of starving colleagues would prove too much for me. The very thought of justifying in my own case the ruthless principle of "the survival of the fittest" would drive me mad, for it is one of the ideals of my life to live and let live. Clearly, I am cut out for commerce. But how to begin? I have no almighty *barra sahib* among my relations to elbow me into a job, and worse luck, I own no widowed aunt who calls me sonny. Still,

I have not given up hope, Wealth may come from some unexpected source, Aladdin's lamp or an uncle from Australia, While there is life there is hope. If Othello could win the fair Desdemona could I not with my tolerable appearance find favour with some speculative father-in-law, who would present me with his only Rebecca and half his kingdom. Never say die is my motto, and I live on the glory of being a graduate.

A Remedy for Factionalisation of Holdings

Prof. Radhakamal Mukerji observes in *Indian Journal of Economics* :

An exchange or consolidation of holdings is impossible under the existing Tenancy Law of the United Provinces, since occupancy tenants cannot be bought out. Where the land system stands in the way of restripment and consolidation, we have to depend on the traditions of voluntary social co-operation. Such methods of solution are witnessed in the south where there are villages which are re-divided annually. But the tendency here is more marked because of the established communal tradition. Thus in Tanjore there are larger field and holdings than in other districts. This points to a gradual consolidation of holdings under the supervision of the village *panchayats* which also supervise the equitable distribution of irrigation water, the maintenance of village public works, etc. The exchange of plots of land, so as to give the different owners contiguous blocks so far as possible, is called *pariwarthanai* (Sanskrit—exchange) in Tanjore. It is difficult to come to an agreement because the advantages of plots as regards fertility, distance, irrigation facilities, etc., have to be equalised; and sometimes the rich peasant would refuse to exchange in such a way as to convenience a small neighbour and the small owner is often at the mercy of his rich neighbour. Similarly in Travancore consolidation of holdings is taking place, the tendency being for the owner of very small plots of land to sell them or to take more land on lease from others and thus enlarge the unit of cultivation. It may be advisable for the Government to initiate an experiment by acquiring villages under the Land Acquisition Act, re-aligning the land properly, providing proper drainage and irrigation channels and then re-letting to the original tenants. This would furnish a valuable object lesson, though such lessons cannot serve the purposes of legislation or voluntary adjustment by the villagers themselves.

That is particularly true of the American industries which consume rubber—firms engaged in making tyres, linoleum, etc.—which between them absorb four fifths of the world's annual supply. Investigation has shown them that the rubber plant thrives in certain islands comprised in the archipelago, and they are intent upon the production of rubber in them under their own control, as that is the only way in which they can outwit the producers of rubber in Ceylon and the Malay Straits Settlement where the application of a scheme of restriction of output has led to a considerable rise in price.

As the industries expand in the United States and the system of mass production tremendously increases the output the need for new markets becomes clamant. Control of the Philippine tariff, which the Philippine legislature cannot change without American consent, enables the American manufacturers and exporters largely to monopolize the Philippine market.

The retention of the Islands under American Tutelage serves even a more useful purpose, inasmuch as they lie near the trade routes connecting the New World with the Orient, and can be utilized as a jumping-off ground for the acquisition of the Chinese and other Eastern markets with almost limitless potentialities for the absorption of American goods markets for which Americans are hankering.

The domination of the Philippines puffs up the pride of the prestige-loving American. It makes him feel that his people, too, are the arbiters of another nation's fate. Contact with Europe during the war, and the acquisition of wealth during and after the conflict, have resulted in the development of these tendencies to a degree undreamt of by stay-at-home Indians.

Americans who call themselves Democrats are as much affected by these, or at least some of these tendencies, as Americans who delight in proclaiming themselves as Republicans. The movement for freeing the Filipinos from American tutelage has therefore, received a rude set-back.

The struggle in which the Filipino leaders and the Americans are at present interlocked shows, for one thing, that a legislature composed of members of one race which lacks effective control over the executive, composed of men of another race, cannot work harmoniously nor can it be the arbiter even in respect of affairs in which it is supposed to possess autonomous powers. It also demonstrates the folly of entertaining the hope that through the establishment of conventions and extra-legal organs a subject people can graduate out of their tutelage to another people.

Railways and Air Transport

We read in the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* :

Mr. St. Nihal Singh thus concludes an article in *The Hindustan Review* on American imperialism in the Philippines :

The "Big interest" in the United States are opposed to giving independence to the Philipinos.

All parties are cordially in agreement in acknowledging the wonderful feats of the airmen of today and their achievements in the past few years, but it is well not to let our eyes be so dazzled by the brilliance of their achievements as to blind us to the tremendous accomplishments of railway

engineers or the quiet rapidity with which they are extending the iron road all over the world. The airplanes intended for the Cairo-Karachi service are probably capable of carrying about 3,000 lbs. each dead-weight of passengers and luggage, whereas the corresponding figure in a railway train might well reach between two or three million pounds. However engrossing a future our imaginative writers may draw of a world in which transit and transport will all take place in the air, we feel convinced ourselves that it is only a future and not a very near one at that. There is no need to sell railway shares on this ground as yet or to speculate unduly in airlines. There is yet a tremendous future of expansion for the railways of the world ere circumstances call "Halt!" and extensions are no longer the order of the day.

Hinduism and Indian National Unity

The editor of *Prabudha Bharata* observes :

In the realisation of the Indian national unity, Hinduism must supply the nucleus and pattern of crystallisation. What is our national ideal? It is as we have pointed out before the spiritualisation of life. No other culture or religion has stood for it so clearly and unflinchingly as Hinduism. This has been her one constant main endeavour through the course of her long history. All other Indian communities also must accept this as their ideal. We know that unless this motive is already existent among the different communities, Hinduism cannot force it into them. But this is already present in all men all over the world in greater or less degree. The tendency to spiritualisation is the fundamental motive of all human life. Hinduism only emphasises it and seeks to make it consciously active in order to a rapid development. Therefore this would be no innovation with the other communities. And there is that in India's atmosphere which slowly induces all to follow the sacred path to spiritual self-realisation. By and by all come under the magic spell of her great ideal. Besides, the turn of the world events has made it more imperative than ever that all life, individual or national, must be conceived spiritually if we are to escape final disaster. No communities in India therefore have any valid reason to deny the ideal that Hinduism holds forth.

But in order that Hinduism may become the basis and the guiding spirit of Indian nationalism, it is absolutely necessary that it should conceive itself as super-credal, as the meeting ground of all the different cultures. So long as Hinduism thinks of itself as a stereotyped form, bound and limited by infinite details of negation, it cannot be the foundation of that which is the Indian nationality and which is also consequently the international unity,—for India is really the epitome of the world. Hinduism must shed its crude limitations and must become again the grand synthesis of the age. Hinduism in its original character is always super-credal. Accepting as it does the truth of all spiritual experience and the validity of all honest methods for its realisation, it has always provided infinite scope for the accommodation of

various races and cultures. It is only in the periods of its decay that it seems to forget its universal character and mission and becomes a bundle of negations. Once again it is waking up and calling forth its pristine nature, and its present communal struggle is really the first onrush of its resurgent life.

It is our deliberate opinion that the realisation of the Indian national unity and also of international unity is peculiarly and mainly the concern of the Hindus. They of all people are best fitted by history to accomplish it. It is not by the equal co-ordination of the self-contained communities, but by the leadership of one and the obedient following of the rest, that all great unions become possible. Hinduism has to provide this great leadership.

That is why we do not consider the present communal troubles as absolutely evil. Evil they are, but a necessary evil. For through these clashes with other communities and through sufferings from their onslaughts, Hinduism is learning to divest itself of its credal limitations and discover the greater hidden unity behind its negations. The requirements of the situation are teaching it to discover its historical purpose and its immortal strength.

The Buddhist Revival in Ceylon

The Rev. C. H. S. Ward writes in *The National Christian Review* :

The Buddhist Revival is stirring the hearts of Buddhists in every part of the Island, and their enthusiasm for reforms grows in intensity from year to year.

Great interest is being shown in the reform of the *Sangha*, the Buddhist Priesthood. It is generally deplored that so many Bhikkhus have 'burdened themselves with worldly goods. Let the monk throw the goods overboard, and save the ship from sinking.' 'We view with concern this alarming increase of the number of Buddhist monks (7,000), who ultimately have to live on the charity of the land, idling away the lifelong hours, not fulfilling their duty to their family or their obligations to the Order to which they have dedicated their lives.

There is an increasing desire for the better education of the Bhikkhus. More attention is now being devoted to their studies, but it is felt that 'holy living and high thinking ought to be cultivated along with scholastic studies. It is pleasant to note that English is being taught in some classes, but it is too early yet to pass any judgement on the results.'

Some Buddhist laymen desire to have their Bhikkhus given a thoroughly up-to-date education and training for their work, such as is given to Christian ministers. This scheme, however, does not meet with general acceptance. Many Buddhists fear that such a training would be too unsettling, and would be much more likely to render the young men unfit for their future work than to prepare them for it.

Regular public services are held in some Buddhist halls, at which sermons are preached

from Pali texts, and a big Buddhist Street preaching Campaign was attempted, some years ago, in Colombo, on the lines of the Colombo City Mission's work. This movement aroused a good deal of enthusiasm at first, and there were many speakers and big crowds. But soon the novelty wore off, and it was given up.

Since about the year 1889, when Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott came to Ceylon as the champions of Buddhism against Christianity, it has been the settled policy of the Buddhists to establish a vernacular school in every village where a Christian school had been opened. The movement was slow at first, but now there are hundreds of such schools, and they have been so successful that a very large number of Christian schools have had to be closed in consequence.

But, notwithstanding all these movements and the energy that is being expended upon them, I have been able to find little evidence of genuine revival of Buddhism as a religion and a system of ethics.

The revival of Buddhism does not appear to have penetrated to the innermost lives of the people, and the reason for this is clear. The movement did not originate in a widespread sense of spiritual need. Fear of Christianity, and the new spirit of Nationalism, are chiefly responsible for the Buddhist activities of the last fifty years.

i. The almost universal prevalence of idolatry and demon worship,

ii. The prevalence of crimes of violence in the Buddhist sections of Ceylon,

Importance of small Gains in South Africa

Mr. C. F. Andrews discourses in *The Indian Review* on the real problem in South Africa. He says :

At the very beginning of the struggle in South Africa, Dr. Norman Leys wrote to me from England and said, that if only a very slight gain could be obtained against the imposition of segregation in South Africa at a time when the tide was running so strongly in its favour all up and down Africa, it would indeed be well worth while fighting on to the end. For a victory, however small, gained in South Africa in the struggle against segregation would have its reactions right up as far as Kenya and Uganda.

My hope is, that though, under this India Agreement, we have not obtained for resident Indians all we asked for, or required, nevertheless something has been done to stem the tide of segregation. In the long run, therefore, we may hope, that the good work now begun, may be continued; and that the effects of it may be felt far beyond the boundaries of South Africa into Central Africa also and all along the East Coast. For if it is possible, even for one generation, to prevent the enforcement of 'segregation,' then human nature, with its kindlier instincts, will, in the long run, be likely to get the upper hand; and among the younger people, who are growing

to man-hood and womanhood, those kindlier instincts will prevail that are the saving graces of man-kind.

So-called Transfer of Merit in Buddhism

Maung San Tha writes in *The Bhythm High School Magazine* :

Buddhists believe that after performing an act of piety, they should share the merit accruing therefrom with other living beings. This act is termed *pallidana* (sharing) which is made public in an audible tone by the worlds. "Take a share." The hearer on his part accepts the share and exclaims "Well done I accept it." This act constitutes *pattanamodana* (acceptance.)

Regarding this, most Buddhists themselves do not know how they acquire the merit, though Poussin's riddle seems no riddle at all to them.

Poussin alludes to some of the Buddha's statements, when he says that "Merit is strictly personal." Probably it means the last words of the Buddha on his death bed :

"*Appamadena Sampadetha*"--Exert yourselves diligently."

Elsewhere too mention is made to the effect that in life we must work out our own salvation *by ourselves*. For Buddhas can only point out to being the right path. The exertion lies within the power of the beings who desire merit.

If the above statements are true, there can be no question of transfer or share of merit. No one can have a portion of another's merit. It is a double edged puzzle.

To understand thoroughly any intricate point in the religion of the Blessed Master, a seeker after knowledge is to bear in mind one main principle, *viz.* volition, will or action in the mind. The importance of the play of mind cannot be over estimated. Almost all questions in Buddhism can be explained in terms of mind-power.

When a devout Buddhist has accomplished an act of merit, he calls on the living beings to take share in it in the prescribed formula mentioned above. This is merely a form of intimation. He announces to them that he has done a meritorious act. The hearer on his part is glad to learn what his co-religionist has done in a moment many pious thoughts flash across his mind. He thinks of the good deeds the sharer has done. He begins to remember all the virtues of the Buddha. With a heart full of joy he exclaims "Well done." A volition has occurred; an action is made in the mind. He has wilfully exerted to his heart's content. His acquisition of merit is proportionate to the extent to which he has exerted mentally. The term "transfer of merit," or "share of merit" is a misnomer. No body can, in fact, share his merit and there is none who is in a position to acquire it as gift. Personal exertion is necessary. The true idea ought to be "aspiration after merit."

Half an Hour's Daily Outdoor Exercise

Dr. S. L. Bhandari advocates deep breathing in the D. A. V. College Union Magazine, and gives detailed instructions as to how it is to be done. He says :

Average span of human life in India is 25 years only. Nature has guaranteed it up to 100 years. Is it not a good news, young reader, if I tell you that every one of you can live up to 100 years. If you are too idle to give half an hour daily to an outdoor healthy exercise, it is no body else's fault. It is foolish economy to grudge giving half an hour daily, but to give 72 years at the end. Remember, consumption is a disease of the young. It is very rare after 35 years of age. Don't say there is no time. Surely we get plenty of time when sickness knocks at the door.

"Death and disease hear no excuses."

Reminiscences of Vivekananda

Mr. A. Srinivasa Pai, B.A., B.L., gives some reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda in *The Scholar*. There are some of them :

Informational talks in the mornings and answering of questions were arranged for in a pandal put up on the Marina, near the old "Capper-House Hotel;" somewhere near the site of the present premises of Queen Mary's College. Now, the leaders of Hindu Society in Madras, big Officials and Vakils and people in hundreds came and we students found it hard to get near to the Swami. One morning a European Lady (a Protestant missionary, I believe.) came and spoke somewhat disparagingly of the enforced celibacy of a Sanyasin's life and of the harmful results of the starving of a noble instinct (noble, when rightly regulated). After a short psychological and philosophical explanation of the necessity of celibacy in a Sanyasin (which perhaps was not quite appreciated or understood by the lady.) he turned to her and said half-humorously. "In your country, Madam, a bachelor is feared. But here you see they are worshipping me, a bachelor."

Once he said to a number of young students in the audience that it was their first duty to cultivate physical strength and health. "You may have the Geeta in your left hand but have football in your right." He expressed on one occasion the view that it was the men who were physically weak that yielded to temptations easily, and that those with plenty of physical vigour and strength were far better able to resist temptations and exercise self-control than the former.

When the effect of religious beliefs (Hindu and Christian) on the masses came up for discussion, Vivekananda said. "If like me you had visited the slums of Europe and America and seen how near to brutes the inhabitants of those slums are, and then compared them with our masses in India, your doubts as to the effect of Hindu religious beliefs on the masses would have vanished."

School Education and the stage

Mr. S. Subramanyam, B.A., L.T., writes in the *Educational Review* :—

I think I will be raising a storm of protest from the citadel of orthodoxy in our Hindu society, if I were to say that 'the stage' also takes a prominent place in the education of children. All the more so, an Amateur Saba in educating the ignorant adults of our poorly-educated country. Or rather, I might be allowed to state at the outset, placed as we are under a foreign country which has paid scant attention to education is still talked of, and bringing it into force is left to the sweet whims and fancies of the Taluk Board Presidents and Chairmen of Municipal Councils, while the all-solicitude Education Ministers would not make it the policy of the Government, it is the only programme for India.

To return to the subject, not to speak of the appeal to sight to children, the dead past becomes a living present at the hands of a resourceful teacher who instead of simply visualising an incident, can make the boys act and feel the incident themselves. So then, it should become the important programme of every schools to train boys to take to the stage even from childhood, lest they should cultivate the abhorrence at a later period of life. Of course, I do not mean everybody in a school should be an actor but those that have the aptitude should be properly guided and encouraged. The end of a term, the school anniversary day and other important events in the school should not be missed to stage a play either in English or in English or in Tamil or in both.

Then we come to the choice of plays suited to the age. What kind of play suits the children best, the boy best and the adult best? The question can be straightaway answered, that staging farces and small plays having short duration, would gladden the young minds, stir up their imagination and provoke thoughts. Historical incidents, even concerning a hero, and social dramas would be well-suited for the boys. As for the grownups, the tragedies and the comedies, plays involving great moral truths and plays intended to eradicate pernicious social customs and superstitions might be availed of.

Relationship of Canal Irrigation and Malaria

In the *Agricultural Journal of India* Lieut.-colonel C. A. Gill, I. M. S., examines the widely current belief that an increased incidence of malaria is an inevitable accompaniment of canal irrigation and comes to the following definite conclusions :

(1) Canal irrigation is not a factor of any importance in determining the incidence or severity of epidemics of malaria.

(2) It can be asserted with equal confidence that *open field irrigation* has not been responsible for any appreciable general increase of endemic malaria.

(3) As a general statement it may safely be

concluded that the salubrity (so far as malaria is concerned) of irrigated tracts compares favourably with unirrigated areas.

(4) As a partial exception to the general rule it is certain that wherever canal irrigation gives rise to water-logging a vicious circle is set up in which endemic malaria leads to bad health, bad health to economic stress to further privation and more sickness, and, finally, as the combined result of a high death-rate, a low birth-rate and emigration, to the depopulation of the affected tract.

(5) It is concluded that an appreciable increase in the incidence of malaria is not a necessary concomitant of canal irrigation, but that canal irrigation may become gravely prejudicial to health when it is wrongfully applied or improperly carried out.

(6) There is ample justification for the statement that canal irrigation has proved a great blessing (save in a few areas) and that, assuming water-logging is not allowed to arise, it is calculated to increase the wealth and prosperity of the Punjab, and to promote the health and well-being of its inhabitants.

Begging in London

In the course of his chatty article, "An Indian in Western Europe," in *The Garland* Mr. A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, I. S., says:—

While going about London sight-seeing, I had occasion to observe causally some things which threw a flood of light on certain aspects of English life. Beggary in the streets is prohibited in London and the police arrest beggars. But the begging instinct is too strong in some men to be eradicated altogether. Hence I found two or three ingenious devices by which the spirit of begging was preserved while discarding the letter. Thus several men, mostly ex-service men, were grinding hand organs at people's doors producing an intolerable noise miscalled music. Generally, the house-owners preferred to pay something than allow the dreadful noise to afflict their ears. Another method is by drawing some ridiculous figures or pictures on the pavement and taking whatever charitable passers-by give. I told one such man after giving him a three-penny bit "Why, this is sheer beggary". "No sir," replied he "It is an appeal to your artistic charity and generosity, and that is no offence." A third device is by pretending to sell boxes of matches. To one who pestered me to buy a box of matches urging that I would require it for lighting cigars and cigarettes I replied that I didn't smoke and so I didn't want his matches. "It won't hurt you, sir, to pay a penny for a poor man, seeing that you save a lot by not smoking" was the resourceful reply. Needless to say, I paid a penny and went my way. Other disguised beggars sell picture cards, scissors, etc., in a similar fashion.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The student Movement in China

Paul Chih Meng, a Chinese Christian, considers the effects of foreign education received by Chinese students in *Current History* and says:—

Whether returned students are still needed in China has been a popular subject for discussion. Some ventured the opinion that the returned students usually import only Western mannerism and superficialities. Those who studied in France have brought the swinging limbs, shrugging shoulders and a few pleasant vices. Those from Germany introduced the beer, the military bearing and the close-cropped hair. England has given them, though not the monocle, the broad "a" and the aristo-academic air. Returned students from America are most noisy with campaign ideas, challenges and slogans. Their American "speed" is mere nervousness, while their feminism does not go beyond bobbed hair, short skirts and the new dance steps.

But in history, the Chinese student migration has influenced China's national life in various ways during various periods. It brought the influence of Western Europe immediately after the opium war until the Sino-Japanese War. From

the rise of Japan to the revolution of 1911, Japan's modernization and reforms influenced China through the returned students. America's expressions of friendship as evidenced in the open-door policy of John Hay and the return of the indemnity surplus in 1908, have attracted a large number of Chinese students each year for the last twenty-five years. Since the Republic of China was formed, returned students from the United States have become the most influential group in the different fields of China's national life. In 1921, Soviet Russia renounced her special privileges in China and raised with Chinese students the question of an industrial revolution to emancipate the oppressed nations and peoples of the Orient. With the founding of Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, the number of Chinese students has tripled since 1925. Whether Russia will displace America in cultural influence in China depends upon whether America will make good the ideal of political self-determination which she imparted to the Chinese students.

The Chinese student migration, therefore, has stimulated reforms, helped in the making of a new China, and, above all it has brought to China new cultural elements that made possible creative thinking, social progress, an enlarged outlook and national and racial consciousness.

International Morality

We read in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

It was after Bismarck had retired from politics that he decided that "each Government takes solely its own interest as the standard of its actions, however it may drape them with deductions of justice or sentiment," and the remark recurs to memory after reading what Mr. Inahara has to say in the *Diplomatic Review* (translated elsewhere) on the relations of Japan, China and Russia. Mr. Inahara says that the isolation of Japan caused by the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese agreement made it impossible for her to do anything else than seek an agreement with Russia, but it may be pointed out that Japan was seeking an agreement with Russia during the war, while the Anglo-Japanese alliance still existed so it can hardly be considered that it was the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance that forced Japan into the arms of the Soviet. Japan, moreover is yielding to the embraces of the Soviet so very reluctantly that, at the present rate of progress, it will take a long time before complete accord is reached.

The profession of the Powers' good will to China, including that of Japan, must be taken in a diplomatic sense. As Mr. Leonard Woolf points out in an interesting little essay on international morality, Hobbes' remark, that "in the relations of independent States 'right and wrong, justice and injustice have no place,' still holds good and is likely to hold good. The world was conscious of this fact a good many years before the time of Hobbes, for Mr. Woolf quotes from Thucydides the words put into the mouth of an Athenian Ambassador, to the effect that the question of justice only enters into the discussion of human affairs where the pressure of necessity is equal, and "that the powerful exact what they can and the weak grant what they must." The only reason why the powerful do not exact more than they do is that sometimes it is not to their own interests to take all, a fact which seems to have escaped the Allies at Versailles when they laid such a heavy burden on the defeated that it has plunged the world into trouble ever since. They were showed themselves less acute than Wellington, who, asked to arbitrate over the questions of reparations at the end of the Napoleonic wars, gave the Allies far less than they were entitled to, on the ground that "the sacrifice was necessary and we should have got nothing if we had not made it", which sounds like hard commonsense. Even a generous gesture like this appeared to have therefore, at the back of it a basis of self-interest, and it is still far removed from the ideal of a nation doing good, to another for the sake of doing good, an idea that almost arouses laughter, so quixotic it seems. Yet all Governments, according to their own professions, are solely bent upon doing good to their neighbours. All the Powers have expressed the most benevolent intentions towards China—within the bounds, of course of their own interests not being destroyed. Even the proviso has a moral air, for evidently it is to the interests of China that she should keep her promises and not go back on her word. This is what Bismarck described as draping the actions, with deductions

of justice or sentiment," a course which he himself pursued so successfully.

First Woman Judge in Germany

The appointment of a woman to a judgeship in Germany for the first time has led *The Woman Citizen* to write thus:—

On May 18 the papers carried a despatch from Berlin saying that Dr. Mariellagemeyer has become the first woman judge in Germany.

It brought memories. Just about twenty-five years ago the first woman to study law in Germany, Anita Augspurg, finished her course. At that time Germany did not admit women to the practice of law. Women were not admitted to political organizations, nor permitted to speak at political meetings, nor even allowed to attend political meetings. Anita Augspurg proceeded to organize a suffrage committee in the free city of Homburg, with members elsewhere as well and to hold occasional meetings. She had said, laughingly, that the study of law had taught her to evade the law, and now she cannily called her organization by the innocuous name "Homburg Committee." Even so, she had to secure the formal consent of the police before she could hold her meetings. Between that carefully guarded beginning and the granting of suffrage to German women stretched only sixteen years; from first woman law student to first woman judge only twenty-five. The world *does* move.

Underpaid Teachers in America

Even in rich America teachers are underpaid and students are underpaying, as would appear from the following passage in *The Literary Digest*:

Colleges are turning students away because there are insufficient funds to provide facilities for teaching them. Why not charge more for tuition? The query is put by the Institute for Public Service in New York, and the suggestion may cause some shock to parents and prospective students until the real conditions are examined. "As it stands now, with college teachers underpaid and college students underpaying so much that many of them spend on luxuries more than they spend on tuition, the largest donor to colleges is the underpaid college teacher, still the lowest paid of all white collar workers in proportion to native ability."

English Translation of Buddhist Scriptures

The Young East reports:

In view of the earnest hankering after the knowledge of Buddhism among the Western people, the West Honganji missionaries in America have recently filed a formal request with the West Honganji head quarters in Kyoto for immediate

translation into English of Buddhist scriptures. This was decided at a recent conference of those missionaries. The West Honganji authorities are now studying the proposal, because it is a matter of importance for the propagation of Buddhism among the English speaking nations. They say that the Honganji authorities are going to attach to the English Buddhist scriptures, an explanation of Mahayana Buddhism, of creeds and ceremonies for Buddhist believers, etc. Meantime, the Buddhist world of Japan is considering the compilation of Buddhist scriptures in English, German, French, Russian, etc. in commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of the birth of Buddha, which falls in 1931. It is said that the West Honganji authorities will shortly appoint an editorial staff for the translation of Buddhist scriptures.

"Give us Men"

The following poem, which the *China Journal* reproduces from *The North-China Daily News*, may be read with profit in India also :—

God give us men. The time demands strong
minds, Great hearts, true faith and willing hands.
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinions and a will ;
Men who have honour ; men who will not lie :—
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And dawn his treacherous flatteries without
winking ;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking !
For while the rabble with their thumbwore creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps !
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps !
J. G. Holland

Buddhism and Christianity

The British Buddhist writes :—

Thirteen hundred years ago, Roman Catholic Christianity was planted in England. About the same time Mahammad established his religion of Islam, and Japan received Buddhism from Korea. Nearly a thousand years ago Central Turkestan Buddhism was destroyed by the Moslems, and Indian Buddhism was destroyed by successive invaders belonging to the cult of Islam. Afghanistan was at one time full of Buddhists and so was Kashmir. The Catholic Church borrowed many of its rituals and ceremonials from the Buddhists of Turkestan. Jesus did not establish any of the ceremonial that are current to-day in the Roman Church. The altar, the lighting of candles, the incense, the flowers, the flowing robes, all are borrowings from the Buddhist Church of Turkestan. From Turkestan Buddhism went to China. The present day dress of the Moslems of Afghanistan, and the North-Western frontier Provinces, formerly known as Gandhara was copied from the Buddhists of the pre-Moslem period. The fresco paintings rescued

by Central Asian archaeologists are evidence to show the origin of the Catholic rituals. The Catholic Church copied from the Buddhist church the institution of Bhikkhuni nuns.

Many of the alleged sayings of Jesus are really echoes from the cryings of the lord Buddha. As yet no attempt has been made to discover the origins of the sayings of Jesus. A guild of Pali scholars who have made a thorough study of the New Testament should sit in conclave and make an effort to find the origins of the New Testament ethics. A number of them can be traced in the Pali texts. Some of them are interpolations where-in the meek and gentle Jesus is made a monarchical despot.

The American Occupation of Haiti

India is, no doubt, the only member of the League of Nations which is both in name and reality a subject country. But another member, Haiti, is in reality a subject country, though nominally independent. For writes Paul H. Douglas in the *Political Science Quarterly* of America :

The relationship between the United States and Haiti is full of interesting paradoxes. Thus the constitution which Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, wrote for that country in 1917 declares that "the Republic of Haiti is one and indivisible, free, sovereign and independent. Its territory is inviolable and cannot be alienated by any treaty or by any convention." Haiti is indeed a member of the League of Nations and maintains diplomatic representatives abroad. In fact, however, the United States has controlled the country by military force since 1915. A regiment of American marines is quartered behind the President's palace, and Brigadier-General John H. Russell, acting as the American High Commissioner, gives the directions as to what shall be done. An American, Dr. W. W. Cumberland, appointed by the President of the United States, is the Receiver of Customs and the Financial Adviser. He not only collects the customs but draws up the budget and controls expenditure. The Haitian gendarmerie, which is a combined army and police force, is mainly officered by commissioned and non-commissioned American marine officers and the gendarmerie as a whole is constantly under our direction. Americans appointed by our government are also in charge of the sanitary and the public works services and of agricultural education.

Modern India and the Drink Traffic

We read in *Abkari* :

Dr. Rutherford's book is a plea for Self Government for India, and while we are not concerned with the political issues with which the book deals, his descriptions of the poverty and degradation of the vast majority of the Indian peoples must challenge our attention and careful thought. The stark reality of Dr. Rutherford's book shows us India

in the mass, shorn of all romantic glamour. In the chapter, "Public Health and War against Disease," the author includes Drink with disease as being 'an important factor in the production of disease, and second only to syphilis in the list of racial poisons. The chapter "Public Health and Prohibition" shows the immeasurable harm done by the liquor traffic, and shows, too, that all over India there is a demand for prohibition.

India is ripe for prohibition, and her great religious being so strongly opposed to Drink: should make the difficulties of successful enforcement much simpler and easier than in America. The book as a whole emphasises the fact that every effort to forward the cause of prohibition is blocked by the British Government. The policy of the Government with regard to the Opium Traffic is also warmly criticised.

Prevention of Diseases and Social Insurance

Andreas Grieser observes in *International Labour Review* :—

"There is nothing which is not capable of improvement."

In future the campaign against infectious diseases must be carried on by social insurance with even more vigour than in the past. In tuberculosis, for instance, not only the sick person but also the danger of infection must be considered; thought must be given to the members of his family, to his environment, and to his fellow workers who may be injured by him. It is therefore essential to provide curative treatment in good time, to lessen the risk of infection, and to increase the share of the insurance institutions in the general work of social hygiene.

The national organisation of preventive measures in the undertaking calls for the foundation and the activities of some form of joint organisation to ensure collaboration between the various insurance carriers, and especially to regulate the relations between sickness funds, invalidity insurance institutions, and doctors. Joint organisations are also necessary to ensure contact between insurance carriers on the one hand and public health authorities and private welfare organisations on the other. The right to membership of these organisations will entail the obligation to accept freely the conditions they impose.

"Timboel"

Timboel, which is an Indonesian journal conducted in Dutch, has given a translation of the Note in our March number in which we showed how great a portion of the earth is under European control and how the preservation of the *status quo* by the League of Nations is practically equivalent to perpetuating the subjection of the majority of mankind.

Poetry "a Drug on the Market"

John Gould Fletcher writes in *The Modern World* :

There can be no doubt that just as much poetry is being written in this age as in any other and that in future histories of literature, some one will be mentioned as being the representative poet of our time. The problem that concerns us all, poets and non-poets, is how to distribute our work to best advantage. The problem is rapidly becoming the leading problem of our age, in poetry as in other fields, and the multiplication of publishing houses, newspapers and periodicals does not settle it. Ask any dozen publishers and they will all tell you that poetry does not pay, that it has no commercial value despite the fact that they all probably publish it to some extent.

If your acquaintanceship extends also to the poets, you will find that the shifts and dodges the young poet is put to today, to obtain a hearing are endless. I know of at least two young poets both Americans, who are trying to get a publisher in England in the pathetic hope that their work will somehow be favorably received there. Poetry which quite a number of people were ready to talk about in this country twelve years ago, is now a drug on the market.

The writer suggests that there should be an endowment fund for the publication of new books of poetry.

The details of administering such a fund could be easily worked out. Suppose the fund provided for the publication of ten fair-sized books of poetry in a year. An advertisement could be inserted in a few of the leading literary journals asking for manuscripts and stating that no poet was eligible who had already published more than one volume. A jury would be selected of practising poets to pass on these manuscripts. The manuscripts submitted would be sorted out by a sub-jury in the first instance, with the object of eliminating the obviously impossible, the thin and the trite. The remainder say fifty manuscripts would then pass into the hands of the main jury. Out of this remainder, ten manuscripts would be selected which would represent the best of the year's poetry.

Love and Wisdom

Message of the East reproduces the following English translation of a poem by Bhai Vir Singh :—

(Note: A nightingale, imprisoned by a gardener, escapes from her cage after long confinement only to find the garden despoiled and in ruins, and her heart's love, the rose, gone. In absolute despair she stops a wayfarer with her lament and asks what has become of "that all-owner of the loveliness of youth," her rose. A dialogue ensues, of which we give the concluding portion. The wayfarer asks why the eye of the nightingale failed to discern that one day "both the garden and its

blossoms gay" would die, that spring would pass and "the autumn of dead and decaying leaves take its place." In agony of soul, the nightingale cries out for death and in pity the wayfarer strives to comfort her with the assurance of ever-recurring spring. "Again the purple leaf buds. Again the green leaves shall appear in millions! Again the buds blow and the armies of flowers come and encamp again! Why weepest thou, O bird?"

The nightingale sings :

"If beauty lasts not forever,

(Of what worth then is beauty ?

If my garden waves not forever,

If all is the sport of time,

If time conceals him we love behind its ever-enwrapping sheets and reveals him at will below its folds,

And conceals him again from us.

If love is not our own, but time's,

If time is supreme, and we only propose for time

To dispose, and our heart

Is merely to run to waste in time's sands,

Then all wanderings in search of him, ay, even life and goodness, all are as death.

To thirst for love, to roll through despair and Separation for the hope of meeting him is all illusion :

If the lightning flash of love shows itself only to kill us, then where, where is love ?

If all is change, and there is naught save waiting and thirsting, and waiting and thirsting for nothing to be,

If this is the law eternal as thou sayest,

If we are, but the passive balls that a mocking destiny rolls ;

Then let me tell you that too sad is life."

The wayfarer replies :

"Peace ! Peace ! O lovely bird !

There is the rose still perfuming thy tender heart.

If it be thy wish to see the glory that fades not,

If it be thy longing to be with thy rose forever,

Turn within, turn within thine own self thy love-thirsty glance !

In vain is thy search for thy rose in this visible world of change.

The eternal spring is theirs who have entered in and seen him within their soul.

If it be thy wish to dwell in the internal glances of thy love, then be at peace with thyself.

Let the flame of the heart burn slow and steady, let the mind be calm, like an unrippling clear, transparent lake ;

And pass, O bird, into the being of the beloved, whence come these forms of beauty !

Thou hast indeed thy rose when thy heart falters not—sure, unmoved.

O bird !

The worlds are all within thyself.

There blossoms thy rose which no hand of might can rob or destroy ;

The eye of the soul, so fixed on the beloved, drinks deep at the fountain of life.

Good-bye, O bird ! This is the ancient wisdom !

The law of beauty that ye learn amid the young brood in the nest,

This is the law of true life, which is the life above this life.

The life of rapture caught from the lips of the rose,

The rose that blossoms within, where eternal spring doth roll

There, as thou sayest ; and only there—only there It is a subtle, subtle feeling.

An unbalanced and balanced joy.

An unconscious and conscious love ! soft delicious reeling, a little rippling, and a slow breeze.

The heart is full of glory,

And the life full of peace.

Within that *Golden Land* there is neither right nor wrong ;

And might is frail and love is strong."

Sea Power at Geneva

The New Republic observes :

It is essential that the redistribution of sea power which was recognized by the Washington conference of 1921 should be confirmed by, and, if possible, rendered still more explicit by, the Geneva Congress of 1927. As long as an American, an Asiatic and a European sea power all exist side by side, and independent of one another, European world imperialism, as it existed towards the end of the nineteenth century and as it was encouraged by British maritime supremacy, not only cannot recover its momentum, but is bound steadily to lose ground. The British imperialists, are chafing under the limitation, and with the help of the Singapore base and their preponderance in commerce-destroying cruisers, they are trying to regain for the Empire a fraction of its former exceptional position. But the American representatives at Geneva will have every reason to insist on a confirmation of the principles which underlay the agreement of 1921 rather than a modification of it for the benefit of British sea power. The British behaved with admirable wisdom and forbearance in 1921 in recognizing that they had to share with Japan and the United States their former supremacy. They will, we hope, behave with similar forbearance and statesmanship in 1927.

The Late James Bryce

We read in *Unity* of Chicago :—

The late James Bryce was an extraordinarily learned man. Mr. J. A. Hobson, in his review of H. A. L. Fisher's recent biography of Bryce in the *Nation* (April 20th), declares that

"he knew more than any other man of his own or any other time. There may be tucked away in the seclusion of some university or other home of learning two or three scholars who have read and remembered as much booklore as Bryce, but when one takes into account his first-hand intercourse with men and things in all parts of the habitable globe, he assuredly stands outside all competition." In the light of this impressive statement, we are tempted to wonder as to what learning amounts to anyway. What is its use ? "What does it all come to," to quote the question John Morley used to put to any one who praised a book or other achievement ? For this same biography of Bryce shows that this most learned of men went stark mad during the War. He swallowed hook, bait, line and sinker the ridiculous myth that Germany had precipitated the conflict in a gigantic endeavor

after world-conquest. His prodigious knowledge and wide travels left him as gullible as the London costermonger who had never read a book, or journeyed beyond his native slum! All his exhaustive historical investigations didn't save him from being fooled as easily as the simplest curate in a country village! All through the War, Bryce was a "die-hard"; it was "on to Berlin" for him, with Germany ground prostrate in the dust. His travels the world around, his knowledge of men and places and languages everywhere, had taught him no lesson of tolerance and understanding! Why he learned and traveled and intellectual, if this be the result? Why bother with education, if it leaves a man undelivered from superstition and barbarism? We never get quite so low in our mind, never feel quite so hopeless for the future, as when we see a man like James Bryce running amuck under the mad influence of patriotic passion. Here, in the person of such a man, is already seen the collapse of civilization.

Local Self-Government in Asia

The following passages are taken from an article by Dr. Sudhindra Bose in the same journal:—

Every man, and every body of men on earth, possesses the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will, collections of men by that of their majority; for the law of the majority is the natural law of every society of men.—*Thomas Jefferson*.

It is not true that the government "which is best administered is best." That is the maximum of tyranny. That government is best which makes the best men. In the training of manhood lies the certain pledge of better government in the future.—*David Starr Jordan*.

Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, by all the people.—*Theodore Parker*.

Democracy is not the exclusive monopoly of the West: it is to be found in the East as well. Oriental democracy has its roots in the communal life of the people. The political thinkers of the East—notably of China and India—have seldom recognized absolute and indivisible sovereignty. In the Orient, sovereignty has always been shared by local bodies and communal groups. The Asian state may be thus described as a political federation with a very large share of local autonomy in village communities, communal assemblies, guilds and village unions. The local organizations, over which the central government exercised but a slight control until recently, have from the time of venerable antiquity looked after the internal administration of the community. The people had thus the right of democratic control over their political, economic, and religious life. Nor are these ideals altogether obsolete in today's world of Asia.

Japanese Food

The *Japan Magazine* for June contains the first part of an informing article on Japanese food from which we learn:

Rice, barley, *awa* (millet), *kiye* (barn yard grass) soja beans, small beans, etc. were used as food by the Japanese in remote antiquity as they are at present. The *Nihon-Shoki* and other of the oldest books in Japan state that the Imperial ancestral goddess, Amaterasu-omikami, who obtained seed of these cereals from Ukemochi-no-kami, spoke of them as vitally important for human beings to live on. Since then, these cereals, or *gokoku* (five cereals) have formed staple articles of food in Japan. Rice was of primary importance among them, and its seed was taken with him by the Sun-Goddess's grand son on his descent at her command. The seed suited the soil very well and the crop was abundant. This was the source of the name of *Mizuho-no-kuni* (the land blessed with rice) by which the country was called since then.

In old times, unhulled rice was commonly eaten by heating or boiling, although the noble families on rare occasions took it after cleaning. Rice was not eaten but by upper class people, as for the middle and low class people, it was too costly and they usually took such cheaper cereals as barley, *awa* and *hiye* instead. Then they ate only two meals a day.

As side dishes, they had vegetables, meats or fruit. These vegetables were mostly *na:una* (shepherd's purse), *ninjin* (carrot), etc., which were called *sai*, radish, garlic, etc., which were called *karana* and *wakame*, *kamab*, and other seaweeds. There were some other kinds of vegetables eaten.

As meats, they took beef, horse-flesh, brawn, deer-flesh other animal flesh, chicken, fish and shell-fish. They did not dare to slaughter oxen and horses for eating, as these animals rendered useful service to them, helping them in farming.

They ate mostly wild bear, deer and other wild animal flesh, which was called *keno-aramono*, as distinguished from birdflesh, which was called *kenonikomono*.

Religious Trends in India

The Rev. A. M. Chirgwin observes in the *London Quarterly Review*:—

The *zeitgeist* in India is at present moving primarily in the realm of politics, and not of religion. The real deity whom Indians worship to-day is 'Mother India'; for her they are willing to suffer and, if need be, to die. Most young Indians feel that the gods and goddesses of Hinduism are the most satisfactory expressions of 'Mother India' available. Accordingly the young men are powerfully attracted just now to Hinduism. However, it may repel them intellectually, it has a certain emotional appeal as the religion of the Motherland. The rising tide of nationalism is leading to reaction against organized Christianity as being Western. It is the more significant that in spite of this, the most striking progress that has been made in recent years in the realm of

religion in India is undoubtedly in a Christian direction.

It is not to be inferred from this that great numbers of educated Indians are accepting Christianity as their own personal faith. As a matter of fact, the number doing so is not considerable. The numerical growth of Christianity in India is mainly among the lower castes and the outcaste community. In modern India, as in the early years of the Christian era, Christianity makes headway mainly from the bottom up. Fully one hundred thousand people, chiefly from the lower strata of Indian society, are becoming Christians every year. The Indian Christian Church shows an increase of 22.5 per cent in the last ten years as against an increase of 1.2 per cent in the general population—a far more rapid growth than that of any other faith in the land. But it is not the numerical growth of the Church which has led to the almost complete capture by Christ of the citadel of India's thought.

Educated India does not seem to find much that is attractive in the Christian Church to-day, on the contrary, it appears to be repelled alike by Christianity as a system and by the Church as its Western organized form.

Successful Marriage

Frederick Harris writes, in part, in *the World Tomorrow*:—

The ordinary theory is that man and wife form a partnership in which all of life is shared. If this completeness of sharing were taken as the test of successful achievement, there would be little success to record. As a matter of fact, casual observation tends to impress one with the narrow range of the interests which most husbands and wives do share. To whom does the house usually belong? Whose taste is displayed in its furnishings? In the midst of modern city life, children may actually command little interest on the part of either parent. Companionship and recreation are essentials of a balanced life. Taking a dozen married couples selected at random, what is the proportion of actual sharing in these activities? Religion has been a puzzle of many children because practices which one parent seems to regard as fundamental are entirely neglected by the other. The sex experience itself may be highly distasteful to one while it is eagerly sought by the other. There is plenty of evidence, too, of another type of difficulty. A man and woman who share much at the start grow older; new interests emerge and suddenly they awaken to the fact that they are leading separate lives. Again, some striking experience may transform one partner and leave the other cold. Even under the best of circumstances, there are ranges of experience which are not shared between husband and wife and some few perhaps which never can be shared.

The facts are plain enough, but the matter cannot be left at this point. How much sharing is necessary? Where does success leave off and failure begin?

There are no fixed points. We can estimate success in such a personal relationship only

with regard to the persons concerned. One can imagine that in the early days of most marriages romantic affection is the supreme interest; and for a while this may be sufficient. Success at the moment makes an intense but very narrow demand. As the days go on, husband and wife begin to face real situations, Homely needs arise, place to live in, food, companionship, recreation, religion, love; and then there emerge the new interests. As this experience proceeds from the wedding, presumably different people are reasonably well satisfied at different levels. Since we have to consider not only range but also depth of interest, in some cases the sharing of a very few vital concerns may create a stable arrangement. It is extremely precarious to make positive statements where our knowledge is so strictly limited, but one may suspect that the marital relationship between a man and a woman becomes more and more successful as the number of shared interests steadily increases. Such a procedure suggests that these two have found partnership such an interesting experience that they are continuing their explorations. Each new interest of one is submitted to the other as a possible basis for further extension of the relationship.

The picture usually drawn of a successful marriage represents a mild peace gradually deepening to deadly monotony. This is not the case with those who are ever expanding the area of their shared interests. Life is adventurous and exciting. The whole attempt to form a real co-operation involves many disagreements, some trivial, some really serious—"the tragic tension of marriage" of which Count Keyserling speaks. It is the personal adjustment over many contacts that is difficult and dangerous, holding alike the possibilities of the noblest satisfaction and of the deepest degradation. Let our too-confident radicals ever bear in mind that the profound conflicts of life appear not where each goes his own way but where the two are trying to work together.

The Late Dr. Estlin Carpenter

The Inquirer of London contains a beautiful and discriminating tribute to the late Dr. Estlin Carpenter by Miss Helen Darbishire of Oxford which appeared in *the Times*. We take the following passage from it:—

No one who received his teaching would use words lightly, and I say only what those who knew him will wholly endorse. He spoke the word of God with the authentic voice of one who knew its meaning; he had the divine sympathy that knows the secrets of the human heart and reaches to the farthest depths of grief. Religious passion is not common; a pure and austere religious passion is the rarest thing we meet. In Estlin Carpenter it was one with a singularly strenuous intellectual life, but its roots were in the human experience that is common to us all.

Some Chinese and Some Foreigners

The following extract from an article by Dr. Edward H. Hume, M. D. in the *International Review of Missions* goes to show that the minds of all Chinese are not full of hatred of all European foreigners even of the British race :—

Word comes from all over China of the sincere and continued friendliness of the people. All classes have vied with one another to prove their friendship during these past six months of stress and confusion. What could have been finer than the spirit of the girls at Ginling College in Nanking on March 24th last, as they took matters into their own hands, hiding their teachers, advising them, escorting them out of danger, and in every other way proving their loyalty? Was there ever greater friendliness than that of the people around the grounds of West China Union University in

Chengtu, where British, Canadian and American forces co-operate? They brought in food by night when a boycott was in force, suggested means for escape, and aided in countless other ways to preserve the normal status in the work of the institution. There is no single point on which all are so much agreed as on the desire of the people that their western Christian friends should continue among them.

The knowledge that Dr. John Williams had been killed threw all the Chinese Christians in Nanking on to the side of their missionary friends, at the very moment when their own homes were being ransacked and, in many instances, burned to the ground, while their very lives were threatened. The efforts made to save the foreign missionary community in Nanking, by Chinese Christians and non-Christians alike, is a story of fine Christian achievement and one which makes worth while sacrifices and service of devoted lives over many years.

GREATER INDIA

(Translated from the Bengali of an Address delivered before a farewell gathering organised by the Greater India Society by Rabindranath Tagore)

I am heartened by the address that you have presented to me on the eve of my voyage to Java. We discover our inner strength only when we meet the claims of our neighbours. We are able to *give* what is in our gift, only in consequence of other people's eagerness to *take*. If the demand is strong, the way to give becomes easier.

Where the claim from outside is a reality, it kindles the power to give lying within us. Even when we have gifts within us, we cannot give them so long as an eager desire for them is not born in society. To-day a longing has taken birth among us,—the longing to search for the greater India outside India. This longing has taken the concrete form of the Greater India Society. It is this longing that is voicing its own expectations in the address of welcome offered to me. May your wishes make my efforts attain to success!

It is the mark of a savage that his self-consciousness is confined within very narrow limits. He cannot know himself in a wider region than the present time and his immediate environment. Hence, his weakness in thought and action. The Sanskrit verse has it : "As a man thinks, so does he achieve." Loftiness of conception—about our indivi-

dual selves or our country,—lies at the root of the creative power of endeavour. A feeble aim and a lowly achievement carry us to failure. It is the historic endeavour of every civilised nation to exalt its own character in its own eyes,—to liberate its nature from the narrow bounds of a particular country or age.

In my boyhood, seated at the window of our house, I could see only a small bit of the natural features of my country. I had no opportunity of beholding the comprehensive expression of our country's self from outside. This city of Calcutta, built by foreign traders, cannot give us a deep and far-extensive revelation of India's soul. I was so eager to see for myself the great self of India, because I had been as a boy too often confined within the four walls of a house.

Then at the age of eight or nine, I went to live for a time in a garden-house on the bank of the Ganges. My heart was filled with a sense of bliss. This river conveys a grand revelation of India. Its streams carry the harmonious blending of many ages, many provinces, many hearts, of India. It conveys a message making India known to others.

Again, a few years later, my father took me with himself to the Himalaya. This was

the first time when I made an intimate acquaintance with my father—and with the Himalaya. There was a harmony of spirit between the two.

Then in early boyhood I began to study the history of India. I had to commit daily to my memory a list of names and dates of the unvaried tale of India's defeat and humiliation in political contest, from the days of Alexander the Great to those of Clive. In this historical desert of national shame, there were a few oases formed by the heroic deeds of the Rajputs, and these latter alone could satisfy my blazing hunger to learn about the greatness of our nation. You all know, with what desperate eagerness Bengali novelists poets and dramatists ransacked Tod's *Rajasthan* in that age. This fact is a clear proof of our unsatisfied craving to know our country's true self. Country does not mean the soil ; it means a body of human characters.

If we are taught about our country as eternally weak, then that sense of lowliness cannot be driven out of us by reading about the heroism of foreign nations.

A star whose light has become extinct is congealed and contracted within itself. This self-confinement is a humiliation. Such an extinct planet has no place of honour in the galaxy of blazing stars ; it is unknown, uncelebrated, nameless. The shame of this obscurity is as bitter as that of prison life. Light alone can deliver it from this shame,—light in the form of an emanation that will join it to the universe, light in the form of a truth that the world will honour.

It is the burden of our Scriptures that he alone realises truth who perceives the Universe within himself and his own Self in the Universe. In other words, the soul confined within its own individuality is not in its healthy normal condition. This great principle is as true of the historic efforts of a nation as it is of every individual man's life's work. The devoted endeavour of every great nation is to make itself known to the outer world. Otherwise, God would cast it forth as useless in the creation of human civilisation.

The voice of India that we hear was not confined within the verses of the Upanishads. The highest message that India has preached to the world has been conveyed through renunciation, through sorrow, through love, through the spirit,—and not by means of soldiers and arms, oppression and plunder.

India has not boastfully recorded in her history in capital letters any tale of her acts of brigandage.

In ancient times our country too must have sent forth heroes who conquered foreign lands. But, unlike other nations, India does not count the names of such conquerors with veneration on her rosary of historic celebrities. Indian *Purans* do not sing of strong robbers (*Dasyus*). India has carefully obliterated from her records the story of their achievements as a thing to be ashamed of.

The man who thinks of Self as the highest and ultimate truth, is lost. This selfishness is the root of all sin and all suffering. The light of our soul reveals the truth that universal love kills this self-centredness. This light India did not keep to herself. She revealed herself to the world outside her natural boundaries in the light of this truth. Therefore, the true expression of India consists in this.

The India in which we have been born is the India of this spell of liberation, the India of these ascetics. If we can keep this truth steadfastly before ourselves, then all our acts would be pure, we shall be able to call ourselves characteristically Indian, and we shall not need to set up a new standard.

In these days the passion for political self-expression is raging among our people with the greatest vehemence. Therefore, we are only dreaming the dreams of gratifying it, and we contemptuously reject all greater matters as irrelevant ! But the stream of this political self-expression will only take us to foreign history,—to Mazzinni, Garibaldi, and Washington.

Similarly, in economics, our imagination is moving about in the puzzling mazes of Bolshevism, Syndicalism, or Socialism. But these are mere mirages ; they are not rooted in the eternal soil of India ; they are all marked "Made in Europe."

Our national self does not reveal itself in the unknown paths where we are madly chasing these unrealities. And yet, as I have already said, our national success is possible only if we build upon the true individuality and character of our nation. If we can realise that we had a sphere of glory outside the political and economic, then only shall we succeed in founding our future greatness on truth.

India has revealed her true self by what she has been able to *give* to the world. She is known by the exuberance of her spirit

beyond her own territory and people. We can truly give to others only when we admit others as no less than ourselves. Therefore, if you would know India's wealth of truth, you must leave India and visit the scenes of India's giving in lands beyond the sea. Today our vision of India is dimmed by the dust of contemporary local events; but the clear radiant eternal aspect of India will be revealed to us if we go to Further India.

In China I found a race entirely different from the Hindus,—in features, language and manners. But I felt such a deep sense of community with them as I have found impossible towards many people of India itself. This union was established not by political ascendancy, not by the sword, not by paining others, but by embracing sorrow,—on the part of ancient India. The truth that has linked an absolutely alien race like the Chinese to the true self of India,—finds no place in the history of European politics, and therefore we do not heartily believe in it! But the evidence of its reality is still extant in Further India.

In my travels in Japan, whenever I marvelled at the deep patience, self-control, and aesthetic sense of the people even in their daily life, they have again and again told me that the inspiration of these virtues came mostly from India through the medium of Buddhism. But that inspiration is today all but extinct at its source in India itself... These lands [outside India] are places of pilgrimage to modern Indians, because the eternal true expression of India's character can be found in these lands only.

In the middle ages of India there were religious conflicts between the Muslim royal power and the Hindus. But in that epoch a succession of saints were born—many of them Muslims by faith,—who bridged the gulf of religious discord by the truth of one-ness of spirit. They were not politicians, they never mistook a political pact prompted by expediency as a true bond of union. They reached that ultimate point where the union of all men is established on an eternal basis. In other words, they embraced that secret principle of India which lays down that they alone can realise the truth who see others as one with their own selves. In that age many warriors fought and earned glory; their names were recorded in histories of India written on foreign models. But they are forgotten to-day, even as their triumphal

monuments have crumbled into dust. But the deathless message of these saints is still flowing like a life-giving stream through the heart of modern India. If we can derive our soul's inspiration from this source, then only shall we succeed in invigorating our politics, economics and action.

When a message of truth deeply stirs our soul, its self-expression attains to success in many directions. The impact of truth on the soul is proved by the activity of that soul's creative power.

Buddhism was a religion of poor monks. And yet, it inspired an exuberant display of costly artistic work in caves and *chaityas* *viharas*. This only proves that Buddhism awakened such a consciousness of truth in man's inmost heart that it gave fruition to all his nature, and saved his character from being crippled in any direction. Wherever India's magic wand of universal love has touched any foreign land, what a marvellous display of art has come to life there! That country has become radiant with the splendour of a new artistic creation.

And yet, look at the people of exactly the same ethnic stock living in neighbouring countries which were not visited by ancient Indian missionaries. They are cannibals, utterly devoid of art. India lit up the dark hearts of such a savage race by the sublime message of her religion of mercy, renunciation and love. It is not that Indian influence has resulted in certain changes in dress, speech and manners in Cambodia and Borneo, Java and Sumatra; the latent power of artistic creation among these peoples has been awakened. And what a marvellous creation it is! There are many other islands around the India-colonised Java and Bali. But why do we not find any BoroBodur, any Angkor Vat there? It is because the rousing call of Truth did not reach these neighbouring islands. There is no glory in stimulating the imitative spirit in men; but there is no nobler work than that of liberating the latent creative energy of others.

If we content ourselves with boasting of our nation's achievements in the far-off past and do not apply in our own lives the truths that led to those achievements, then our shame will know no bound. To use a truth as a material for our self-glorification, is to insult it. My earnest desire is that we may search for the eternal truth of ancient India and devote myself to the attainment of it,—not for self-advertisement, not for dazzling

the eyes of foreigners,—but for inspiring our own innermost spirit and shaping our daily conduct.

When I visit Java, may my mind be free from [national] pride, may it learn meekness by witnessing the operation of the death-conquering spell (*amrita mantra*) of Truth.

May we realise within ourselves that great principle of universal love ; and then only will temples spring up in forests, fountains of beauty will bubble up in deserts, in our hearts,—our life's devotion will attain to success.

JADUNATH SARKAR

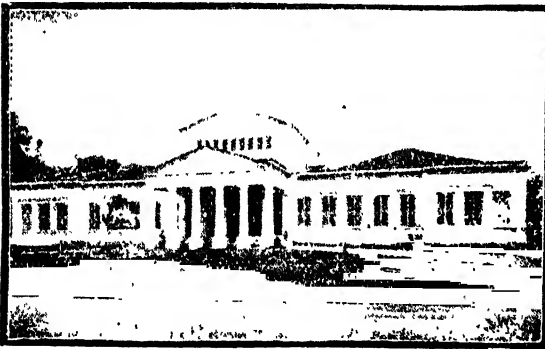
GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By KALIDAS NAG

II

FROM BATAVIA TO SURABAYA

BATAVIA is a modern commercial city with every possible modern comfort, and it palled on me from the very beginning. To escape from its aggressive modernism, I took refuge in the splendid Museum of the city. It contains the richest collection of the products of Indonesian culture and at the same time some of the most important archaeological links between the art and iconography of India and Java of old. I shall come back to a detailed appreciation of this museum, which is a glorious tribute to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences



The Museum of Batavia

(Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen). Meanwhile let me proceed to describe how the propitious smile of Lord Ganesha who greeted me first at the threshold of the Museum, gave an extremely happy turn to my chance-driven adventure.

ACADEMIC COLLABORATION BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA

I saw Dr. F. D. K Bosch, director of the Archaeological department and he received me very kindly. He had been revising the text of the famous Sanskrit inscription from central



Gallery of Indo-Javanese Sculptures

Java (found in the temple of Chandi Kalasan) which had been already edited by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Brandes. A new fragment of the inscription had been found and Dr. Bosch was getting ready to publish a revised text from fresh facsimiles. We discussed certain technical terms in the Sanskrit slokas, and gradually drifted into a general discussion on the possibility of a more intimate collaboration between Indian scholars and Dutch savants. Dr. Bosch warmly supported me saying that in two departments help from sound Indian scholars would be specially welcome. first, for the proper appreciation of the

Indo-Javanese art it is absolutely necessary that a comparative study of the Javanese and the Indian series of monuments should be made with reference to the *Shilpa Shastras* like Mayamata, Manasara, Vastuvidya and such other texts which are being found in increasing numbers. To ascertain as to what extent the art of India influenced the art of her cultural colonies and also what were the independent contributions of the colonial artists and artisans to the

Avalon are too subjective to be utilised for historical purposes. Dr. Bosch strongly urged the systematic study of the Tantras and hoped that Indian scholars would respond to his call promptly.



Primitive totemistic art of Polynesia

borrowed or imported motifs, it is absolutely necessary to make an intensive study along the lines suggested above. But it was a great pity that very few texts of the *Shilpa Shastras* have been scientifically edited and published.

The same difficulty is realised, continued Dr. Bosch, in handling the old manuscripts of Java and Bali. Most of them appertain to the Tantras and the cult of Tantrism. It would be a capital study to compare the Tantric literatures of India and Indonesia. But the critical study of the Tantras has not yet begun. The writings of Arthur



Polynesian Antiquities

PROJECTED TOUR TO THE BALI ISLAND

I consulted Dr. Bosch about my tour programme and he very kindly gave valuable suggestions, letters of introduction and other help for which I was grateful. Incidentally he mentioned that a very important celebration would take place in the island of Bali. A local Raja would celebrate the *shradddha* ceremony of his ancestor, in the right royal and orthodox style,

the like of which was not to be seen for many years ! I had a mind to go to Bali if chance favoured me but I did not dream that the call of the gods and the Brahmanas of that island would be so peremptory. Finding me a little confused, Dr. Bosch generously offered to write to his colleague, Prof. Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, director of the Ethnographic department, who happened to be then in Bali to study the *shradddha* rituals on the



A village scenery

spot. I thanked Dr. Bosch profusely for offering me such an ideal guide and I rushed to make enquiries about my passage, etc., to that romantic island. I came to know that the steamer for Bali would sail soon from Surabaya, the eastern port of Java, and I left Batavia for Surabaya to avail myself of the earliest boat. Mr. Corporaal, the Principal of the School of Goenoeng Sari, did a great service to me by wiring to one of his Balinese pupils (for he had pupils from every part of the archipelago) who resided in Singaradja, the capital of Bali. He further advised me to halt at Bandoeng and see the place on my way to Surabaya. Thanking my friends of Batavia I boarded the train to Bandoeng at 2-30 P.M., buying a ticket for 5-50 guilders.

BANDOENG, THE CAPITAL OF PLANTER'S PARADISE

It took me full five hours to come to Bandoeng from Batavia, the distance being about 100 miles. The trains in Java run only between sunrise and sunset ; so we must previously arrange to halt in a convenient place during the night. My friends of Batavia kindly made all arrangements for my short stay in Bandoeng and so with a mind free from all cares, I began to survey the splendid Indonesian landscape from the train.

The alternation of hills and plains with the traces of the cultivators' hand everywhere gives an impression of charm and plenitude rarely paralleled in any other part of Asia. We were passing through the Preanger Regencies where native landlords, euphemistically called Princes, still continue to exercise sovereign rights, cleverly circumscribed by the Dutch residents. However, the country is rich in agricultural products. On the one hand, we find modern big tea, coffee and cinchona plantations in the higher regions and on the other, the old *Sawas* or rice-fields cultivated and irrigated by the "terrace system" so famous in Javanese economic history. Rice, as in India, is the universal favourite and is worshipped as a divine grain. Who knows if the Indian grain-goddess *Lakshmi* emigrated with other gods of India to Java and brought along with her the Indian science of cultivation together with the tradition of pondrous plenty which is still written on place-names like



Lord Ganesha, the remover of obstacles

Sukabumi (Sukha-bhumi) or the land of Prosperity !

Bandoeng is, next to Batavia, the most important city of Western Java. It is, along with Sukabumi, one of the headquarters for the planters ; it is also the capital of the Preanger Regencies. The native Moslem regent is a pensioner of the Dutch Government, and consequently, as an ornamental figure head, continues the tradition of the bygone age with its puppet plays and gamelan music in the large palace or *dalem* in the centre of the town. But it seems to be out of context when compared with the up-to-date Dutch settlements, the quinine factory and the gigantic wireless installation in the city. The population of over 100,000

souls shows only 10,000 whites, who however are the dominating elements. The relation between the natives and the Eurasian community, as was reported to me, was quite cordial and the cultural discrepancy not so sharp as here in India.

My brief stay in Bandoeng was in the quiet hospitable home of Mr. Fournier and Mr. Van Leenwen who had visited India and Santiniketan and were great admirers of Tagore. In their select family library there were standard works on Java and Bali and I spent most my time glancing through them.



Sundanese Bride and Bridegroom

A SCHOOL FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Higher University education is unknown in Java. The secondary schools are pretty numerous and well-organised. The bulk of the aspirants for Government service have to pass through a type of school test represented by the Bandoeng one, where the Javanese youths study the elements of arts and sciences, of drawing and surveying, nay even economics and law! While visiting the school I chanced to come across a manual of



Sundanese Dance

law and I was informed by the teacher that once the influence of Manu's Code was as pronounced as it is to be found in Bali to day; but at present the Islamic and the Dutch Codes are preponderating factors in the legal training of the Javanese officials. The successful candidates, are recruited into service with grades ranging from 25 florins to 400 florins per month according to qualification. Those who aspire after higher posts must go over to the Dutch Universities in Holland and secure Imperial (as opposed to the colonial) service. I shall have occasion to describe the Imperial Service type later on.



A Museum of Indonesian Musical Instruments

A MUSICAL EVENING

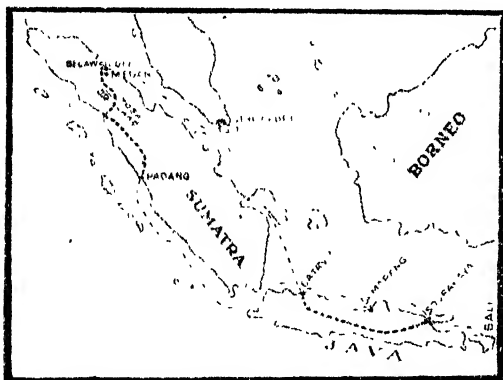
Mr. Van Leenwen kindly took me one evening to a remarkable Dutch scholar who had devoted his life to the study of Javanese music. Mr. Mevrouw Kunst received us in his room, which struck me as a miniature museum of musical instruments coming from Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes and other parts of the archipelago. Mr. Kunst had travelled extensively through the

Dutch Indies and made this valuable collection with a view to write out an exhaustive history of Malay-Polynesian music. He discussed his programme of work with me and I came to discover in Mr. Kunst a musician who shows in him the rare combination of the musical intuition with a sound historical sense. He showed me the excellent photographs he had taken of those reliefs of Borobudur wherein we find the musical instruments, performances and dances, demonstrating the innate sense of rhythm and harmony displayed by the Javanese people throughout history. I felt how the silent stone sculptures might bear eloquent testimony to the musical genius of a people. The musical instruments depicted in the bas reliefs of Borobudur (8th-9th. century A.D.), might supply certain links in the chain of cultural relations between India and Java. Mr. Kunst told me how his studies along these lines had brought out an unexpected corroboration of the intimate cultural relations between Indo-China

covered about 400 miles in 14 hours. This is the southern line which passes Tjibatoe, Tasik Malaya, Bandjar, Maos and Djokjakarta, reaching the final stoppage Surabaya about 7-30 p.m. The whole route is marvellously rich in tropical sceneries, whose softness was occasionally broken by the rude and terrific faces of volcanic rocks. On either side of this route lie the Hindu monuments and temples like Borobudur and Prambanam, but



A Javanese Landscape



A Sketch-Map of the Archipelago and Indonesia. Some Chinese musical instruments penetrated Laos and passing through Cambodia and Siam came as far as Java and Borneo! Where is the historian to write out an account of this musical matrimony between different races? Mr. Kunst struck me as a remarkable personality and I left Bandoeng thanking him for this new vision of human music. He introduced me to Tjokorda Gde Raka, a Balinese expert in Indonesian music, living in Sukawati (Sukhavati), who is the Punggawa (पुङ्गवा) or Chief of Oboed in South Bali.

FROM BANDOENG TO SURABAYA

To reach Surabaya by the evening I had to catch the early morning train which

I had to postpone my archaeological pilgrimage through these sites in order to witness the rare *shradha* celebration in Bali. While devouring the contents of a book on Bali I suddenly discovered that a Japanese youth was looking at me from the opposite seat. After exchange of courtesies I enquired and came to know that Mr. Narutomi belonged to the Agricultural College of Tokyo and that he had come to Java to study the systems of cultivation special to that island. The Japan Government grants travelling fellowships for such studies, which they consider important. When will our Government Agricultural institutes and our Universities come to realise the value of such direct studies nearer home under Asiatic conditions before sending students to Europe and America?

Arriving in Surabaya, I had to buy my tickets etc., for Bali. I add a few prosaic details on that item for the benefit of future visitors to that island. The railway fare from Batavia to Surabaya comes to about 34 guilders and a ticket to Bali and back cost 93 guilders. Telegraphic charges to Bali came to about 10 guilders. So about 137 guilders were spent to meet the bare charges on the road for this humble Indian pilgrim! But the moment I boarded the steamer I forgot all about exchanges and sea-dues and such other unpoetic yet inevitable things. The

unknown yet very closely related brethren of Bali began to draw me with an overpowering fascination and I lapsed into a dreamy communication with them on board the ship,

"S. S. Both", which heaved gently on the placid waves kissing the shores of Java on one side and the coast of the island of Madura on the other.

INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

News and Portraits

MISS SYAMKUMARI NEHRU, who has this year passed both the M. A. (Previous) and LL. B. (Previous) Examinations of the Allahabad University in the first class, standing first in both, at the outset of her academic career passed the preliminary Cambridge examination in Honours with distinction in Mathematics and Urdu, and passed the Senior Cambridge with distinction in Urdu. She then

mensem ; passed the B. A. in 1926, standing first in the first class among all candidates, winning the University silver medal and a Government scholarship of Rs. 30 per mensem ; will now complete her M. A. and LL. B. Finals and then take to Law as a profession. She was elected unopposed Secretary and Vice-president of the Allahabad University Union, and was elected its President after a keenly contested election. She is the first girl to hold office in a university union. She was declared to be the best speaker in the Inter-hostel Debate of her university and also in the All-India Convocation Debate. She was also awarded three medals for speaking, two of them being of gold. In all she is the recipient of seven medals.



Miss Syamkumari Nehru

joined the Muir Central College, Allahabad, with a view to entering the Medical profession, but "non-co-operated" in 1920 ; appeared for the Intermediate Examination in 1924 and passed first among the girls, winning a Government scholarship of Rs. 20 per



Miss Sulabha Panandikar

MISS SULABHA PANANDIKAR has this year passed the M. A. examination of the Bombay University in philosophy, obtaining a first

class and winning the Chancellor's medal and several prizes. To get a first class in philosophy in the M. A. examination is a rare thing in the Bombay University. Miss Sulabha Panandikar has achieved this rare distinction with a learned thesis on the Personality of God. She is the first student to get a first class in philosophy after Prof. R. D. Ranade, who took his M. A. degree 13 years ago. She has now obtained a Fellowship at the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, and is the first woman student to join the Institute as a research scholar. Miss Panandikar's academic career has been brilliant throughout, and we are assured by one of her professors that her studies have been both extensive and profound.

MRS. TARABEN MANEKLAL PREMCHAND, J. P., is another Hindu woman to be appointed one of the honorary magistrates for Bombay this year. She is connected with various institutions for the welfare of Bombay's womanhood. She is the president of the Bhagini Samaj.



Mrs. Taraben Maneklal Premchand J. P.

DR. MISS KUMUDA MEHTA, L. M., M. R. C. P., of Bombay went to England after obtaining



Dr. Miss. Kumuda Mehta

the L. M. S. diploma of the Bombay University to prosecute higher medical studies and passed her L. M. (Edin.) and M. R. C. P. in Great Britain. She is the first Gujarati Hindu woman to achieve this distinction.

MISS JULEKHA BANU, daughter of Nawabzadi Peari Banu and grand-daughter of the late Nawab Ahsanullah of Dacca, has this year passed the B. A. examination of the Calcutta University with distinction. She is believed to have secured very high marks in Sanskrit.

A woman student, MISS BISWAS, has been

admitted into the first year law class of the Dacca University. She is the first student of her sex to do so at Dacca.

MISS ASI MAJID, daughter of Mr. Abdul Majid, interpreter, Akyab Court, has passed the I. A. examination of the Calcutta University in the first class from Chittagong College, where she attended lectures with her male fellow-students.

MISS MONEESHA SEN, daughter of Mr. Sunanda Sen of Calcutta, has been awarded a senior scholarship of the Trinity College of Music for playing on the piano.



Miss Moneesha Sen

Several women students have this year joined the Dacca Intermediate College for pursuing scientific studies, as there is no provision for scientific education at the Dacca Intermediate Eden College for girls.

Nine Bengali women, some of them Hindus, have obtained employment at the Howrah railway station as booking clerks. Bengali women ought to receive employment at Telephone Exchange offices also.

Four lady-students have this year passed the Matriculation examination of the Aligarh Muslim University. Among them MISS SARWAT BEGUM has topped the list of successful candidates. MISS AMINA BUTT, another lady candidate aged only 13 years, has also passed the Matriculation Examination of the said University in the first division.



Mrs. A. Catherine Sutharayadu

MRS. A. CATHERINE SUTHARAYADU, has been appointed by the Government of Madras, to be a Member of the Taluk and District Board, Kistna.

MRS. LALITHAM BALASUNDARAM, has recently been nominated a Member of the District Educational Council, Coimbatore. She belongs to a very respectable Devanga family and had a brilliant educational career. She is a prominent social service worker in the town, and is an active member of the Child Welfare and National Indian Association.



Mrs. Lalitham Balasundaram

In Girl Guide Activities Indian ladies are not lagging behind Mrs. INDRANI BALASUBRAMANYAM, (wife of Mr. M. Balasubramanyam, Supdt., Junior Certified



Mrs. Indrani Balasubramanyam

School, Rajahmundry) has been made the lady Assistant "Cubmaster" in the Madras Presidency. She is the first lady to attain this honour in the presidency.*

* Photos in this section have been kindly supplied by the Indian News Agency, Mr. R. Venkoba Rao, Mr. Rangilal Kapadia and others.

INDIANS ABROAD

MR. SASTRI'S ARRIVAL IN PRETORIA

It appears that inspite of doubts Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has received a very hearty welcome from at least some sections of the South African Indians. The *Indian Opinion*, a sympathetic journal, gives the following account of Mr. Sastri's arrival in Pretoria.

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, arrived in Pretoria on the morning of June 28, by the Delagoa Bay Mail. Notwithstanding the early hour of 7 there was a large gathering of Indians at the railway station to welcome Mr. Sastri.

Mr. Sastri was accompanied by Mr. Henry Venn, Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs who met him at Delagoa Bay; Messrs Kolanda Rao, J. D. Tyson of the Indian Civil Service and C. S. Ricketts. This party was joined at the station by Mr. Pring, Under-Secretary for the Interior, and they subsequently breakfasted together at the station, Mr. Dobson, Acting Registrar, Immigration Office, was also present.

When the train drew in, Mr. Sastri stepped on

to the platform and after greeting leading Pretoria Indians, was garlanded by Mr. A. C. Tayob on behalf of the local Indian Association, by Mr. A. I. Kaje on behalf of the South African Indian Congress and by Mr. Sorabjee Rustonjee on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress. Many Indians who had travelled also from Johannesburg to welcome Mr. Sastri also garlanded him.

It was interesting to note that amongst those gathered to welcome Mr. Sastri were also representatives of the Natives, namely Chief Sikukuni (who, read the native address to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales), four of the chief's councillors and Messrs T. P. Thompson and J. Bud M'belle members of the Native location advisory board.

In the course of an interview with our representative Mr. Sastri said that he had little expected to be here and was least inclined, but Mahatma Gandhi had, as it were, set the ball rolling and he had no alternative but to accept the office. He had come at the bidding of Mahatma Gandhi and would try to do his bit.

Mr. Sastri's health is, of course, very delicate and he looked, therefore, as best as could be expected in the circumstances. It is advisable, in

view of this, for those who visit Mr. Sastri to give him the least possible strain. Mr. Sastri has put up at the Grand Hotel.

Pretoria Indians were busy throughout the day arranging the function to be given that night at the Town Hall in honour of Mr. Sastri. The telegraph office of Pretoria also seemed to be exceptionally busy; for in the midst of the work telegrams welcoming Mr. Sastri were simply pouring in.

THE HINDOO GYMKHANA, ZANZIBAR

We have received the following communication from Zanzibar:—

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Shastri, P. C. performed the opening ceremony of the Hindoo Gymkhana Institute on the Kikwajuni Quarry near the English Cemetery at 10.30 A. M. on the 19th June. The place was tastefully decorated. After introduction to the President, Mr. C. M. Patel, the Life members and the captains of the various branches, the guest was led to the dais where leaders of all communities also took their seats. Dr. A. H. Spurrier, C. M. G., O. B. E., was one of the distinguished guests.

Mr. B. N. Anantani, Life member of the Gymkhana, requested Mr. Shastri to be good enough to perform the opening ceremony.

In declaring the Gymkhana open, Mr. Shastri said that he enjoyed a real pleasure in performing the opening ceremony of the Hindoo Gymkhana at the bidding of Mr. Anantani.

It was a matter of congratulation for the community that it possessed such an important institution in such a prosperous state. Cricket was so well-known a game in the sporting world that it had been made a synonym for fair play and honesty. The Anglo-Saxon, he said, was proud of his cricket for these qualities. He forgot there were others also who could maintain that great standard in sport as well as in wordly life. He enumerated his own experiences when a student and teacher in sports. He explained to the audience the value of discipline which could be acquired so well from sports.

He was very glad to hear that there was no communal question in Zanzibar. They must understand that besides themselves there was a large section of other people, and that only by merging with them could a great nation be built.

He thanked the members of the Gymkhana

for the honour done to him and wished the Gymkhana every success.

After refreshment had been served on the lawn, Mr. Shastri left in the midst of the vociferous three cheers proposed by the Cricket Captain of the Gymkhana.

EUROPEAN STANDARD OF LIVING ?

A continued press campaign has almost convinced the world that the Indians in Africa live such a life of filth and savagery that it has become practically impossible for the "whites" to breathe the same atmosphere with them, much as their Christian virtues urge them to do so. The "whites" have, it has been advertised, tried their level best to lift the Indians (and probably the native Africans also) up to a higher level of culture and habits; but have, alas, failed on account of the Indians' tenacious backwardness! The world was beginning to feel sorry for the African whites when the following news appeared in the Press.

Charged with keeping insanitary native quarters a European, J. C. Van Rensburg, Railway Street, Maritzburg, appeared before Mr. W. P. Maxted at the Maritzburg Magistrate's Court last week. Evidence went to show that the native living on the premises was housed in an iron shed with less than 100 square feet of floor area. The floor was not constructed with wood, tiles or other materials, and the roof was less than nine feet above the floor. There was no window in the room. In finding Van Rensburg guilty, Mr. Maxted said: "I realise that some white people consider that anything will do for a native, but they are made of flesh and blood and suffer from just the same ailments as we do. They are entitled to housing that will not endanger their health. If you cannot supply suitable quarters you should not keep the servant." Van Rensburg was cautioned and discharged.

A very direct example of exploitation of a "native" by a "civilised" man. If we look deep enough, however, the low standard of living of most exploited races would show up as the result of exactly similar exploitation, only on an international scale.

INDIAN EMIGRATION FROM NATAL

The position in regard to Indian emigration from Natal is stated to be as follows:—

In the period April-June 634 emigrated, the figures being made up as follows:—312 men, 12 women and 193 children. At present the Department of immigration has 400 applications from Indians wishing to leave the country. Each adult receives a bonus of £20 with an additional £10 for each child.

OUR PORTRAIT GALLERY



DR. T. N. MAZUMDAR, D. T. M., D. P. H., F. C. S. (LONDON), F. R. S. (EDIN) has been appointed Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation *vice* Dr. Crake deceased. Dr. Mazumdar is the first Indian to hold this office.



MR. HIRANMOY BANERJI another Bengali successful candidate in the I.C.S. examination.



MR. ANNADA SANKAR RAY, a Bengali candidate, has stood first in the I. C. S. examination held this year in India. Mr. Ray has secured 1214 marks in the aggregate, beating previous records.



MR. DWIJENDRALAL MAZUMDAR has also passed the I. C. S. examination held in India.



MR. GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR, M.A., C. I. E., Vice-President and Senior member of the Servants of India Society, has just been elected President of the Society *vice* Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri resigned. Mr. Devadhar is a well-known worker in the field of co-operation, women's education and social reform. No better selection could have been made.



MR. D. K. MUKHERJEE of the New College Patna, has successfully obtained the diploma of the College of Handicrafts (England) with Honours. Mr. Mukherji joined the Shoreditch Training College, the special subject of his study being educational handicrafts.

Photos in this section have been supplied by The Indian News Agency, Mr. R. Venkoba Rao and others.

CORRESPONDENCE

CALUMNIATORS OF MUHAMMAD

The *Rangila Rasul* case appears to have stirred the Muslim Community deeply. It is natural that it should. No religiously-minded people can take an insult to its prophet lying down. In our student days, we had to read a book on English Composition—"Studies in English" by a Missionary gentleman, which contained illustrations of a very objectionable character. Here is a sentence which I still remember:—"Krishna was a debauchee and a thief and Siva was no better; yet many Hindus delight in worshipping them as deities." These may not have been the exact words, but the gist was undoubtedly this. We had to commit sentences like these to memory as specimens of good English. I have not yet come across any

copy of the condemned *Rangila Rasul* pamphlet, but I can guess the trend of this objectionable piece of composition from its very name.

I wish to draw the attention of my Muslim brethren to similar vilifications of the Prophet in some recent English publications. One is a study of the *Hadis* literature by Prof. Guillaume, professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of Durham. Readers of this Review are probably aware that the *Hadis* literature records traditions about the Prophet's doings and sayings and its aim is to "provide an authoritative standard of belief and conduct based upon the word and deed of Muhammad, which shall be binding upon the whole of the Muhammadan world." Some maintain that the sayings of the Prophet were written down by a few of his

contemporaries, while others deny this. At any rate, the bulk of the traditions was preserved in memory and handed down from generation to generation, until, about 250 years after the death of the Prophet, Bukhari made his grand collection which passes under the name of *Shahi Bukhari* and is regarded as authoritative all over the Muslim world. Prof. Guillaume's book professes to be based on a study of Bukhari and other standard works on *Hadis*. Here is a passage from this book :—

"Probably nothing is more illustrative of the Prophet's greatness both among his contemporaries and with posterity than the fact that his reputation could survive the publication of the following story by his wife Aisha :—I was jealous of the women who gave themselves to the apostle of God and said—"Does a woman give herself?" Then when God revealed : "Thou mayest decline for the present whom thou wilt of them, and thou mayest take to thy bed her whom thou wilt and whomsoever thou shalt long for of those thou shalt have before neglected ; and this shall not be a crime in thee." (F.n.—V. 51). I said,—"I see, your Lord does nothing but hasten to fulfil your desire". (Pp. 153-154).

The compiler says again in a foot-note :—"It must be counted unto the traditionists for righteousness that this and many other *Hadis* so damaging to the Prophet's reputation were not expunged from the canonical collections. It would seem that the Prophet's character among the Faithful

was above criticism ; otherwise it is difficult to see how such traditions could have been tolerated in a community which claimed to have received a revelation from God".

I suspect that there must be something wrong in Prof. Guillaume's interpretation of those passages of *Hadis* on which he bases these aspersions on the Prophet's character. A very comprehensive and exhaustive index to the *Hadis* Literature has just been published by a German scholar Prof. Wensinck of the Leiden University (*A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, by Prof. Wensinck. Leiden, 1927.) Curiously, in this book also there are references to *Hadis* which record that women came and gave themselves to the Prophet. (*Op. Cit.* p. 159). Here is the passage :—

"Women that offered or gave themselves to Muhammad :—Bu 40, 9 ; 66, 21, 22 ; 67, 14, 32, 35, 37, 40, 44, 50 ; 77, 49 ; 78, 79."

Op. cit. P. 57. "Muhammad divorces women who refuse to have connection with him." Bu 68, 3, but of, 74, 30.

It behoves all serious students of *Hadis* literature, all the learned Maulvis and Ulemas of India, to refute these allegations by true interpretations. All Muslims should try their utmost to get the works of Professors Guillaume and Wensinck suppressed ; and all lovers and followers of Muhammad and his Faith should try their best to bring the offenders to book.

Dacca, July, 10, 1927.

A SYMPATHISER.

G. B. SHAW ON INDIA'S CIVILIZATION

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

AS a dramatist Mr. George Bernard Shaw has done quite the right thing in contributing a preface of some forty pages in memory of his friend William Archer to a posthumous volume of plays (*Three Plays by William Archer* ; Constable) which has been recently published. But, while writing the preface, it was not wise on his part to forget the proverb which advises the cobbler to stick to his last. For in this piece of composition Mr. Shaw has chosen to write about India and her civilization, of which, it is obvious from what he writes, he knows little and understands less. Mr. Shaw's ignorance of India, added to his general character as a writer, should disincline me to take him seriously and undertake a serious refutation of his views. But in India he seems to have been taken by some Britishers and others as an authority even on India. That is my excuse for the observations which follow.

With reference to the opinions expressed by Archer in his book, "India and the Future," Mr. Shaw writes :—

"Archer went to see for himself, and instantly and uncompromisingly denounced the temples as the shambles of a barbarous ritual of blood sacrifice and the people as idolaters with repulsive rings through their noses. He refused to accept the interest of Indian art and the fictions of Indian romance as excuses. He remained invincibly faithful to Western civilization, and told the Indians flatly what a civilized western gentleman must think of them and feel about some of their customs."

Archer was not deceived by what "the occidental renegades" had written about India. So he came to India "to see for himself," and "instantly" "denounced the temples," etc. It was a case of "I came, I saw and I opined," or rather "I denounced." India is a big country, inhabited by various races in different stages of civilization, and with a long history. Archer did not require any time to observe and study—he *instantly* began to denounce.

The method followed by the ancestors of the Hindus in dealing with the backward races of India and Indonesia was somewhat different from the method followed by occidentals in America, Oceania and, to some extent, in Africa. It may be said in general terms that the occidentals have exterminated many backward tribes, the Hindus have not. It is not my purpose to defend or condemn what the Hindus have done instead of exterminating. What I wish to point out is that if, instead of exterminating the aboriginal population, say, of America, the Europeans had allowed them to live and multiply, there would have been at present in America numerous peoples in various stages of evolution, just as there are in India. In that case, some hasty and arrogant oriental Archer or Shaw might, after a brief visit to America or even without one, have *instantly* denounced some of the American cults and customs. When races at different stages of evolution live in the same country for centuries, interpenetration and intermingling of cults, customs, etc., cannot but take place.

Archer denounced the temples of India as the shambles of a barbarous ritual of blood sacrifice. Some, but not all temples are really such. Animals are not sacrificed at Jain temples, and they are among the most beautiful in India. There is no animal sacrifice in Vaishnava temples, and they form a very large proportion of temples in India. Some of the largest and most famous temples, such as the temple of Jagannath at Puri, are Vaishnava temples. Far-famed places of pilgrimage like Benares, Allahabad, Hardwar and Brindaban, and the principal shrines therein have no rituals of bloody sacrifice. The temples of any importance where animals are sacrificed are a minority. Therefore, to characterise all temples in India as bloody shambles is to be guilty of culpable ignorance or carelessness, born of imperialistic arrogance.

It is an irony of fate that the land where alone the doctrine of *ahimsa* (non-killing) has been taught and logically practised by millions of people for ages should come in for sweeping condemnation at the hands of the people of a country of meat-eaters.

The temple at Jerusalem, where Jesus among others offered animal sacrifice, was famous for the large number of animals sacrificed there. One is curious to know whether Archer and Shaw have ever denounced the Jews and Jesus as barbarians.

The real question is whether it is right

to kill animals which do no harm to man for food or for sport. If it be wrong, it is wrong whether such animals are sacrificed at temples or killed by butchers or sportsmen. It cannot be said that more animals are sacrificed by the Hindus in India than are killed for supplying meat to the people of Great Britain—a much smaller country than India, or by British sportsmen. Nay, in India itself more animals are killed for supplying meat to the small communities of Europeans and Anglo-Indians than are sacrificed by Hindus. If the animals had and could state their own point of view, they would have said that it did not make any difference to them where they were killed—at shambles or at Hindu temples. The barbarousness of the thing lies in the killing, not in the place where the killing is done.

But, it will be said, religion is such a pure, sublime and spiritual thing that the killing of animals should not be associated with it;—God cannot require or be pleased with the sacrifice of animals. I perfectly agree. And, therefore, I ask, whether it is barbarous to associate religion with the killing only of lower animals or with the killing of human beings also. Obviously it is not less barbarous to associate the killing of men with religion than the killing of some lower animals with it. But in many Christian countries divine service is performed in some Christian churches when their soldiers go out to fight, and again services of thanksgiving are held when they return victorious from the battle-field. And this is done whether the wars are righteous and justifiable or not. (I assume without arguing the point that there may be righteous and justifiable wars.) If the killing of men were not held by some Christians to be pleasing in the eye of God, they would not ask for God's blessings on their arms before setting out to kill and thank Him after success in killing, nor would they keep and display battleflags in churches and chapels or inscribe the names of successful killers on marble slabs fixed to the walls of such temples or keep therein the effigies of great killers of men. Churches, chapels, cathedrals and abbeys are not indeed reddened with the blood of the human sacrifices offered at the altar of Mars, mis-called God, but if the foemen killed were not in essence considered sacrifices acceptable to him, there would not have been any divine services before and after battle or war.

To many who are not Christians, the doctrine that Christ sacrificed himself for the sins of mankind to propitiate an angry God and the doctrine that the consecrated bread and wine become really or figuratively Christ's body and blood for the communicants, are reminiscent of human sacrifice. I have no desire to give pain to any Christian. I only wish to say that many transfigured or spiritualized ceremonies probably had their origin in savage rites, and, therefore, civilized occidentals should not think that they are really very superior to real or mis-called non-European savages.

Indians have been spoken of "as idolaters with repulsive rings through their noses." I am coming to "idolaters" shortly. As for nose-rings, I am not at all in love with them, though I cannot agree that all nose-rings are repulsive any more than that all ear-rings are repulsive. I have in fact seen little girls wearing nose-rings called "*nolok*" looking quite pretty. But that is a digression. Archer and Shaw write as if all Hindus of both sexes and all ages wore nose-rings! That is a ridiculously wrong statement. Only *some* women and girls wear nose-rings—and rarely a very few male babies. The vast majority of the people of India do not wear nose-rings. Ancient Indian art and literature show that nose-rings were not used by the Indo-Aryans. These either came from abroad or were used by the non Aryan aborigines of India.

Mr. Shaw observes that "the eastern toleration of nose-rings is not justified by the western toleration of ear-rings". One might in imitation of Shaw observe: "The western toleration of ear-rings is not consistent with the western condemnation of nose-rings."

The extreme condemnation of the worship of or through images or idols is of Semitic origin. Among Hindus there are both relative disparagement and relative toleration of idolatry. According to the highest Hindu scriptures, the worship of or through images is for the less spiritually advanced people—the *nimna-adhikaris*. The authoritative Upanishads do not countenance image-worship.

It is a common failing of men that they look down upon the cults or customs of others, not considering that similar things exist among themselves. Hindu gods and goddesses are, no doubt, very strange to occidentals—some of them looking like human beings, some not. But it is not their appearance which is the essence of image-worship. The essence is the use of material

things either as objects of worship or as aids to worship. Now, Hindus are not singular in using material things for such purposes. Among Christians, too, the Catholics use images, etc., for such purposes. In Europe 274,760,000 persons profess Christianity. Out of these 181,760,000, that is, two-thirds, are Catholics and use images in worship. In North and South America 139,300,000 persons profess Christianity, of whom 73,900,000, that is to say, more than half, are Catholics and use images in worship. This shows that among occidentals the majority are image-worshippers. No doubt, they do not wear nose-rings. Making due allowance for that fact, let Mr. Shaw decide whether they are barbarians.

The worst kind of idolatry is that of which inhumanity or licentiousness forms a part; and even of the higher kinds of idolatry I am neither a follower nor a defender. But neither do I despise or condemn idolaters as such. For men are to be judged by their life and character, and many idolaters have led blameless, noble and beneficent lives.

The worship of Kali by the Thugs, both when they set out on their expeditions of murder and plunder and when they returned from such wicked adventures, was one of the worst and most wicked forms of idolatry. But those who are of the same way of thinking with Archer and Shaw should consider whether worshipping, praying to and thanking God in some Christian Churches before and after many empire-building, commerce-promoting and revenge-taking military expeditions do not in all essential respects bear a family resemblance to the worship of Kali by the Thugs. I think they do bear such resemblance.

I know of the immoralities connected with some cults in India. I abhor them with all my heart. The existence elsewhere of such cults, in the past or at present, is no excuse for them. I have no desire to rake up the scandalous things, true or false, told by some Christian sects in connection with the practices or religious houses or religious orders of some other Christian sects. But I may be permitted to draw attention to the fact that among the paraphernalia of Western aggressive imperialism are army chaplains, privates, prostitutes, barracks and brothels. If *devadasis* and priests in some southern India temples are an abominable combination, are not army chaplains and army prostitutes an equally abominable combination?

"The interest of Indian art and the fictions of Indian romance," which Mr. Shaw mentions slightly, can take care of themselves.

In the opinion of Mr. Shaw, "If Western civilization is not more enlightened than Eastern, we have clearly no right to be in India." This implies that Britishers came to India on a philanthropic mission, namely, to civilize India, and that they continue to be in India in pursuit of that object. This is as far removed from the truth as black is from white. Should all the means and methods used for the occupation of India and for the maintenance of British supremacy in India be claimed as civilized, civilization would have to be first very clearly defined. I might then discuss the claim.

In the opinion of Shaw, all Europeans who have had some good things to say of Indian civilization are "occidental renegades." This variety of "renegades" was not in existence a century ago, nor can any British empire-builder of the first or second decade of the last century be considered such a renegade even by Shaw. Let me, therefore, quote such an empire-builder's comparative estimate of British and Indian civilizations. I may be allowed incidentally to observe that western civilization and British civilization are not convertible terms.

Among British empire-builders of the last century Sir Thomas Munro holds a high place. As he did not keep aloof from the people but moved among and mixed with them, he came to acquire an intimate knowledge of them. He won fame both as a warrior and a civil administrator. Such was the man who said in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1813 in answer to a question about the civilization of the Hindus :—

I do not exactly understand what is meant by the 'civilization' of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am

convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo."

Much water has flowed down both the Thames and the Ganges since this evidence was given. It is not my purpose to discuss Munro's opinions. But Mr. Shaw may consider whether, if the Hindus have become barbarians since the days of Munro, that is a proof of the civilizing mission of Britishers in India, who have enjoyed supreme power here throughout this period. Mr. Shaw holds that "if Western civilization is not more enlightened than Eastern, we have clearly no right to be in India." Munro expressed the opinion that in some respects the Hindus were more civilized than the British, yet he did not feel called upon to leave India. Mr. Shaw should be able to explain the reason why.

I am inclined to think that in some respects the Hindus are still superior to the occidentals, and the occidentals, too, are superior to us in some other respects. It would be very difficult to decide who on the whole were more civilized.

Mr. Shaw condemns suttee. So do we. Even in those cases where the widows willingly burned themselves with their dead husbands, nay, insisted upon doing so, I think they acted wrongly. But suttee is a bygone custom. It never prevailed throughout India, nor in all ages. It was confined, for the most part, to Bengal, Oude and Rajputna and some adjoining areas. It was forbidden throughout southern India. The Emperor Akbar prohibited it. And when during the British period it was abolished by law, it was the better mind of the Hindu society represented by Rammohun Roy which stimulated and strengthened the resolve of the Government. That shows that if those who thought with Rammohun Roy had the power of the state in their hands instead of the British rulers, they would have found some means to put a stop to the inhuman practice.

Suttee was not peculiar to India, as anthropologists and sociologists know. The custom of cremation or burial of wives, slaves, mothers, servants, high officers, etc., with dead ordinary individuals or kings prevailed in all continents, including Europe, in some age or other of human history. If the Hindus alone are to be branded as savages for a bygone custom which never prevailed throughout India or in all periods of Hindu history, would it not be quite easy to brand occidentals, too, as savages for the burning of numerous heretics by many Christians in

the past, and for the lynching of Negroes in America in modern times ?

The practice of throwing oneself under the wheels of the car of Jagannath ceased long ago, and never caused even a hundredth part of the loss of human lives caused by the rash driving of automobiles in the West. But it seems, the suicide of a small number of persons in the past from religious superstition is a mark of greater barbarism than the present-day killing of persons other than oneself due to the superstitious worship of speed !

Mr. Shaw reaches the nadir of the ridiculous when he seeks support for his views from a comparison of the British occupation in India with the Roman conquest of Britain. Every schoolboy knows that at the time of the Roman conquest of Britain the Britons were not a civilised people. They had no literature, no philosophy, no science, no advanced architecture, sculpture or other fine arts. To speak in the same breath of the uncivilised Britons and of the Hindus with their striking achievements in all spheres of human culture, betrays an ignorance and want of judgment which will not add to Mr. Shaw's reputation, though they may not take away from it either.

Neither British nor Hindu civilisation should be judged by some of the worst things that may be said of Britishers or Hindus. They are to be judged by the highest thoughts, ideals, social systems and achievements of the two civilisations through the ages. So judged, the Hindus will not have cause only to be ashamed. Particularly are the two peoples to be judged by what they have done for other peoples than themselves. Like Britishers and other Europeans, the Hindus were in bygone days a seafaring people; they were great colonisers. But they were not like the European peoples described by George Macaulay Trevelyan in the following paragraph of his *History of England*, pp. 74-75 :

"The Scandinavians had always been traders as well as pirates in their dealings with one another in home waters, and so they remained in the larger field of foreign enterprise now open to them. They combined the pride of the merchant with the very different pride of the warrior, as few people have done. *In a tomb of the Hebrides a pair of scales has been found buried in a Viking chief's tomb*

alongside his sword and battle-axe. Their first thought when they founded a colony in England or Ireland was to build fortified towns and to open markets. By land or sea they were prepared to trade with the newcomer or to cut his throat according to circumstances or the humour of the hour. Such indeed, for centuries to come, was the custom of sailors from every port of mediaeval Europe, not excluding Chaucer's Shipman and some of the Elizabethan heroes". (Italics mine. R. C.)

Nor were the Hindus imperialists given to exterminating, enslaving and exploiting other peoples. Hindu influence went to evoke the best that there was in the ancient indigenes of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Anam, Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc. The results can still be traced in the marvellous architectural, sculptural and other cultural remains in many of these lands which are still extant, baffling the ravages of Time and human vandalism. Can Mr. Shaw point to a single non-European uncivilized people raised culturally to the level to which the ancient Javanese, Balinese, etc., were raised by the Hindus ? Hindu influence is still manifest in and acknowledged by the people of Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. It is not at all my intention to boast of the achievements of our ancestors. But, ashamed as I am of the many evil customs and shortcomings of the people of the land to which I am nevertheless proud to belong, I cannot allow ignorant critics to throw mud at us with impunity. Were we ourselves satisfied with whatever lowers us in the scale of humanity, we should deserve to be castigated even by ignoramuses. But we have all along been fighting our own battles. No doubt, the number of reformers among Indians, as among other peoples, has been small. But there is no evil in our country against which some Indians have not fought or are not fighting.

Mr. Shaw tries to throw ridicule on the "occidental renegades" who, according to him, picture India as inhabited by Rabindranath Tagores and Mahatmas, etc. But should he not have stopped to think why and how even in her enslaved and depressed condition India has been able to produce even one Tagore or one Gandhi ? Are men like them plentiful as blackberries in the superior West ? Or are such men ever mere freaks or sports in any country ?

NOTES

“What Americans Say About Subject India”

Among Americans, as among many other peoples, there have been panegyrists as well as adverse critics of British rule in India. But as the British people and British rulers are wealthier, more energetic and better organised propagandists than the critics of British rule in India, the world, including India, is perhaps better acquainted with the panegyrics than with the indictments of the British governance of India. But for a balanced and impartial judgment, both sides of the shield should be seen, both the advocates and critics should be heard. Most politically-minded Indians attach greater importance to what the critics say, as most Britishers consider only the praises to be true. But if one does not know both the pros and cons, it is best to suspend judgment till one has had an opportunity to calmly hear both sides. When we say this, we do not imply that if the British administration of India were admitted to be very good, India would have no right to self-rule. No. India's case for freedom is independent of the goodness or badness of British rule. Self-rule is an essential part of the highest political good. The best other-rule cannot deprive us of our right to this highest political good.

As all Indians now living were born and have been brought up in subjection and breathe the atmosphere of dependence, even the most freedom-loving among them have to some extent become accustomed to loss of freedom as if it were quite a natural thing. It is, therefore, necessary for us to know exactly what free people think of our political and economic condition.

Though it is well-known that editors do not necessarily endorse every bit of what their contributors write or quote, and, therefore, it is not usual with us to comment on contributed articles, yet as a few sentences quoted in Dr. Sunderland's article may be misunderstood, we think we should say a few words about them.

Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall speaks of “a fire burning day and night for three months,” at Rubitan (which we have not been able to locate), “the fuel of which was dead bodies,” etc. Those foreigners who do not know that

the Hindus cremate their dead may make the mistake of thinking that dead bodies were used as fuel for some purpose, whereas the truth probably is that during some devastating epidemic of plague so many people died everyday that the funeral pyres continued to burn during three months.

Mr. Charles Edward Russell writes that “after 160 years of this sort of benevolence the gratitude of the people is so very great that they are hourly expected to rise and tear their benefactors to pieces!” “Expected” by whom? Perhaps some British sojourner or other in India told Mr. Russell that Indians “are hourly expected to rise and tear” the British sojourners to pieces. But we are not aware of any such expectation or well-founded apprehension. Again, the same writer refers to the people “incessantly plotting and planning how to get rid of” the British Government. That *the people* are constantly *plotting* may be only a C.I.D. story, though it is true that there is grave discontent in the land. If there have been plots now and then, only a small number of men took part in them. Again, Mr. Russell says that his fellow-traveller, an Englishman, told him that the “volcano”, *i.e.*, the alleged pent-up rebellious fury of the Indian people, might burst forth any moment. Questions of the practicability, the wisdom, or the need of a rebellious outbreak apart, we do not think there is any probability of any such outbreak—if for no other reason than that the mass of the people are too ignorant, too poverty-crushed, too disease-ridden and too unorganised for such an adventure.

Sir Ganga Ram

The Punjab in particular and the whole of India besides are poorer by the death of Sir Ganga Ram, the eminent man of action and philanthropist of the land of the five rivers. He was a distinguished engineer and agriculturist, social reformer and philanthropist. Says *The Tribune* :—

A man of rare courage, ability and enterprise, Sir Ganga Ram would probably have made his mark in any sphere of life. The sphere that he actually chose was one where his natural talents found the freest play and the fullest scope, with

the result that quite early in life he attained a distinction which in most cases is the reward of mature years. He was undoubtedly the most successful man of his time in his own profession in this Province and perhaps one of the two or three most successful men in that profession in all India. In one respect, however—the application of his engineering skill to India's premier industry and the adoption of scientific methods of cultivation—he stood absolutely unique. It was here that he both had the opportunity of exhibiting to the fullest extent the rare gifts with which nature had endowed him and earned that immense wealth, the liberal and judicious use of which was the prime source of his power over his fellow-men. This is not the place to refer in detail to his many activities in this direction. Nor is it necessary to refer to activities which are a matter of common knowledge. Suffice it to say that whether in the establishment of model farms on plots of land which from time to time were granted to him by Government or in equipping with irrigation channels and up-to-date machinery for cultivation more extensive plots of land which Government leased to him on conditions which, in one case at least, were far from favourable to him, he achieved complete and almost phenomenal success.

The same journal observes truly that it is not for these things that Sir Ganga Ram will be best remembered. As *The Hindu Herald* observes :—

He will be best remembered in this Province for his practical philanthropy on a truly princely scale. To this most outstanding aspect of his life His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, while opening the Hailey College of Commerce on the 4th March last, paid the following eloquent and well-deserved tribute :—“One had to deplore the fact that our University has not attracted that rich stream of private bounty which has created and maintained our great universities of the West. In Sir Ganga Ram's gift of this site and building we have an example which will, I hope, attract a long line of benefactions in the future. For him it is no first effort in philanthropy or public spirit; a widows' home and school, a hospital, a commercial institute and library, an endowed scheme for assisting widows' remarriage, are among the many causes which his liberality has assisted. I know no man in our province to whom charity seems to make a clearer call, and who obeys that call with a readier hand or a more cheerful heart. His success in life has been the fruit of rare courage and enterprise, but, as I have said elsewhere, *if he has earned like a hero, he has spent like a saint.*”

He also founded a students' career society, an industrial shop and an *Apahaj Ashram*. *The Tribune* draws attention to a special feature of his benefactions.

Many men have been known to bequeath large fortunes to the nation at the time of their death. With the single exception of Sardar Dyal Singh, the founder of this paper and of the College and Library that bear his name, no one, at least in this Province, has given away such large sums of money for the permanent good of the public during his life-time. The properties placed by Sir Ganga Ram

at the disposal of the Trust created by him for the carrying out of his philanthropic aims are worth no less than Rs. 30,00,000 and the annual income yielded by them is more than a lakh and twenty-five thousand. And yet these did not exhaust the whole of his philanthropic activities. A large measure of his charity was reserved for individuals. His charity, besides, was of the kind that while helping the needy and the distressed did not demoralise them. As often as possible he would, instead of making a large money grant to such people, place them in the way of earning money for themselves. The passing away of such a man, even though he died full of years and honours, would at all times be a public calamity. In the present case the sense of grief at his death is bound to be the keener because he died away from his home and his country.

To another aspect of his personality and career Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar draws attention in *The Tribune*. Says he :—

The passing away of Sir Ganga Ram is a serious set-back to the progress of applied chemistry in our province. There are comparatively few who know how deeply Sir Ganga Ram was interested in Chemical Research. I am glad to know that in the public meeting held at Lahore on the 14th of July 1927, Sir Abdul Qadir made a brief reference to Sir Ganga Ram's latest researches. The two schemes on which he was spending a great deal of his time and attention were :—

1. A new fodder from the peeled off skin of the sugar cane :—The scheme aimed at softening the skin by a chemical process and injecting it with molasses and other nutrient material, so that it would be palatable and nourishing to the animal. The scheme was in a fairly advanced stage and samples were prepared and shown by Sir Ganga Ram to His Excellency the Governor, and approved of by Mr. Warth, the animal nutrition expert at Bangalore.

2. The making of white shakkar :—Not satisfied with the caste of crystalline sugar, Sir Ganga Ram made us evolve a process by which a greater portion of the shakkar could be retained in the crystal sugar and yet the product would be white. This was successfully accomplished in our Laboratory and Sir Ganga Ram carried with him to England samples of the product.

Jogindranath Basu

Babu Jogindranath Basu, who in his long life of 71 years has filled many roles, was in the early stages of his career known best as a good teacher who not only filled the minds of his students with knowledge but influenced their characters for good. While headmaster of the high school at Baidyanath he interested himself in a project for the establishment of a leper asylum. He was drawn to this kind of philanthropic work by the presence at Baidyanath of a large number of lepers, who go to that place of pilgrimage

in the hope of being cured, and by the then recent death of Father Damien who gave his life for the lepers at Honolulu. Mr. Basu wrote a life of Father Damien in Bengali in collaboration with his friend and namesake the late Babu Jogindranath Basu, son of the venerable sage Rajnarain Basu. The leper asylum was established mainly with the help of the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, who endowed it. It was named the Rajkumari Leper Asylum after the famous doctor's wife.

Mr. Basu is well-known as a poet and a prose-writer. His best-known poems are *Shiraji* and *Prithviraj* (both epics,) and *Manava-Gita*. His best-known prose work is a biography of the poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt, in which he did pioneering work in the fields of critical literary appreciation and critical biographical composition. He also wrote biographies of the saint *Tukaram* and of the sainted queen *Ahalya Bai*.

Jyoti Bhushan Sen

Jyoti Bhushan Sen, who worked as Librarian of the Servants of India Society in Poona for over four years, and who died last month in the same city of typhoid fever was not widely known, mainly perhaps owing to his modesty, plain living, and unobtrusive manners. But fame is not a standard by which the true worth of men can be gauged. We had the privilege of meeting him only once, but that sufficed to impress us with the worth of the man. *The Servant of India* writes of him :—

Jyoti Babu had a distinguished academic career, being an M. A. of the Calcutta University in History and Economics. He was attracted to the Society by an appeal which the then President of the Society, Mr. Sastri, made in his public addresses to young men to join the Society, on listening to which he immediately came over to Poona and offered himself "for such use as the Society could make of him." After the customary probation for a year the Society decided to admit him to membership, but Jyoti Babu himself desired to be given more time in order that his political views might crystallise still further, though in general principles he agreed entirely with the Society. So utterly conscientious was he, and so sedulously anxious to "set life in the blaze of the truth" that although four years had elapsed since his arrival, he still wanted more time before he could allow himself to be enrolled in the Society. Just before the Anniversary it was proposed to him that he should reconsider his former decision and again his answer was that the vows administered to members had a terrifying effect on him,

and he would prefer to remain, if only the Society would allow him, a loose and unattached member. The Society, of course, thoroughly understood and respected his scruples, and though they felt that few young men could be more worthily included as members than Jyoti, they never pressed him. One of the members of the Society once dared to mention to him as a reason justifying his misgiving, the precarious position of the Society financially, whereupon he felt great injustice was done to him; as indeed it was, for no one could be more indifferent to considerations of money than Jyoti Babu. Nor would he go out and seek a career for himself, though he had many tempting offers. He had decided to live and work in the Society as a non-member so long as the Society would permit, or till he felt sure he would never change his views and thus could join the Society. Still members of the Society felt that he was one of them and that he was to them more than their blood-brothers. A more loving and lovable soul never breathed. Of his intellectual powers it would be impertinent to write here. The Library of the Society, always a matter of pride to us, has undergone many improvements during the last four years, all of which are the sole work of Jyoti Babu. His writings in this paper are well-known to our readers. His death has caused in the hearts of the Society's members a void which can never be filled.

Detractors of Muhammad

In a letter published elsewhere, a correspondent draws attention to two books which contain passages likely to displease the followers of the prophet Muhammad. The letter contains two suggestions : one is that the books should be suppressed, and another, that Muslim divines should expose the errors of the two European authors. The second suggestion we can at once unhesitatingly support. As for the first, as we have not seen the books, we can only say that if the works are scurrilous, indecent or obscene, their import to and circulation in India may be stopped ;—the Government of India has no power to suppress books published in England or Germany. If the books be not scurrilous, indecent or obscene, the second suggestion is the only one that can be acted upon.

We have not read the *Rangila Rasul* or any other book or pamphlet which calumniate the prophet Muhammad or any other prophet, saint or religious teacher. With regard to such pamphlets, we feel that they had best be treated with contempt or be refuted, if necessary. As regards the *Rangila Rasul*, even if it were

assumed that all that its writer wrote was true, it would still have to be explained how a man who was merely *rangila* could be the founder of a great religious movement which has counted among its adherents so many truly saintly men and women. As non-Muhammadans, it may not be difficult for us to believe that he had his faults. But may it not also be that some Muhammadan compilers of the Traditions have not understood him aright and some may have even invented or easily given credence to unworthy stories relating to him? Musalmans may not like a non-Muhammadan to give detailed illustrative examples. But it may be permissible to refer to what has been done with regard to the life of Sri Krishna. Many immoral actions are ascribed to him. But if he was really the author of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, these cannot all be true. And, therefore, authors like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee have felt called upon to examine all scriptural materials relating to Sri Krishna and, rejecting interpolations and spurious additions, place his personality in a true light. Devout followers and lovers of Christ there are who do not accept everything narrated in the New Testament as actual historical truth. We do not know whether any Islamic scholars have thought it permissible, proper or necessary to adopt modern critical methods with regard to the Islamic scriptures. But so far as the Traditions (*Hadis* or *Hadith*) are concerned, we find it stated in the preface to the Rev. William Goldsack's "Selections from Muhammadans Traditions:"

In modern days, intelligent Muslims place less reliance on many of them. It is known that in the first century of Islam Traditions were forged for political and religious reasons. The late Sir Sayyid Ahmad accepted very few as genuine. The Hon'ble Sir Abdur Bahim says: "Nothing has been a more fruitful source of conflicting opinions in matters of law among the Sunni jurists than the question whether a particular tradition is to be regarded as genuine or not, though it may be one for whose authority one or more of these writers (Bukhari or Muslim) may have vouchsafed (*sic*)."*(Muhammadan Jurisprudence, p. 31.)*

So, if it be permissible even for orthodox Muhammadans to consider some traditions as not genuine, they may prove that those which are used to calumniate Muhammad are not genuine, and thus reject them.

The Suggested Law Against "Religious" Calumny

Various demands have been made by Muslim papers and at Muslim meetings in connection with the *Rangila Rasul* case, among which the only one which deserves to be discussed is that the law should be so changed as to make the vilification of the founders of religions and other religious leaders a penal offence. Living men, when defamed, can sue their libellers, dead men cannot. Hence, it ought to be part of gentlemanliness not to libel dead persons, whether they be religious leaders or not. But the discussion of the opinions, ideals, character and conduct of important personages is necessary for the writing of such historical and biographical works as would be useful to society. Therefore, there ought not to be any legislation which would stand in the way of the proper discharge of their duties by biographers and historians. Religious teachers and leaders are as a class not less but sometimes more important persons than others. Hence, to curtail even indirectly the right of criticising such persons would be nothing short of a disaster. And we do not see why a distinction should be made between religious leaders and others. Why should any man or class of men enjoy immunity from criticism? Immunity of this kind has not done any good. If the ancient Hindu law-givers were at any time literally obeyed, then it must be admitted that a time there was when Brahmins could not be executed for capital offences, though others could be. Did such immunity do any good to society? Could it prevent the degradation of the Brahmins as a class? In some, if not all, Christian countries, there was at one time what is known as benefit of clergy. The clergy could not be tried by secular courts. Did such exemption do good to Christian society? Did it do good even to the clergy?

If it were possible to ensure fulness of criticism while providing for the punishment of the vilifiers of dead persons, we should vote unhesitatingly for such legislation. But we doubt whether that is possible.

All those who believe in a Supreme Being also believe that He is inconceivably greater than the greatest of human beings. But He has not made Himself exempt from criticism by means of any natural laws. It is not a natural law that as soon as a man blasphemes or denies the existence of God

or falls foul of Him, he at once falls down dead or is punished automatically in any other way. Even the man-made laws against blasphemy have become inoperative in enlightened countries. Seeing that God has not exempted Himself from criticism, it does not seem reasonable to seek to bestow that sort of immunity on any human being, however great. As God stands in His own majesty really proof against any attacks, so should the personality of the man of God be so great as to be incapable of being lowered in human estimation by any kind or amount of vilification. A great character is its own defender; no other armour or bulwark is needed. The insistence on providing artificial means of defence would tend rather to raise doubts regarding the greatness of the character sought to be immunized.

The Christian peoples of the world are at present predominant over the greater portion of the world. But they have not made any, even the most rabid and unreasonable, attacks on Jesus or the Virgin Mary a penal offence. Has Jesus or His Mother suffered thereby? Not at all.

Adverse criticism or vilification of a religious leader is a sort of difference of opinion. Some people think of a religious leader in one way, some others do not. Differences of opinion in religious matters have often been styled heresy, and heretics have been burned at the stake. But has even such extreme punishment succeeded in preventing the rise and spread of various opinions in religious matters? It is vain to chain the human mind by penalties.

We are not at all pleading for the liberty (if it can be called such) to vilify religious leaders. Rather, in the interests of human progress and for preserving the real dignity of religious leaders, we are pleading that the innate strength of their personalities be allowed to defend them.

But should the Muslim community insist on giving to their prophet any artificial means of defence which he should not require, we would urge that the slandering or vilification of a religious leader or a prophet be made a penal offence only in the case of Muhammad. And that for various reasons. One is that no other religious community has demanded such protection for its prophet or prophets, saints or other religious leaders—those who have refrained from making such demands have acted very wisely and quite courageously; and therefore, the less freedom

of thought and opinion is circumscribed, the better. Another reason is that the number of religious communities and sub-communities in India and of their founders, prophets, saints, teachers, leaders, etc., would be almost impossible to calculate and fix definitely. A third is that if these persons are to be placed above adverse criticism and vilification, it stands to reason that the objects of worship of some of these religious communities, such as the Hindu gods and goddesses, the Jaina Tirthankaras, the different Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, etc., should also be given similar protection; but it would be a very difficult, if not an impossible task to prepare an exhaustive or tolerably exhaustive list of them

The "Rangila Rasul" Agitation in England

The Amrita Bazar Patrika has written a reasonable article on the way an offshoot of the *Rangila Rasul* agitation has been engineered in England. It says, in part:—

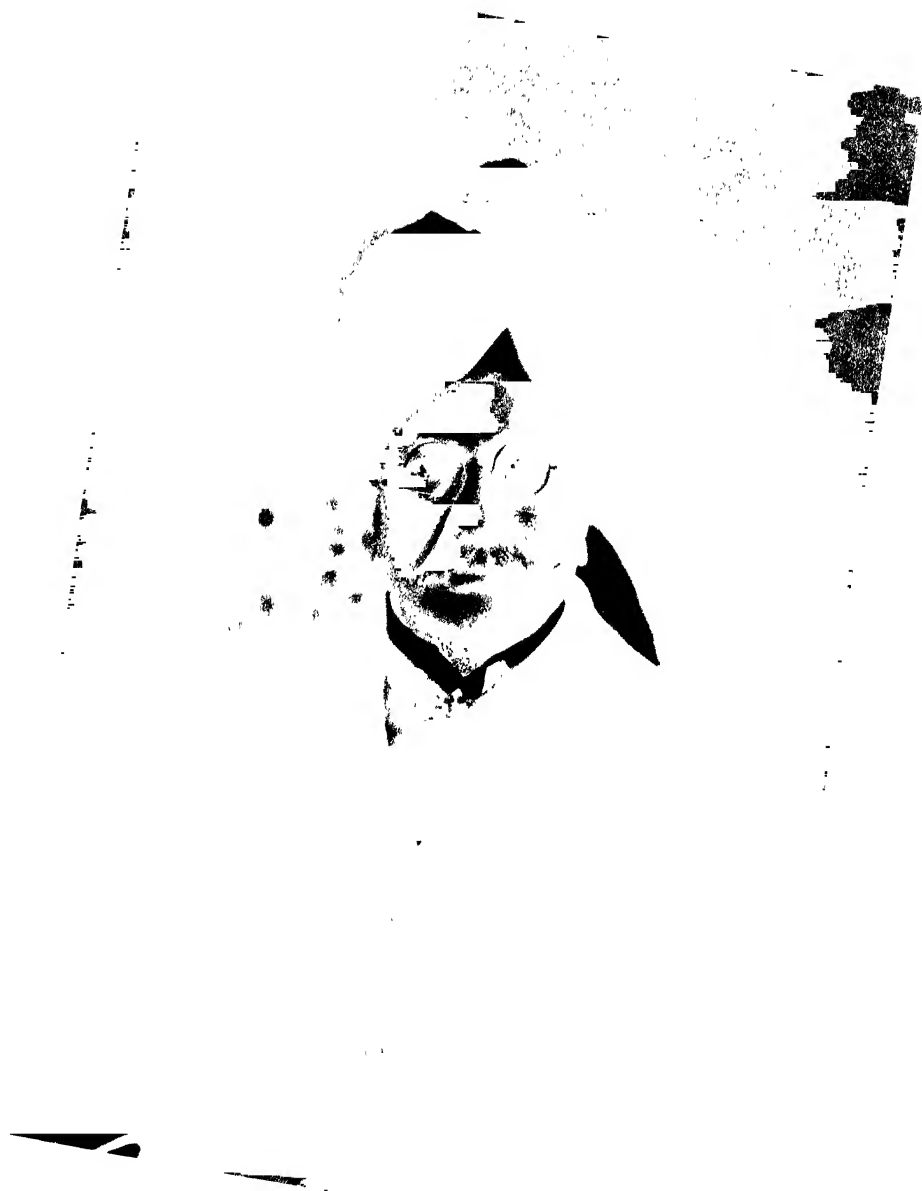
The echoes of the *Rangila Rasul* agitation appear to have reached the shores of Great Britain. Reuter informs us that a number of Englishmen, amongst whom we find such names as those of Sir Conan Doyle and Sir William Simeson, have joined with a large number of Mahomedans and are going to submit a petition to the Secretary of State for India "protesting against the attacks by certain Hindus upon the Founder of Islam and acquittal of Rajpal, the author of *Rangila Rasul*."

We have no mind to question the honesty of these estimable English gentlemen who have taken upon themselves the task of expressing the abhorrence of the British people of the conduct of 'some Hindus'. We ourselves have condemned and would always condemn the actions of all men, irrespective of their religious or political creeds, who wound the religious susceptibilities of others by falling foul of persons revered by the latter. Nor is the feeling of the rest of the responsible Hindu Press in the country in any way different.

Again:—

Let there be no misunderstanding. We have said again and again that we condemn the action of the author of the 'Rangila Rasul'. But when our Mahomedan countrymen are making such a mountain out of a mole hill, and some Britishers at home have joined them, it becomes necessary to say a few plain words.

The signatories to the petition to the Secretary of State have apparently taken this unusual step, because they have been shocked at the attack made on the Prophet in the book *Rangila Rasul*. We may well take it that many of them, at least their British friends, have neither read nor seen



SIR GANGARAM



JOGINDRANATH BASU

what is written by the author in the book. But probably they have read what Gibbon has said about the Prophet in his 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' and Mr. H. G. Wells in his Outline of History. One cannot have any doubt about the scurrilous nature of the attack which they have made on the character of the Prophet. What steps have the Faithfuls taken so far to get the authors punished and what are these zealous British friends, who have taken the cudgels to-day on their behalf, going to do? It would be interesting to see how many followers of the Prophet have the courage to demand the British Parliament to eliminate the offending passages from these two world-renowned books.

Lecture on Unequal Treatment of the Provinces under the Reforms

In noticing Babu Ramananda Chatterjee's lecture on unequal treatment of the provinces under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms *The Bengalee* has casually observed that it is not sure whether the speaker quoted the views of Mill on representation with approval. It is true that nothing was said in the lecture to indicate the speaker's acceptance or non-acceptance of Mill's views. That was because Mill's views were quoted only to refer to the different bases of representation which may be taken into consideration. The speaker's object was not to urge the acceptance of any particular basis but to show that no basis has been consistently followed in fixing the number of representatives assigned to the provinces. He said in the course of the lecture that he had not suggested how the provinces should be represented but might do so if a suitable opportunity presented itself in future; but this observation of his was not embodied in the printed summary.

A few other points have not found place in the summary, printed elsewhere. For instance, the speaker said that raw and manufactured jute was not only produced in Bengal but was exported from a Bengal port, for which Bengal had to incur expenditure. But Bengal was not given any the least share of the jute export duty. As regards the educational grant received by Bengal from the Government, he showed that Bengal paid in fees more than any other single province, and consequently was punished for its self-reliance with niggardly educational grants.

"A Hindu Condemns the League"

Under the above heading *The Literary Digest* (of America) for June 25, 1927,

publishes a brief article which is quoted below :—

"A League of Robbers" is the phrase applied to the League of Nations by a cultured Hindu who has just returned to India from Geneva, and who has decided that the new institution is merely "a device invented by the Imperialist nations to consolidate and extend their ill-gotten gains." Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, M. A., a highly intellectual Brahman of Bengal, is the man, and he is the editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* of Calcutta. He went to Geneva at the invitation of the League of Nations itself, which offered to bear all his expenses. His inquiry, we are told, led him to become so disappointed with the aims and activities of the League that he preferred to pay his expenses out of his own pocket, and since his return home he has given frank and vigorous expression to his views. According to a speech delivered by Mr. Chatterjee in Calcutta, as reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of that city—

"The League practically means a League of white people. An ex-President of the League (Mr. Benes) frankly confessed in a League meeting: 'The work accomplished by the League of Nations in the past year...constitutes a step forward in the evolution of Europe and the improvement of the world.' If the robber nations of Europe gave up robbery, the new organization might lead to the improvement of the world; but if it aims merely at the evolution of Europe without giving up international robbery, it means practically the enslavement of the world."

The Covenant, according to Mr. Chatterjee, makes it impossible for the League to help any nation that is struggling to be free. He declares:

"In these days of 'advanced' civilization, people have imbibed the habit of hiding the true color of everything, and at present whenever a big Power annexes a territory and thus becomes its virtual ruler, they are apt to call it a mandated territory. Exploitation and enslavement nowadays go by the name of 'sacred trust of civilization.'"

Mr. Chatterjee adds that there are other mandates than those issued by this "league of robbers," including the mandate from God which ordains "that all are to be free in every walk of life."

The day after the delivery of the lecture, a report appeared in some dailies under the caption "A League of Robbers." The speaker at once wrote to say that he had not used the expression "league of robbers," as that would not be justifiable, and the contradiction was published in the papers. It is true no doubt that the League is dominated by some imperialistic predatory nations, but all or most of the nations which are members of the League are not predatory.

As for Mr. Chatterjee's non-acceptance of expenses from the League, it had nothing to do with his being "disappointed with the aims and activities of the League." As has been explained in a previous issue of this Review, he did not accept any expenses because he wanted to be free from the least conscious

or unconscious pressure of a sense of obligation on his mind. As he did not go to Geneva with any high hopes, he had no reason to be disappointed. Nor did he go with any fixed preconceived notions.

Public Health Scheme For Bengal

It is understood that the Government of Bengal has put into operation what is known as the late Mr. C. R. Das's scheme of Public Health organisation, and actual work in more than 100 centres has begun.

Sir James Donald, Finance member, during the last session of the Bengal Council, virtually accepted the scheme elaborated by the late Mr. Das, and the Council sanctioned Rs. 3 lakhs to begin operations during the current year. It is hoped that by the end of the current year over 200 police stations will be equipped with trained assistant health officers and the necessary staff.

The scheme inter alia provides that each of the 600 thanas in Bengal will have a medical officer with the necessary staff.

The Bengal Government has sanctioned Rs. 12 lakhs. It is now learnt that all the districts have been given the option of applying the scheme to 25 per cent of the thanas during the current year, and one district has put it into full operation throughout the whole area during the year.

It is stated that the staff will mainly devote attention to cholera and other epidemic diseases, and look to the general sanitary condition of the area and the question of supervision of food supplies. Besides this they will attend to child welfare work, and will purify water tanks and wells suspected of being contaminated. They will also carry out disinfection in case of infectious diseases. By the careful inspection of their areas the staff will be able to discover incidence of kala-azar, malaria, etc.

It is stated that the actual annual recurring expenditure of the Public Health Department incurred by the 25 districts in 1925 was Rs. 5,88,590. It will be seen that this expenditure together with Rs. 12 lakhs now proposed to be allotted for public health works makes a total of close upon Rs. 18 lakhs, the sum required for the Das scheme.

Lessons in Schools on the League of Nations

The following is a verbatim copy of Circular No. 16, dated the 23rd May, 1927, sent by the Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, Bengal, to the Head-masters of all Government and Aided schools in that Division :—

Sir,

I have the honour to invite a reference to this office Circular No. 10, dated 7th January, 1927 forwarding a copy of the publication "The League of Nations" and to request you to issue definite

instructions to the history teachers of your school that he should give lessons on the back (*sic*) in the four upper classes.

2. You are also requested to give an address on the subject occasionally.

3. You are further requested to submit to this office a brief report indicating what has been done in your school towards the dissemination of a knowledge among the children in the aims and objects of the League of Nations.

4. Your report should reach this office by the end of July next.

In the first paragraph, "lessons on the back" is probably a mistake made by the typist for "lessons on the book," the book, we are told, being Sen and Hall's booklet on the League of Nations published by Macmillan and Co. and priced Re 1-12. Those who believe in omens or in unconscious humor may apprehend or suspect that the unintentional mistake of putting down "back" for "book" is due to the French having dropped bomb-lessons on the "backs" of the people of Syria, a "mandated" territory of France which is bound to accept French "advice" whenever France feels it necessary to give such help. It is to be hoped our schoolboys will have a pleasant time of it during these "lessons on the back".

It is understood that politics, which means politics of the kind which criticises the British Government, is taboo in Government and Aided schools, if not in all schools recognised by the Calcutta University. But as the League of Nations is not an immaculate organisation and as it and the British Government are not identical, would it be permissible to give critical lectures and lessons on the League in these schools? Is it suggested that lessons are to be given only on the book named? Why are not the teachers not told in the alternative at least to obtain copies of the pamphlets issued by the Information Section of the League, priced a few pence each and sold by the Oxford University Press in Calcutta? In this Review and *Prabasi* we have supplied some information and offered some criticism on the League from time to time. No one has yet been able to show that what we have written is inaccurate or unfounded. Teachers may use our articles and notes. And if Mr. Oaten agrees, we may undertake to write a booklet on the League from our point of view and supply copies at cost price to teachers and students. We would give full and exact references for whatever we might write in the booklet.

The Labour Organisation of the League of Nations

At the conclusion of a lecture on the League of Nations delivered by the editor of this Review in Rangoon a young gentleman connected with the Scindia Navigation Company asked him why he had not referred to the work done by the Labour Organisation of the League. The question was answered.

Some people are or profess to be under the impression that the International Labour Office of the League at Geneva has done and is doing great things for labour in India. Our idea is that if the British Government in India wishes to do any good to our factory hands according to any researches or investigations made or ideals established by the League, the cheapest way to do so is to spend a few shillings and buy the publications of the Labour office containing these researches, etc., and act according to them, instead of sending delegates to Geneva to increase the British vote and paying from the Indian treasury a contribution of more than seven lakhs a year to the League. We have also asked more than once why, if the great nations who guide and control the deliberations of the League mean to do good to Labour, have not the greatest manufacturing nations ratified the Hours of Work Convention, though India was made to ratify it six years ago?

As to the good done to factory labourers in India, here is something from *The Bengalee* :—

A conference of the United Textile Factory Workers Association sent out a delegation to India last year to inspect Indian labour conditions in the textile industry. A delegate speaking at Blackpool recently declared that "the home life and outside conditions of the Indian worker are a scandal to the civilised world." The material conditions and surroundings of the work-people off the working hours have been condemned by every observer. A representative of "The Times" of London once told us at Bombay after his inspection of the mill area: "The wonder is not that there is discontent in the land, but that there has not been a revolution to alter the conditions prevailing in that area."

And yet Sir Atul Chatterjee and other representatives of the Government of India progressing morally and materially year after year, the reputed patron saint and protector of Indian labour, never tire of condemning the Japanese conditions, as if the Indian conditions are better or even equal. We published on the 3rd of July an article from Miss A. M. Karlin giving particulars of the conditions of labour of Japanese work-girls in the cotton mills there. But who cares for truth? Surely not

the patron saint, who cannot escape a share of the condemnation published at Blackpool.

We do not agree with the Blackpool speaker that the comparative low stamina of the Indian textile worker was due to his or her living on ricegrain and vegetables. The truth is that they do not get enough of grain or vegetables. And the Indian vegetarian has no objection to taking ghee if he can pay for it. Grain, vegetables and butter, if taken in proper proportion, should produce as much stamina in the tropics as bullybeef. But does the Indian worker get food enough or proper sanitary environments? Go to the patron saint for an answer.

The Opium Trade at Geneva

Miss Ellen N. La Motte, known for her book on the opium trade, has exposed the real attitude of some governments interested in the opium trade, in *The Nation* of America. She tells the world that

The ninth meeting of the Opium Committee of the League of Nations was held in Geneva from January 17 to February 1. On this occasion the committee threw overboard all pretensions to the contrary and came out boldly as the upholders of the opium trade. For this time the fight centred on drugs rather than opium. Drugs, it would seem, pay even better than opium, and it is evident that the drug interests are able to exert powerful pressure on their various Governments and upon the delegates sent by these Governments to this Opium Committee of the League. But, bad as it was, a mighty fighter has been raised up in opposition to these sinister interests. Italy has come into the arena, and Italy—and Mussolini are in earnest. Their spokesman was Signor Cavazzoni, and never once was the Italian delegate daunted in his fight against the Opium Bloc. Never once did he fail to address himself directly and earnestly straight to the British delegate, recognizing in him the leader of the opposite camp.

Miss La Motte gives the reasons why Cavazzoni the Italian delegate, fought so stoutly against the drug traffic.

Italy, he said, was a country that neither grows opium nor makes drugs, yet it was being flooded with drugs in common with the rest of the world. But Italy did not like it and wanted to protect itself. He reminded the committee, therefore, that the countries they represented were all tied to the Hague Convention, and that Article 9 of that convention calls upon the contracting Powers to limit drug manufacture to the medicinal needs of the world. He said not one of them had done that; that they were all manufacturing vastly in excess of those needs, and that an international obligation like the Hague Convention should be binding upon its signatories.

Such being his views, one morning Mr. Cavazzoni burst in with the following resolution :

The Advisory Committee, taking note of the fact that the manufacture of drugs is unquestionably carried on on a scale vastly in excess of the world's medical requirements, and that in consequence the contraband traffic continues to increase, as is proved by the quantity of drugs seized :

Considers it advisable that full application should be given to the principles contained in the Hague Convention, Article 9, and confirmed in the Second Geneva Convention, Article 5, by which the contracting parties undertake to reduce the production of manufactured drugs to the quantities needed for medical and scientific purposes...It is of opinion that it would be advisable to make a study of the measures which should be taken in order that the manufacture of drugs be reduced to agreed quantities...In order to attain these objects...the Advisory Committee proposes to the Council that it should hold an extraordinary session at a date to be fixed by the Council.

After some manœuvring the members of the committee had to vote. The complete vote was as follows :

Great Britain	No
British India	No
Holland	No
France	No
Switzerland	No
Serbia	No
Japan	No
Italy	Yes
Siam	Yes
Germany	Abstained
China	Absent (ill with influenza)
Portugal	Absent (from the room)

We have given the bare outlines of Miss La Motte's article. The amusing and disgraceful byplay at the committee meetings we have omitted—at any rate for the present.

This episode is one more proof of the hypocrisy of powerful governments.

Education Endangered by Proprietary Institutions

The constant calls made upon the public purse by educational institutions point to one thing very clearly. It is that to provide sound educational facilities one has to spend more than what one receives from the students. If one attempts to cut down expenses in order to balance the budget or to make profit, the quality of the education provided suffers greatly. It is for this reason that we do not find any private profit-yielding school or college anywhere which at the same time also gives the best class of education to its students. And wherever there is any profiteering in connection with educational institutions, it is always at the

cost of the education directly as well as indirectly through the exploitation of the poor teachers and through violation of the principles of sanitation, hygiene, physical culture, etc.

There are still in India many proprietary institutions. In most of these institutions, the teachers are inhumanly under-paid and over-worked—the boys are huddled into ill-ventilated rooms and made to pursue their studies under conditions that often injure them for life. There are other forms of corruption and evils also which need not be discussed. Recently the University of Calcutta disaffiliated two high schools, the Morton and the Cotton Institutions on account of the undesirable way in which those institutions were being run. Their fate, however, did not serve as a warning to another Calcutta school, which is at the present moment busy carrying the "principle" of proprietary tyranny beyond all limits of justice.

The proprietor of the Athenaeum Institution, who is reputed to be a successful school-owner, some time ago appointed himself to the post of the headmaster and reduced the actual headmaster to a joint-headmastership in order to enjoy fully the privileges of a headmaster enjoined by the new school code. The degraded headmaster as well as some of the teachers who had enough moral courage to stand up against such tyranny, approached the University for redress. The University ordered the proprietor of the Athenaeum Institution to reinstate the headmaster, and also to improve the management of the school in certain other ways. The proprietor did nothing of the kind. Instead he dismissed the headmaster and several other (troublesome!) teachers.

The University authorities have since written further letters to the proprietor ; but he seems to be thriving well in spite of the letters. The teachers, who have been so unjustly deprived of their job, are going about looking for justice. Whether they will obtain it or not will largely depend on how the University is going to tackle this defiant school-owner, who, it is rumoured, has influential friends and sympathisers in the Syndicate.

British Labour Party's Swarajya Bill

The Englishman has attempted a scoop by mentioning that its political correspondent understands that

A group of the Labour Party in England have drafted a Bill providing complete Swaraj constitution for India. The correspondent adds that the Bill when introduced in the House of Commons will get no further than first reading but it is significant propaganda.

The air of mystery which has been sought to be given to the matter is quite unnecessary. Now that the matter has become public, it is permissible to state that the editor of this Review, among others, received the draft of this Bill with a covering letter about a month ago, *not for publication*, but for careful consideration, discussion with colleagues, expression of opinion and suggestions. This draft constitution for India has been prepared by a number of members of the Independent Labour Party in consultation with their Indian friends. That Party recognise the right of India to self-determination. They believe that the representatives of the Indian people have the right to decide what the constitution of India shall be. At the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party last year, the view was accepted that the right course for the next Labour Government would be to ask representatives of the Indian Parties in the Legislative Assembly to submit a Constitution for adoption.

The members of the I. L. P. stand by that principle of self-determination. They know that a satisfactory settlement of the Indian problem cannot be imposed from Great Britain. It must come from India itself.

At the same time, they earnestly want justice to be done to India as soon as possible, and do not want the delay which would be occasioned if no preliminary steps were taken before Labour comes again to office. The appointment of a Royal Commission to prepare a revised constitution for 1929 also makes early action desirable. The Independent Labour Party are, therefore, venturing to take the initiative in seeking to bring about an understanding between the Indian Parties and the British Labour Movement, with a view to action acceptable to India being taken when Labour next has the opportunity.

They wish to make it perfectly clear that they are not limited in their commitments to this draft constitution. They would support any democratic scheme which had the endorsement of representative Indian opinion. They would support the transference of responsibility for "defence" to India

at the earliest possible moment, and would urge the withdrawal of British troops from India as soon as Indians considered it possible. They would also desire that relations with the Indian States should be directly a matter for the Indian Legislature and not for the British Government. If Indians thought it well to put forward demands less drastic than these, they would, of course, still support them; but, naturally, the more fully Indian demands embody democratic freedom, they declare, the happier they will be in championing them.

There are two points, they think, which require a special word. They have based the Bill on Dominion status; but they recognise the right of the Indian people to full national independence. If that were the considered judgment of a representative gathering of the Indian Parties, they would feel that they should support it, but they realise that such a demand would probably delay the coming of political freedom and lead to antagonisms. If, however, India, after a full consideration of the consequences, made such a claim, they would not falter in their championship of it.

The Bill, as drafted, also embodies the bi-cameral system of Government. They have incorporated this system in the draft, because it is the accepted system of government in democratic countries. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Double Chamber system of government has not always worked well for democratic purposes, and it might be considered whether a single Chamber, with a Committee system for the detailed consideration of Bills, might not be more satisfactory.

The present draft bill is the outcome of the I. L. P. India Advisory Committee, accepted by the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party, at Whitley Bay, in the year 1926. It has been drafted with a view to formulating a constitution for India whose terms should, as far as possible, harmonise with the views of all shades of progressive Indian political opinion, while at the same time it embodies those principles of democracy, self-government and freedom which the I. L. P. regard as fundamental to such an undertaking.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that the Bill is in no way put forward as being fixed or finally determined as regards its contents, or in connection with the policy to which it seeks to give effect;

but that, on the contrary, it is advanced simply as a tentative basis upon which future work may be done. No part is unalterable; the whole can, if necessary, be changed in any way which is desired.

The task of preparing this Bill has been considerably lightened by the existence of the Commonwealth of India Bill, known as the Besant Bill. The drafters of the Labour Swarajya Bill consider the Besant Bill an exceptionally able and carefully prepared piece of work, whose form, at any rate, they deem incapable of improvement. And, in addition, a considerable portion of its matter can be regarded as non-controversial. The Besant Bill has, therefore, been quite frankly taken as a foundation for the I. L. Party's Bill and those alterations and additions introduced which seemed best calculated to bring it into conformity with the ends which the I. L. P. desire.

We do not intend to examine in any detail the draft provisions of this Bill. But the number of members assigned therein to the Provinces for the central legislature shows that no basis of representation has been uniformly and consistently followed, which is a defect. The numbers assigned are given below.

Senate or Upper House.	Legislative Assembly
Assam 13	Assam 26
Bengal 33	Bengal 66
Bihar and Orissa 33	Bihar and Orissa 66
Bombay 33	Bombay 66
Burma 26	Burma 52
Central Provinces 17	Central Provinces 34
Madras 33	Madras 66
Punjab 26	Punjab 52
United Provinces 33	United Provinces 66

High Schools in Big Centres and Small Centres

In his Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1925-26 Mr. Oaten, the Director, observes :

"At the risk of being accused of being an opponent of educational expansion, one must emphasise the fact that there are too many high schools in Bengal. What is wanted is concentration in the bigger centres of high school education, and a consequent reduction in status of the others to a middle school standard. Perhaps in the future agricultural and other courses fused with such middle schools will provide a type of education which will meet more nearly the needs of that majority who can never hope to enter the University, or carry education beyond the school stage."

"It might then be possible in time to provide for the rest a real high school education by first

class teachers, in good buildings and in good surroundings."

We do not impute any bad motives to Mr. Oaten, but we do not support his opinions. Bengal is mainly an agricultural province with mostly a rural population. Big towns are smaller in number here than in many other provinces. The number of villages being large, and there being a demand for English education, it has been necessary to found and conduct a large number of schools, many of which have a comparatively small number of pupils. Many of these schools have to depend to a great extent on the income from fees. The reduction in status of high schools to a middle school standard would mean loss of income without corresponding decrease in expenditure, and hence such a step would practically amount in many cases to the abolition of the schools and the deprivation of village boys of the advantages of education. Most parents in Bengal who live in villages or small towns and desire to educate their children are too poor to send them away from home to bigger centres of population, paying in cash for all items of expenditure. Agricultural and other courses may be fused with high school courses also in schools situated in villages and small towns. As for good buildings, we appreciate architecture, but think that in a poor country and for poor boys well-ventilated and well-lighted school-rooms with cemented floors free from damp should quite suffice. As for good surroundings, sanitary condition being the same, we should prefer the surroundings of villages and small towns to those of big towns.

If one can examine in detail the intellectual and moral qualifications and methods of teaching of the teachers, one may be able to judge who are "first class teachers" and who not. But in the mass the only means possessed by the public of judging whether the teachers of a school are "first class" or not, is to look at the results of public examinations. Crammers may pass as good teachers. But surely examinations may be so conducted as to baffle crammers to a great extent.

Judged by the standard of examination results, some schools in small centres of education would seem to possess good teachers. For instance, this year, on the results of the Matriculation examination,

four students belonging to Bankura, one of the smallest districts in Bengal in which there is not a single big town, have won four places out of the first ten in order of merit. The first place has been occupied by a student of the Maliara school in this district. Maliara is a small village. The other three belong to the Bankura Wesleyan School.

Let us take an example from another district. The school at Ilsoba-Mondlai, a small village in Hughli, was founded in 1856. This year it sent up 7 boys, all of whom have passed, 5 in the first division and 2 in the second. In spite of debts and the small number of students, the villagers and teachers have bravely struggled to keep it up for well-nigh three-quarters of a century. Surely the proper thing to do with regard to such schools is not to practically abolish them, but to increase their grants from public funds and for members of the public to help them with subscriptions and donations. That would be a fitting recognition of the educational zeal of their conductors.

We may also add that in the conditions which prevail in Bengal it is more practicable to pay attention to the individual needs of the pupils in small schools than in big ones.

Well-supported schools in comparatively small centres of population may become big centres of education ; *e. g.* Eton, Harrow, Rugby.

Vidyasagar Anniversary

The celebration of the Vidyasagar anniversary reminds us once again of the character and life-work of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. The combination in the same individual of stern resolve, uncompromising independence and self-reliance and tenderness of heart surpassing that of mothers, such as was met with in this great son of India, is rare in all countries. He is best known and will be best remembered for starting the movement for the remarriage of girl widows. He also practically helped forward the cause of the education of girls and women. He was one of the makers of modern Bengali literature. He was the first to establish a private unaided college for high education in Bengal. He was interested in and practically promoted many other social service movements and philanthropic causes. While he deserves all the

praise that is bestowed on him, the best way to do him honour is not to pay him mere lip homage but to do as he did—particularly to help girl widows by getting them remarried and in as many other ways as possible.

Destruction of a Hindu Temple

The destruction of a Hindu temple in Calcutta, at dead of night, by the police with desecration of the idol, has naturally caused widespread indignation, which is not confined to Hindus. The police commissioner has trotted out the excuse that the temple was built on Government land without permission. But it was built years ago. Why was no objection then raised ? And why, again, was not the Hindu community given notice that the Government wanted the few square yards of land on which the temple stood for very urgent purposes of state and therefore the idol should be removed ? Why was the destruction of the temple effected in the darkness of night ? This act of cowardice and vandalism should be visited on its authors in an exemplary manner by the Bengal Government and the temple rebuilt and the idol replaced.

Russia and the League of Nations

The Soviet Government of Russia has been accused of refusing to enter the League of Nations, which has been construed as refusal to co-operate with the members of the League in the promotion of world-peace. M. Rykov, president of the council of people's commissars, thus refutes the charge :—

"Is the League of Nations really struggling for peace ? As is known, both China and Great Britain are members of the League of Nations. The question arises, what changes have occurred in the relations between these two States as a result of this circumstance ? The British armed forces are carrying out in China an intervention just as bad, if not worse, than before the organising of the League of Nations, which has not even brought out for discussion the question of the war in China, not to mention the conflict between Yugo-Slavia and Italy, the treaty between Italy and Albania, the war in Nicaragua and so forth. If a war or an attack by a strong State on a weak State is taking place then the League of Nations is not to be seen. The League of Nations is a tool in the hands of a small group of a few very big Imperialist States for dominating all the other States. We are quite prepared to support any real pacifist

organisation, but we will not enter organisations of the type of the League of Nations."

The Nizam's Efforts to Preserve Ajanta Paintings

The Ajanta cave temples are situated in the Nizam's dominions. His Exalted Highness the Nizam began to interest himself in their preservation some years ago. *The East Bengal Times* publishes the following details of what has been done and what is intended to be done in this direction:—

The importance of Ajanta Paintings as a rare and precious heritage of the Indian race, rather of all mankind, is well-recognised by H. E. Highness the Nizam's Government. It will be remembered that a few years ago two expert Italian Restaurateurs were employed at princely salaries to conserve the frescoes. This difficult task being achieved with singular success, the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, is planning to publish faithful copies of paintings by latest scientific methods. Last winter (1926-27) they engaged a British expert in colour photography, who worked at Ajanta for four months and has copied nearly all paintings there.

An album is now under compilation, which will comprise several parts, each containing a large number of colour plates, representing marvellous brush work and colour schemes of the original frescoes. The plates will be accompanied by a suitable account from the pen of Mr. G. Yazdani, who, besides having intimate knowledge of Ajanta paintings, is fully conversant with the technique and ideals of Western art in all phases. The first part of the album, dealing with paintings of the cave 1 and containing 25 colour and 17 monotone plates (20 into 16), is already in the press.

Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur (Mr. A. Hydari), whose name is invariably associated with every progressive movement of Hyderabad, has evinced keen interest in this undertaking from the beginning, and besides placing his own expert advice and judgment at the disposal of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, has secured the guidance and help of authorities like Sir Aurel Stein, Sir John Marshall and Sir Francis Oppenheimer in various matters connected with this scheme.

Bengal Detenus

No one who is not in the secrets of Government can say why exactly Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been restored to liberty. Medical reasons could not have been the real cause, though they were stated to be such; for there are several other detenus who have been and continue to be as seriously ill as Mr. Bose—some of them more seriously ill.

All the reasons put forward by officials for not bringing detenus to trial have been repeatedly proved to be false. Still they are not set free. What is worse is that in many cases very inaccessible and unhealthy places are chosen for their internment. In some places the huts where they have to live are not rain-proof and have unwelcome visitors in the "persons" of snakes. More details are not necessary to show that these detenus have a worse time of it than prisoners sent to jail after trial and conviction. In some jails, too, e.g., Hazaribagh, the detenus are alleged to be so badly treated as to be compelled to have recourse to hungerstrike. Many of the detenus, had they been punished after trial, could not have been kept in prison for a longer term than the period for which they have already suffered loss of freedom.

Outrages on Women in Bengal

Girls and women, unmarried, married or widowed, childless or with children, continue to be kidnapped, abducted and ravished. The police in Bengal can find out alleged political offenders from the obscurest nooks and corners of the province, but they cannot find out many of the ruffians who are guilty of offences against women. For months, ruffians, sometimes with the help of their women-folk, move from place to place with the victims they have kidnapped and assaulted. The police cannot trace them. Some abducted women are never found. Some are believed, on strong circumstantial evidence, to have been murdered after ravishment. During the trial of some cases of outrage on women, the rescued victims have again been carried off—such is the daring and organisation of the ruffians. Gang rape prevails to an alarming extent. During the last few years at least a thousand girls and women have been subjected to nameless cruelty and dishonour. Yet the Government has taken no special steps to cope with the evil. There can be little doubt that there is a secret organisation, with ramifications, at the back of many of these outrages, and that there are money and brains behind it. If the Government wills, it can find out the organisers.

No one has tried to find out any excuses for or explain away the offences against women committed by Hindu and Christian brutes. In the case of Musalman ruffians, accused of such

crimes, it has been sometimes asserted by some correlative religionists of theirs that the women said to have been abducted or kidnapped ran away from home of their own accord, and conversion to Islam has also been sometimes pleaded as the motive. Taking the first explanation first, if it were true in all or most cases, why should force, house-trespass, house-breaking, removal from place to place, gang rape, etc., have been necessary in even a single one? As for the second explanation, Christian missionaries also convert Hindu girls and women. But we do not know of a single case where a Christian desiring to convert a non-Christian girl or woman has been accused of the kind of outrages under discussion. It may be and has been urged that Hindus bring false cases against Musalmans. But why do they not bring such cases against Christians? Again, there is no need for Musalmans to convert Muslim girls and women. Why then are there so many cases of Musalman men abducting, kidnapping or ravishing Musalman women?

There are non-Muhammadan organisations for rescuing and otherwise helping women who have been victimised. We shall be really glad to know that there are such Muhammadan organisations also. We shall thank our readers to let us know the address of any such.

Sedition and Imputation of Bad Motives

Recently in Bengal there have been several cases of sedition. It appears from the judgments delivered in such cases that the imputation of bad or base motives to Government is one form of sedition for which the offenders must be punished.

As it is some individuals who constitute governments and as they are human beings, they are morally and intellectually as fallible as other human beings. It is not axiomatic, therefore, that such persons are incapable of acting from bad motives. Hence, if in some circumstances, some motive of action or inaction appears very probable and reasonable, the imputation of such motive cannot be morally wrong. It may, no doubt, be legally wrong all the same, and therefore punishable.

But the punishment of such imputation of bad motives is not a sufficient remedy. It ought to be proved that the persons accused of such motives were not guilty of them. Otherwise, though a few persons may

be punished for *openly* imputing bad motives to the Government, the public at large would continue to believe in such bad motives. It may be that the duty of the judges is simply to punish persons who are guilty of any legal offence; it is not their duty to convince the public that the Government was not guilty of wrong motives. In that case, it ought to be the duty of some other officers to prove the innocence of the Government. As that is not done, in spite of punishments inflicted on many persons guilty of sedition, that offence continues to be committed. For there will always be persons who will not be deterred by fear of punishment from saying and writing what they consider to be true. A more effective means of preventing them from saying and writing such things is to prove the falsity of their belief.

Punishable Words, Unpunishable Actions

The following paragraphs, taken from *The Leader*, show that while in India mere words are punished, in Britain and Ireland preparations for rebellion were not punished:

The *Sunday Times* is publishing extracts from Sir Charles Calwell's biography of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson which show that he was actively engaged in the consultations for organizing a rebellion in Ulster while director of military operations at the War Office. Among the important personages involved in this interesting pastime were Lord Stamfordham, Lord Roberts, Lord Milner and Mr. Bonar Law. Early in 1913 Sir James Craig came over from Ireland with the complete plans of the proposed Northern Ireland rebellion. This was what Sir Henry Wilson wrote in his diary at the time:—

"Jimmy arrived, having come over on deputation to Bonar Law. He told me of the plans for the North, of the 25,000 armed men to act as citadel, and 100,000 men to act as constables, of the arrangements for the banks, railways, etc., election, provisional government, and so on. As far as I could judge, all very sensible."

Three days earlier he was asked by Lord Roberts if he, the paid servant of the Crown and of the British Army, would take a position of the chief of staff for the insurgents in the event of an Ulster rebellion. Here are his exact words in his diary:—

"Dined at Almond's Hotel with the chief, Aileen and Ladyship. He is just back from his speech at Wolverhampton, which was a great success. He told me he had been approached to know if he would take command of the army in Ulster, and if he could get me to go as his chief of staff, and he wanted to know if I would. I said that if the alternative was to go and shoot down Ulster, or shoot for Ulster, I would join him if he took command. Imagine our having come to such a state."

Lord Roberts ultimately decided not to lead the Ulster rebels. Those opposed to Irish home rule achieved their object by threats and intimidation and the occasion for the rebellion did not arise. In 1913, in the words of the *New Leader*, the leading Tories were 'openly engaged in equipping a rebel army, suborning the armed forces of the Crown, bullying the King, and generally organizing disloyalty and insurrection.' It further remarks: "These are the patriots, many of them still living and talking, who are now prating of constitutionalism". The Conservatives, however much they may talk of law and order, loyalty to the Crown, discipline of the army and constitutionalism, will not hesitate to resort to unconstitutional methods if it suits their purpose. This is the moral to be drawn from the startling facts disclosed in Sir Henry Wilson's diary.

suit the taste and convenience of lip-reformers and dilettante destroyers of untouchability? How is it that no mention has been made of the Brahmo Missionary Mr. V. R. Shinde, the founder and for years the chief worker of the Depressed Classes Mission Society? How is it that no mention has been made of the work of Mr. K. Ranga Rao of Mangalore? How is it that the work of the Arya Samaj and of many of its energetic and self-sacrificing workers has not been referred to? Nor that of the Abhaya Ashram? The Theosophical Society in the days of Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky did similar work. But we need not try to prepare an exhaustive list of workers and organisations in this field: for we do not know all that has been done.

Pandit Malaviya on untouchability

The Guardian of Calcutta writes:—

In early July an "untouchability conference" was held in Bangalore at which representatives from South India were present, a part of the country where the problem is most acute. Among the spectacular events was the visit paid to and the speech delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It was a courageous speech, and one, filled with hope. The Pandit declared that a retrospect of the last twenty years would reveal the very changed attitude which had come over the country, and the Hindu community regarding the Untouchables. The reasons were threefold. In his opinion, "our missionary friends deserve all the credit in this connection for having laboured in this cause in many places in the country." In the second place, the life and teaching of Mahatma Gandhi had had a remarkable influence on the removal of untouchability. In the third place, a revolutionary change had taken place "in the mental attitude of the thoughtful classes throughout India". Pandit Madan Mohan is perfectly right in his estimate of the influences at work, but in our opinion he overlooked in his speech the influence of the Hindu social reformer himself whose activities, though less spectacular than Mahatma Gandhi, and inferior in amplitude of Christian Missions, achieved a success in the intellectual and moral plane which must never be forgotten. We would refer to the work of Ranade, and in our own time to Mr. K. Natarajan, who for over thirty years has carried aloft the banner of freedom of the depressed classes.

All the organisations and persons mentioned above deserve credit. But how is it that no mention has been made of the Brahmo Samaj the members of which have not only spoken and written against caste and all its evil progeny, including untouchability, but *have also practised what they have preached*? Is it because they have been too logical, consistent and thorough-going in their ideas and plans of reform to

Broad casting in India

The opening by the Viceroy at Bombay of the beam wireless service and the station of the Indian Broadcasting Company supplied Lord Birkenhead with an occasion for making a speech in England, in the course of which he said:—

I ask you to visualise the day, not, I am confident, so distant as the sceptic might suppose, when in every village of the countryside there will be men, women and children listening through the medium of their own vernacular to the true story of the day to day happenings of the world and to the expression of quickening thoughts and ideas which but for this conquest of the other world would never reach them. It is a truism that in spite of the great progress during the past century, the never-to-be satisfied need of India is still for education and yet more education, not only for her children and youth but for her adults as well. It is because I believe that by inaugurating this service the Indian Broadcasting Company is throwing open the sluiceways of education and enlightenment to flood the areas which have hitherto seemed almost beyond their reach, that I so heartily wish the company and its supporters prosperity.

The truth and beneficial character or otherwise of the story of day to day happenings of the world would depend very much on the teller of the story. We do not want to know contemporary history in the way we are taught the past history of India in our schools from British-made books. If we could make and use broad-casting apparatus ourselves, tell the stories ourselves, that would be a different matter. No self-respecting people can feel pleasure or pride in occupying the position of mere recipients of benefits from masters and patrons.

It is provoking and absurd to talk of "the great progress [in education] during the past century" in India. And why is India's need for education "never-to-be-satisfied?" It is true, of course, that no country can at any time be said to have received enough education. But in that sense each and every country's need for education is "never-to-be-satisfied;" insatiability as regards education is not a peculiar characteristic of India. Or, has Lord Birkenhead in an unguarded moment betrayed his inmost desire that India should ever remain subject to Britain, tantalised with hopes of the life-giving waters of knowledge but never given a sufficient quantity of it?

Unless the highest scientific and technical education is made available to Indians, unless large numbers of Indians themselves can do their own broadcasting, it is bound to remain a luxury for the few. If the millions of India remain steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, how can they understand and benefit by "quickenings thoughts and ideas"?

It would have been tolerable if Lord Birkenhead's speech had merely fallen flat on us. But it is irritating.

Did not the absurdity of making a grandiloquent speech on the occasion of a very belated opening of a single broadcasting station for a vast area strike Lord Birkenhead's mind?

Under British rule in India, the opening of the "sluice-gates of education and enlightenment" cannot very often fail to be the opening of the sluice-gates of official propaganda.

Political Prisoners in Russia and India

Describing the lot of socialists in prison in present-day Russia, *The Manchester Guardian* writes:—

The agents of the G. P. U. (the Cheka) make arrests without a warrant. As a rule there is no trial and no possibility of defence. The arrested man or woman is sent to prison or exile without any kind of legal procedure, simply by an administrative order. The system somewhat resembles that of the *lettres de cachet* which flourished in France under Louis XIV.

How people are blind to their own faults! *The Manchester Guardian* ransacks past history for a parallel and finds it in France under Louis XIV! Why, under its very nose, so to say, there are to-day scores of Bengalis imprisoned or interned without any kind of trial! We suppose such things are very wicked in Russia and smack of barbarism.

But in the British Empire they are proofs of humanity and enlightenment. The British journal states that in Russia the sentences are indefinite. That is the case in India, too. The mental torture of this indefiniteness has unhinged many minds, leading some to commit suicide. Others have fallen a prey to fatal maladies.

Profession, Not Practice

In reply to the Muslims' claim for a share of the appointments in the public services proportionate to their numbers in Bengal, the Governor of Bengal is reported to have said at Khulna:

No government could override the claims of efficiency of the public services in an endeavour to secure a mathematically proportionate representation based merely upon population. It should be the Government's unrelenting aim to attain a position where it should no longer be necessary to secure by safeguards the special representation of any particular community.

Sir Stanley Jackson knows that Muslims have been given a fixed proportion of posts in many services, irrespective of the fact of the existence of far better qualified candidates among non-Muhammadans. Even in the Indian Civil Service the system of nomination has been introduced in recognition of what are called communal claims.

Floods in Gujarat and Kathiawar

The floods in Gujarat and Kathiawar have already caused such terrible devastations and had assumed such alarming proportions that it is some relief to learn that the waters are subsiding. Relief workers are already busy in many centres in giving all the help they can. We hope and trust contributions to the relief funds will be sent from all parts of India.

Satindranath Sen Goes to Jail

Satindranath Sen, leader of the Patuakhali Satyagraha movement, has preferred imprisonment to binding himself down to keep the peace and giving securities. He has done what was expected of a man of his high character. To have bound himself down to keep the peace would have been indirectly to admit that he had criminal tendencies.

The trying magistrate paid high tributes to his character and self-sacrifice, but inconsistently enough did not acquit him. That Indian magistrates should have to write judgments like the one written by Mr. J. K. Biswas is a tragedy and a source of humiliation to Indians.

The Registration of Graduates

The *Educational Review* of Madras gives the following comparative statement of the fees charged by different Indian Universities for the registration of graduates :—

Name of the University.	Initial fee	Annual fee	Late fee	Compounding fee.
Calcutta Rs.	10	10	10	150
Patna "	5	5	10	40
Allahabad "	5	2	10	20
Punjab "	10	2	10	25
Bombay "	5	2	2	10
Madras "	3	1	10	5

The journal adds :—

These figures are not a correct guide, however, to the relative charges, as the facilities in the shape of the supply of publications and other things differ in the various Universities. Apart from the fees charged for registration, there is also the question of other restrictions imposed on the graduates. In all Universities, there is a restriction with regard to the number of years which should elapse before a graduate can be eligible for registration. The figures with regard to the years' standing required by the various Universities are given below:

Calcutta :	Ten years.
Punjab :	Ten years.
Madras :	Seven years.
Patna :	Six years.
Allahabad :	Three years.

Progressive and Independent Siam

A recent issue of the *London Times* gives the following account of the "new standing of Siam" in the family of nations :—

"With the exchange, on March 25 last, of ratifications of the treaties with Belgium and Luxembourg, the last of the Consular Courts in Siam were closed, and two days later the new

Customs tariff came into force. The attainment of fiscal and jurisdictional autonomy coincided with the Siamese New Year, and at a State banquet in Bangkok the King referred to these developments.

Addressing the leading Princes and officials, His Majesty said that Siam had attained a new standing among the nations, a position for which she had laboured long. The first three Kings of the Chakri dynasty had fought against the enemies on their frontiers as in olden days. The danger that had to be guarded against came from possible foreign invaders. Then came a new danger, springing from the country's more intimate connexion with the European nations, if unprepared for that eventuality. That danger Siam's neighbours were unable to resist, and they succumbed and became dependencies of European Powers. Siam alone was able to save her independence, thanks to the sagacity and ability of the second three Kings of the dynasty. It was to be regretted that King Rama VI., who had carried this development to so near its end, had not lived to see the completion of his labours.

On an altar in the room were placed the golden caskets containing the relics of the three preceding Kings—Mongkut, Chulalongkorn, and Rama VI.—placed there. His Majesty said, that they might all make, as it were, an offering to those august predecessors of the knowledge of what their labours had now accomplished, an offering, too, of love and devotion. Before the altar His Majesty prayed for a blessing on all his people and that they might have the strength and will to work steadily for the further advancement of Siam.

We suggest that the Government of India should appoint a worthy Indian statesman to represent India in the court of Bangkok. There are several tens of thousands of Indians now residing within the kingdom of Siam; and there is a traditional cultural relation between India and Siam. It is necessary that some scholars chosen by the Greater India Society should go to Siam as India's cultural representatives to promote Indo-Siamese friendship. Will the Hindu University or the Calcutta University or the Visvabharati invite a Siamese scholar to give a course of lectures on Siamese history and civilization? Will the All-India National Congress send a proper message of congratulation to the King and the people of Siam for Siam's assertion of full sovereignty as an independent Asian State?

TARAKNATH DAS

ERRATUM

M. R., July, page 11, Col. 1, l. 16 : for *second* Pandava read *third* Pandava.



A DENSE DUNGA DUNGA OF KALIMPING
Artist: Chait invaded Chatterjee

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WHOLE NO.
249

UNITY

BY SAROJINI NAIDU

Love, if I knew
How to pluck from the mirrors of the dew
The image of the sunrise, rob the tint
Of living blood
From the wild lily and pomegranate bud,
Detraud the haleyon of its purple glint,
The sea-wind of its wing,
The sea-wave of its silver murmuring,

If I could teach
My meaning to be severed from my speech,
Breath from my being, vision from my eyes,
And deftly part
The tremor of my heart-beat from my heart,
Perchance for one vague hour I might devise
Some secret miracle
To be delivered from your poignant spell.

You permeate
With such profound, supreme and intimate
Knowledge, possession, power, my Life's domain
O are you not
The very text and title of my thought,
The very pattern of my joy and pain ?
Shall even Death set free
My soul from such intricate Unity ?

LOSS OF FREEDOM AND THE GENIUS OF A GREAT NATION

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THE terrible fact seems to be that India's loss of freedom has for nearly two centuries practically deprived the world of one of its greatest and most important nations,—turning this historic and renowned people into (if I may be allowed the figure of speech) a stagnant pool, giving forth almost nothing of benefit to mankind ; instead of allowing it to be what, if free, it would have been a great flowing river pouring the abundant waters of its activities and genius (its industries of many kinds, its manufactures, commerce, material wealth, art, science, rich intellectual and spiritual life) into the great and growing civilization of the modern world. How can any intelligent mind fail to recognize this loss, as a calamity to mankind of the first magnitude ?

British rule in India has been very significantly compared to a banyan tree. Under a banyan tree little or nothing can grow. The tree overshadows and kills essentially everything beneath it. The only growths that can live and thrive are the stems or slender branches sent down to the ground from the tree itself ; these take root and develop ; nothing else can.

So in India, everything that has any chance of life is what comes down from the all-powerful, all-overshadowing "Banyan tree government."

Here we have the strongest of all reasons why the Indian people desire to escape from foreign domination. They feel that their very life depends upon their gaining freedom to stand on their own feet, to be men and not slaves or nonentities, to think their own thoughts, to follow their own ideals, to cultivate their own national and racial genius, to develop their own important civilization, to shape their own destiny, as they can never do under the chilling, discouraging, dwarfing, character-weakening, initiative-killing, ambition-destroying, hope-blighting shadow of the banyan tree of a haughty, unsympathetic and despotic foreign government.

Professor Paul S. Reinsch says in his work on "Colonial Government :—"

"The essential thought in dealing with native societies should be that they must on no account be deprived of their morale, and of their feeling of responsibility for their own destiny."

Here England has failed absolutely and disastrously in her treatment of the Indian people. She has taken their destiny out of their hands into her own. Politically she rules them wholly. Financially and industrially they feel that they are constantly at her mercy. The influence tends to break their spirits. There is no incentive for ambition. Young men, no matter what their talents or education, have little or nothing to look forward to. A situation more depressing it is hard to conceive. England tries to justify herself by the claim that she can rule the Indian people better than they can rule themselves. This is the claim of autocracy the world over.

What tends most surely to destroy the physical strength of a man is the absence of the possibility of physical exercise. The most brilliant minds may be reduced to dullness, and the most powerful to weakness, owing to lack of opportunities for activity. Just so, nothing else so effectually weakens and degrades a people as the loss of liberty and the power of self-direction. The highest end of government is not law ; it is not even order and peace. These may be present under the most monstrous tyranny. The highest purpose of government is the creation of the capacity for self-government. The sufficient condemnation of all vassalage and of all government of weaker peoples by stronger is, that thus the weaker peoples are deprived of their right to plan for themselves, and to work out their own self-development.

This is something which the better minds of India feel very deeply. Especially is it felt by ambitious, earnest, educated young men, who want to make the most of their lives, who desire to do something for their communities and their country, and to become leaders in movements for social, industrial, educational, political and other reforms.

On every hand such young men are met

But out of the total production we must deduct 10 p. c.

by way of waste i. e. 7.6 million tons.
 requirements for cattle, i. e. 12.2 million tons.
 for seeds.....2.0
 and exports.....4.5

26.3

This gives us a total net available cereal supply in India on an average of 76.0—26.3 or 48.7 million tons against the total cereal requirements of 81 million tons odd. This means a deficit in food-supply only of 40 p.c.

From the above figure we are driven to the obvious and unavoidable conclusion that the Indian people are underfed. Or to give a mathematical turn to this statement we may say that either one in every three individual must go hungry; or every one must eat one out of every three meals necessary to him. This is the condition of the Indian people which accounts for their progressive deterioration in physique and energy. The circle of their misery is complete. The Indian people cannot produce sufficient for keeping their soul and body together—what to say of providing other comforts of life—because they are lacking in strength and energy bordering as they do on the verge of starvation.

And yet the champions of British rule in India have maintained invariably that it has been of untold blessings to India, that India is prosperous and contented and that Pax Britannica is largely responsible for better sanitation, peace, increased efficiency of hospitals in saving lives and better provision against famines. It is indeed an irony of fate that in this land of starvation and destitution these people should see signs of amazing wealth. It is not conceivable why these people should fight shy of the fact that it is Pax Britannica which has heaped upon a country—that cannot even feed its own people at the lowest standard—an enormous burden of taxes. Home Charges, heavy charge of costly administration—and what not—that only go to make the life of the people progressively miserable driving them to the pitiless edge of destitution and suck the very life-blood of the country. Let me quote here a few persons of authority who have studied the real conditions in India so as to enfold the real India to which the champions of Pax Britannica point with pride. Dr. •Sunderland of New York with whom India has been a subject of constant attention and study all his manhood years,

in his recent book—“India, America And World Brotherhood,” says;

“As a matter of fact famines are really perpetual in India...Even when the rains are plentiful and crops are good, there is always famine somewhere in the land.....When epidemics appear, such as plague and influenza, depletion from life-long starvation is the main cause of terrible mortality.”

Sir Charles Elliot, long the Chief Commissioner of Assam, says;

“Half the agricultural population do not know from half year's end to another what it is to have a full meal.”

Said the late Hon. Gokhale.

“From 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 of the people in India do not know what it is to have their hunger satisfied even once in the year.”

However, the champions of British rule may try to deceive the people in India and outside India by gilding the pill the one solitary fact remains true in the words of John Bright who said:

“If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country.”

The champions of Pax Britannica further maintain that there are still large tracts of fertile land in India, which, when brought under the plough, will add to the volume of foodstuffs and India will then be able to support a larger population. The following figures from the Agricultural Statistics of India 1921-1922 may be quoted which tell their tale and may well form a basis for discussion on the contention of these euologists of British rule:

Area by Professional Survey	in 1921-22, 606,619,000 acres
Area according to village papers	1921-22, 663,508,000 acres.
Area under forest	1921-22, 85,419,000 acres.
Area under culturable waste other than fallow,	151,173,000 acres.
Area not available for cultivation,	153,178,000 acres.
Area fallow land,	50,554,000 acres.
Area sown (net),	223,184,000 acres.
Area irrigated,	47,790,000 acres.
Area under food crops,	215,508,000 acres.
Area under commercial crops,	40,731,000 acres.

From these figures it is clear that one-third of the total area of the country is cultivated at all. Allowing for land not available for cultivation either because it is covered with forest or by roads, railways canals etc., there is still a possibility of an equal area being available for cultivation. Taking the classic assumption underlying the

Ricardian theory of rent to be true let us suppose that this additional area will yield $\frac{2}{3}$ of the produce yielded by an equal area already under cultivation. Thus $\frac{2}{3}$ of 760 million tons total produce quoted above will be equal to 50.6 million tons, and deducting 17.8 million tons i.e. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total deduction, 26.3 million tons quoted above and even assuming that the export of 4.5 million tons will remain the same we will get the total increase in production by 32.8 million tons, i.e. 48.7 million tons plus 32.8 million tons equal to 81.1 million tons, net cereal supply in India against an equal number of tons of her cereal requirements. It is thus clear that India will then be able to just balance her produce and requirements with the present population. But what will happen when after the maximum limit of production has been reached and the population has increased which is bound to? And then we must take into account the operation of the Law of Diminishing Returns, the effect of which would be to tend to decrease the volume of production. Thus even if we bring the whole of the area available under cultivation the problem of keeping the numbers within the means of subsistence will ever remain unsolved. Sir James Caird in his Report on the condition of India (dated October 31, 1879), said :

"An exhausting agriculture and an increasing population must come to a dead-lock. No reduction of the assessment can be more than a postponement of the inevitable catastrophe."

* To this state of dead-lock India is slowly but surely drifting.

What then is the solution of the population and subsistence problem of India which is a very perplexing one? To my mind three things occur. Firstly, that the Indian people should adopt such practices as may give them command over birth-control. This means changing certain social customs, and I think, India can ill-afford to

do that as social custom and religious sanction have still a binding force in this country unparalleled elsewhere. Secondly, Home Rule which will be the panacea of all economic ills with which India is for long sorely afflicted. A Free India will be better able to cope with such problems by enacting laws to check the export of her foodstuffs which go to feed other nations abroad at the cost of bringing starvation upon her own people and by making rapid strides towards industrial advance. Thirdly, emigration on a large scale in countries which are not populated by anything like the number we have in India, will prove effectively useful in keeping numbers within the means of subsistence. But the champions of the White African and the White Australian policy who glory in reaping the benefit from the penalty which is paid by India, stand in the way. They fail to understand in their own small way that humanity is one and that there ought to be an equitable distribution of material well-being among men of all races and creeds. This ought to be the aim of all human activity in the domain of economics. The business of the race is even more important than that of the government, for on that depends the ultimate salvation of humanity: and the Government that does not care to alleviate the misery and obviate the poverty of the masses toiling under its rule has no claim to be called civilized. Considering India's position in the world politics the problem becomes a world problem—a world menace too. Unhappily the attention of our Indian leaders has been so much engrossed by political problems that they have relegated to social and economic matters almost a secondary position. Let the Indian leaders awake and bestir to solve this all important problem of population and subsistence in India upon which alone hangs the question of life and death to India.

WAR WITH NICARAGUA

BY SCOTT NEARING

SINCE the Hawaiian revolution of 1893 and the Panama revolution of 1903 the United States economic interests and its diplomats have been specializing in the art

of fomenting revolutions in weak countries where they desire to make political changes. One very significant illustration of this policy comes from Nicaragua.

United States bankers hold many Nicaraguan bonds. United States timber interests are equally interested in Nicaraguan mahogany. The U. S. Navy wanted a base on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua. The U. S. Government wanted a canal across Nicaragua. This combination of economic and strategic interests led to the establishment of a U. S. protectorate over this little country of slightly more than one-half million inhabitants.

In 1909 Zelaya was president of Nicaragua. A revolution broke out against him in that year financed by Adolfo Diaz, who was employed by an American mining corporation at a salary of \$1,000 per year. Diaz advanced \$600,000 in support of his revolutionary cause.

Zelaya was driven out of Nicaragua and a successor elected. Still the United States continued to support the revolutionists. The Nicaraguan Government protested officially to the United States, but Washington compelled Nicaragua to allow American ships carrying arms and munitions for the rebels to pass the blockade which the Nicaraguan Government had set up.

Nicaragua's troops, in August, 1910, surrounded the rebels and attempted to destroy them in Bluefields. The U. S. fleet landed marines and checked the government campaign.

In October, 1910, the United States State Department sent an agent to Nicaragua who arranged for loan for American bankers to be secured through a customs lien. During the same month the leader of the revolution, aboard an American warship, agreed to negotiate the loan as soon as they came into power. With the assistance of the United States the revolutionists were successful: Estrada was elected president and Diaz vice-president. Within three weeks this government was recognized by the United States State department. The terms of agreement between the Estrada and U. S. officials were subsequently made public and turned the Nicaraguan masses against the conservative Estrada government.

During 1911 the National Assembly of Nicaragua adopted a constitution aimed to prevent foreign loans. This constitution was opposed by the U. S. State department. After its adoption President Estrada dissolved the Assembly, but the country was against him and he was compelled to resign, leaving Diaz as acting president.

The Diaz government was not more

popular than the Estrada had been. The United States minister wired to Washington: "The Assembly will confirm Diaz in the presidency according to any one of the plans which the State department may indicate. A war vessel is necessary for moral effect." On May 25, 1911, he wired that a war-vessel should be provided "at least until the loan has been put through."

Meanwhile representatives of the Diaz government in Washington signed a series of agreements under which certain New York bankers made a loan to Nicaragua and the State department appointing a customs collector who had the confidence of the New York bankers. These measures made Diaz so unpopular that in July, 1912, the country rose in revolt against him. The State department sent in 412 U. S. marines and notified the U. S. Minister that "the American bankers who have made investments in relation to railroads and steamships in Nicaragua have asked for protection." This "protection" included eight war-vessels and 2725 sailors and marines. Managua was bombarded, and the U.S. forces took part in several land engagements against the revolutionists. The leader of the revolutionists finally surrendered and was exiled to Panama on board a U.S. warship.

The expenses of this revolution led Diaz to apply for another loan which was made in 1913, with railroad and bank property pledged as collateral. In 1913, also, a treaty was drawn up with Nicaragua providing for the construction of a canal, for the U.S. control of the Corn Islands, and for a U.S. naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca.

After 1913 the conservatives remained in power for more than a decade. U.S. marines were kept in Nicaragua from 1912 until 1925. In 1924, a Liberal candidate was elected to office and the next year U.S. Marines withdrawn, the conservatives under Chamorro, defeated candidate in the presidential election, engineered a revolt which restored them to power. In May, 1926, the Liberals captured Bluefields and set up an opposition government. Immediately, U.S. marines were landed at the port of Bluefields, it was declared a "neutral zone," and ultimately this policy was followed by the U.S. officials to the point where each important center of liberal influence was "neutralized" under the control of American marines.

Nevertheless, in spite of all discouragements, the Liberals continued to win—perhaps, as Diaz claims, because of the support which they were receiving from Mexico—perhaps, as the Liberals claim, because of the support which they received from the masses of Nicaraguan citizens. Be that as it may, the U.S. State department, in pursuit of American economic and diplomatic interests, recognized Diaz; provided marines for his protection; appointed a collector of customs for him; denounced his opponent as a Bolshevik: instructed the American mahogany companies to pay taxes to Diaz rather than to the Liberals; and finally, on January 6, 1926, ordered to Nicaraguan waters new naval units which provided the American admiral in charge with 15 war-vessels and 2,000 landing troops.

Replying to attacks from opposition Senators, the State department announced that this was not intervention but merely the protection of American interests. However, on January 10, in a special message to Congress, President Coolidge made very clear the policy that the United States

Government would follow: "If the revolution continues American investments and business interests will be very seriously affected, if not destroyed. The currency, which is now at par, will be inflated...the proprietary rights of the United States in the Nicaraguan Canal route...places us in a position of peculiar responsibility. I am sure it is not the desire of the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. Nevertheless, it must be said, we have a very definite and special interest in the maintenance of order and good Government in Nicaragua at the present time. It has always been and remains the policy of the United States in such circumstances to take the steps that may be necessary for the preservation and protection of the lives, the property and the interests of its citizens and of this Government itself."

This is, in effect a declaration of war on the Sacasa Liberals who will be fought by the military units of the United States just as the Liberal revolutionaries of 1912 were fought, until the Conservatives are again thoroughly established in power.

THE BAKULE-INSTITUTE AT PRAGUE

By PROFESSOR M. WINTERNITZ

DIRECTOR *Bakule* of Prague (Czechoslovakia) is the most remarkable educationalist I have ever come across. He is indeed an educational genius. In 1897 he began his career as a village schoolmaster. As he had his own ideas about education, he could not help coming into constant conflict with the school authorities. Like his great contemporary in India, Rabindranath Tagore, he claimed *freedom for the child*, and was convinced that the children had to learn more from *life* itself and from the book of *nature*, than from school-books. His leading idea was that children must learn by experience, not by being talked to. As he says:

"Until Milos has hurt his nose by running down the hill, you will never convince him that it is foolish to rush down a hill in a fury. And Joseph will never believe Francis to be stronger than himself as long as he had not been thoroughly thrashed by him."

Love and devotion on the one hand, and art on the other, are the chief instruments of education for Director Bakule. He is the greatest master in the art of developing all the creative powers in the child. He has made his boys drawers, painters, wood-cutters, carpenters, builders, musicians, and writers, and taught them these and other arts, of which he himself had only a faint idea—simply by finding out the faculties which are hidden in the individual child, and developing them to the highest possible degree. That is to say, he inspires his children with such enthusiasm and energy, and makes them enjoy their work so much, that they themselves develop every faculty that may be in them.

In 1913 a prominent professor of surgery at the Czech University of Prague conceived the idea of founding an institution for the

education of crippled children, and he appointed Bakule, as teacher. This was Bakule's great opportunity. He searched and searched, and gradually found, the ways to make these poorest of the poor, boys without arms, without feet, or with maimed limbs, happy and useful members of society. He began by showing them what life is, real life. Human life means social life, means co-operation, living and working together. Thus the first thing he did was, to form these poor little creatures into a *society*, a society of little ones, but a real society. And they soon found out by themselves that being a member of a society involves duties to be fulfilled. They had to learn to work. And he taught them to work—those who had no hands, to work with their feet, and those who had neither, to work with their brains and with what remnants of limbs a cruel fate had left them. He did not care about their learning to write or to read (at which, of course, the school authorities were greatly annoyed), but he waited, until life itself would make them wish to learn these things. And the boys did learn writing, as soon as they began to feel a desire to write to their mothers or sisters, and soon enough they learned reading, when once a desire arose in them of making themselves acquainted with the contents of books.

Bakule's experiences during and immediately after the war read like the most thrilling novel. One of the first results of the war was an ever increasing number of invalids. There was new work for Bakule in a school for war cripples. He worked hard, but as he always cared more for the poor children than for the bureaucracy and its rules, difficulties arose. And after six years of most useful work he had to leave his place of activity. Now a strange thing happened. The little band of crippled pupils declared their solidarity with their master. They decided not to leave him, but to go with him and help him to build a new institution in which he could carry on his educational work, free from all shackles of bureaucratic narrow-mindedness. There were eleven boys and one girl who, without a penny in their pockets and without any resources other than their courage and energy, were resolved to follow their master and earn their livelihood by their own efforts, in order to prove that their teacher's method was good. For some time they declined to accept any financial help, offered to them

even by the President of the Republic, and by a rich countryman of theirs living in America. They wanted to prove to the public that their teacher, the "rebel", as he was called, was right, that they, the poor cripples, had learned to work and were able to keep themselves by their own labour. This proof was given under the most difficult circumstances. It is true, they had no home and wandered about like vagabonds from village to village; but in the evenings Bakule himself gave lectures, and the boys earned what they needed by wood-cutting, painting, and other work of their hands or feet, as far as they had any.

At last help came from an unexpected quarter. Children of the American Red Cross had collected a sum of money for a children's camp in the Tatra mountains in Slovakia. There the Bakule children were invited in the summer of 1919. Miss Harrison, the leader of the camp, was struck with the achievements of these crippled children, and promised to tell the American children about them, and to send them help—help not for themselves, but for *social work among the children of the poor*. For this was the idea and the aim of the "Bakule Community," as it was called: to found an institution, in which poor children from the streets should find a home and be educated according to the principles of freedom and good-will in the spirit of master Bakule.

A hard winter came after the beautiful summer in the Tatra; the little band had to work hard enough to make both ends meet, they suffered from hunger and cold, and had no home. Yet they never lost their good humour, their courage, and their self-confidence. But Miss Harrison was true to her promise. A gift of 2000 dollars came from The American Red Cross children, and soon also a price of 25,000 dollars. Now after they had actually *proved* that they had been able to keep themselves, they no longer refused to accept gifts, the less so, as they wanted to use these gifts not for themselves but for work of social service, for the "*Bakule-Institute*" that was to be founded.

This "Bakule-Institute" is now one of the most remarkable educational institutions in Prague and, indeed, in the world. In one of the suburbs of Prague there stands a house, not very large, with a garden. Here Director Bakule lives and works with his children, like a happy family. Any boys and girls from the streets come, as they like,

and join the little band of workers, to work and to learn with them. Now there are not only crippled children, but also healthy boys and girls, and they come of their own sweet will, to learn to work and to find pleasure in work. But no, it is not only work that awaits them in Bakule's home. After the day's work the boys and girls gather in the kitchen, which has to serve as a hall, and learn to sing. And this is one of the greatest marvels of Bakule's educational art. Here are boys and girls from the street, street-urchins, proletarian children, no selection of good voices or of specially gifted young folk, and here is Bakule himself who tells us that he knows no more of music than any village school-master would: and yet he has formed and trained a band of singers, a chorus, whose songs not only have won the hearts of the people in many countries, but are also admired by some of the first musical authorities for their wonderful harmonical and rhythmical exactness and their expression of feeling. Even without knowing the Czech language, one is moved to tears, whenever one hears the "Bakule-Chorus" sing such folk-songs as that of the orphan child on the grave of its mother. The "Bakule-concerts" are now well-known and highly appreciated not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in America, where Bakule with his children had been invited in 1923 and had a most enthusiastic reception. In 1925 he and his chorus attended the third International Conference of the New Education Fellowship at Heidelberg (Germany), where both Bakule's lecture on his work and the songs of the "Bakule-Chorus" aroused the greatest enthusiasm. When Director Bakule returned from Heidelberg, I asked him to repeat his lecture in our German Ethical Society at Prague. He kindly did so. His lecture had been translated from his mother-tongue Czech into German, and he himself read it, without knowing the German language, as well as he could. Yet it was astonishing what a deep impression this lecture, in which he told us

of his educational work and ideas, made upon all his hearers. Nobody thought of the language, but everybody listened only to *what* he said without caring *how* he said it.

When Rabindranath Tagore came to Prague in October last year (1926), I suggested to him, on the very first day of our happy punardarsana, a visit to the "Bakule-Institute", as I knew it would interest him more than anything else in this town. For there is a wonderful agreement between the educational ideals of the Poet and those of Bakule. There was only one afternoon on which this visit could take place, as Director Bakule had to leave Prague for a visit to Denmark the day after. The Poet was greatly impressed with what he saw at the Bakule-Institute, and both the director and his children were extremely happy and proud of having the great Indian Poet in their midst. And they were immensely delighted, when the Poet said a few kind words, which were translated to the children, inviting them to come to Santiniketan. Director Bakule said that it was not at all impossible that they would some day avail themselves of this kind invitation. For the "Bakule Chorus" actually plans a journey round the world. Last year they gave numerous concerts in Copenhagen and in the whole of Denmark. This year they will come to Switzerland to be present at the fourth Conference of the New Education Fellowship at Locarno. All this travelling about to different countries of the world has a definite and noble purpose. By their songs these little children of Czechoslovakia wish to win the hearts, and have already won the hearts, of the children and of the people of foreign countries: they wish to demonstrate that we are all brothers and sisters, whatever our country, nationality, language, or religion may be. Thus Director Bakule is not only a pioneer of a great educational movement, but also a worker for peace and good-will among the nations of the world.



THE POET RABINDRANATH TAGOREAT THE BAKULE INSTITUTE

Sitting : Left, Professor Dr. M. Winternitz ; centre, the Poet , right, the editor of the Modern Review.
Standing : From right to left, Prof. Lesny, Mrs. Lesny, Mr. Bakule, Mrs. P. C. Mahalanobis and prof. P. C. Mahalanobis. The boys and girls belong to the Institute.



THE POET RABINDRANATH TAGOREAT THE BAKULE INSTITUTE

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THE SILVER JUBILEE OF THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE

By PROFESSOR P. SESHADRI, M. A.

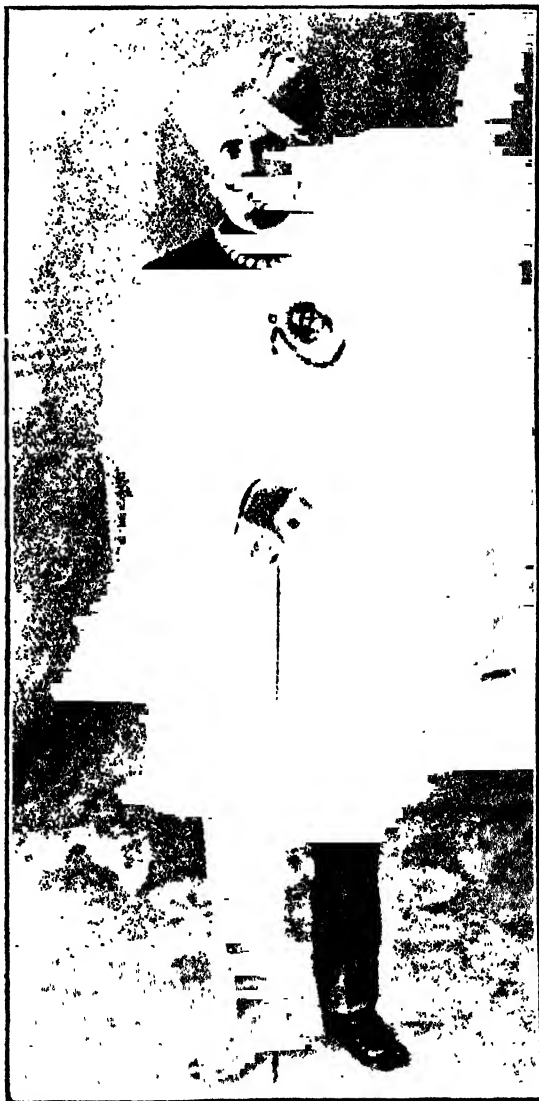
TO-day is the Silver Jubilee of His Highness The Maharajah Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G. C. S. I. of Mysore, an event which is being celebrated with great enthusiasm not merely by his subjects, but also by his numerous admirers outside the state. His Excellency the Viceroy paid a well-deserved tribute to the peaceful and progressive administration of His Highness on the occasion of his recent visit to the state and testified to its appreciation by the British Government by the graceful announcement of the perpetual remission of the large sum of ten and a half lakhs of rupees from the annual subsidy of the state.

It is pleasant to see an Indian state keeping itself abreast of the developments of modern government and achieving results worthy in many respects of comparison with British India.

Born on the 4th June 1884, His Highness had the misfortune to lose his father, Maharajah Sir Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, as a mere boy of ten, when the state came under a Council of Regency with Her Highness the Dowager Maharani at its head, an arrangement which continued for a period of seven years from February 1895 to August 1902. His Highness was invested with full powers by His Excellency Lord Curzon in August 1902, and it will be conceded by all that His Highness has amply fulfilled the high expectations entertained of him and has given an account of himself as an administrator, of which any ruler in India to-day may be proud.

It is true that His Highness started with many advantages, with some of the best traditions of good administration which any state may possess. For the long period of fifty years, from 1831 to 1881, the state was administered by the British Commission which has left numerous memorials of good government all over the state to-day. It must, however, be recognised, at the same time, that the good traditions have been maintained unimpaired and even improved upon in many respects by Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar. With an enlightened

appreciation of the responsibilities of a ruler, intense devotion to work and a respect for



Maharajah Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar
Bahadur, G. C. S. I. of Mysore

constitutional forms of government rather unusual with Indian states, he has guided

the administration with great ability and success. His work as ruler has always been the primary concern of His Highness and he has never swerved from the path, in pursuit of pleasure, a compliment which cannot be paid to many Indian rulers to-day. To those familiar with the conditions of the administration of the average Indian state, it is a relief to enter into Mysore and realise the enormous extent to which it represents an improvement on the type.

Among the numerous features of good administration in the state during the last twenty-five years, special reference must be made to the steady development of its industrial resources and the provision of great engineering facilities for progress. The Sivasamudram Electric Works represent one of the largest Engineering concerns in Asia for the harnessing of a waterfall to produce power. The Kannambady Reservoir—called appropriately the Krishnaraja Sagara after His Highness—is again another gigantic scheme of water-storage of great economic value to the state. The Bhadravati Iron Works are only second in magnitude to the Tata Works at Jamshedpur and promise to serve the state in an effective manner in the coming years. By means of special Economic Conferences and surveys and directions by the authorities, several new industries have sprung up and progressed in the state. The silk and sandal-wood industries of the state have already acquired a reputation for themselves and have helped the economic progress of the state.

The admirable progress of the state is not less evident in other departments. Special attention has been paid to Education and besides a University of its own, it can now boast of a well-ordered and ever-

progressive system of educational development. Its judicial administration has maintained the highest ideals of integrity and not a whisper has been heard against its civil or criminal courts of justice. The people have shared gradually in the work of government, by the introduction of representative institutions corresponding to those in British India. Besides the popular institutions in charge of local government, it has a large representative assembly where the people come forward with their grievances before the state and a legislative council whose share in the government is growing more and more real. Above all, the state has built up a regular civil service independent of the personal caprices of the ruler (as is unfortunately not the case in many Indian states) guided by ministers enjoying considerable freedom. It is no wonder in these circumstances that Mysore has enjoyed the services of some of the ablest Indian officers of these decades, Sir K. Seshadri, Sir M. Vishwesharaya and Sir Albion Binnerjee, to mention some of the most prominent of them.

While felicitating His Highness on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee, one cannot help drawing attention to his excellent example for the emulation of his compeers in the Indian states. If every one of them rendered as good an account of himself as a ruler, as His Highness Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore, they would not only be conferring lasting benefits on their subjects, but also solving automatically the problem of the states which is agitating the minds of all interested in the future well-being and progress of India.

8th August, 1927.

BEGINNINGS OF OLD HINDI

By K. P. JAYASWAL

RAI Hira Lal Bahadur, the premier scholar of the Central Provinces, who has had to his credit elucidation of the history, geography, and ethnology of his Province, has thrown light on a new field of research. By his *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces*

(Government Press, Nagpur, 1926) wherein 8185 hand-written books have been noticed, the learned scholar has given us authentic information, from Jain manuscripts, which may be described as the real history of old Hindi now available for the first time.

Mr. Hira Lal has dealt with the Prakrit

MSS. in notices Nos. 6922 to 8185, pp. 620 to 716, with extract covering pp. 717 to 768. The oldest MS. is dated Vikrama Samvat 1415, the exact date corresponding to the 6th June, 1359 A. C. The actual dates of authors cover centuries from the 1st to the 17th of the Christian era.

In the Prakrit Volumes composed in the tenth century A. C. we see Hindi emerging in its earliest form. New verses, unknown to Prakrit literature but known to Hindi and to Hindi exclusively, are employed; and verses are rhymed—a feature again unknown to Prakrit. A feature more important than these is the adoption of grammatical forms which is a clean breaking away from Prakrit. The vocabularies are still mainly Prakrit or Prakritic with an introduction of new *desi* words, but the grammar is essentially the grammar of Hindi or old Hindi. This I shall illustrate below.

DEVYA-SENA (Nos. 6995-7013, 7282-84, 7371-73, 7478, 7935) who has composed all his works except one in Prakrit lived about Vikrama Samvat 990-933 A. C., according to the date given in his *Darsana-sara*. Mr. Hira Lal, with his usual accuracy familiar to Indian epigraphists, discusses the date of the author in the *Introduction to the Catalogue* at pp. XIVII-XIVIII. His *Srarakachara* (notice No. 7935) of which the manuscript is the library of the Sena-gana Jaina Temple at Karanja in the District of Akola, Berar, is a work in 250 *doha* couplets. He was the first Jain author to produce a religious work in *dohas*. Mr. Hira Lal has quoted from another work of the same author two stanzas which say that this other work (*Nayachakra*), was first composed by Deva-Sena in *dohas* but when he read it to Subhankara, the critic laughed and said that the *dohas* did not suit the subject-matter and advised *gahabandhena tam bhanaha*, 'say it, (that is, do it) through gatha (the well-known Prakrit) metre; Ma-illa-Dhavalala the pupil turned that book into gatha stanzas. But Deva-Sena who evidently wrote for the Jain public at a time when Prakrit had become a dead language preferred the *dohas* and stuck to them in his *Srarakachara*. This reminds us of the objection raised in the time of the Buddha to his preachings being in the vernacular of the time and the suggestion that they should be put in the language of the *chhandas* that is Vedic or Upanishadic Sanskrit. The proposal was, of course, rejected by the great teacher as it would have defeated the very

object of the Master who wanted to speak to the populace. The objection is such as would be raised again and again with the march of language. It was raised in our time when Pandit Sridhara Pathak and Babu Maithili Saran Gupta started writing Hindi poetry in spoken Hindi instead of the archaic Vraja-Bhasha. Those who care that their composition should reach, and become popular, with the populace and be not confined to the learned few, will give up the shackles of classics, cast off the artificiality of learnedness, and appear in homely, intimate language of the public. Deva-sena did it.

Mr. Hira Lal has put us under obligation by giving extracts from the *Srarakachara* (pp. 701-2). I give here a few lines from them :

दुज्जण सुहियउ होउ जगि
सुयण पयासि उज्जण ।
अमिय-उजिसु वासर जमह
जिम मरगउ कच्छेण ॥

Here the only Prakrit *rihbakti* is in the the last word which is metric causa.

संजमशील सउचतउ
जसु सुरिहि गुरु सोद ।
दाहक्ये कमचाय खसु
उत्तसु क'चणु होइ ॥
मगगद गह-उवडिहियद
णर-सिव पट्ट णिज'ति ।
जे जिण-सासण भासियउ
सो मड कहियउ सार ।
इय दीहावह वय-धम्म
देव सेन उपदिठठ ।

The next specimen of the proto-type of old Hindi we get from the famous PUSHPADANTA, the voluminous Digambara author. His date is fixed by the Rai Bahadur with reference to inscriptions and historical events to be about Vikram Samvat 1029-965 A. C. In about 30 years we find the vernacular conquering. His epic works on subjects which every Jain must know and hear recitations on—his *Adi-Purana* and *Uttara-Purana*, his *Charitas* or 'biographies' are all written in vernacular. Pushpadanta employs *Chau-pai* so well-known to us from Jayasi and Tulsi-Dasa. Samples of his language are :

व' भणइ कासव-रिसि-गोतइ ।
गुरु-वदणइय पुरिय सोतइ ॥
पुप'पय'त वदणा हुय प'के
जह उहिमाण देर काम'के

SRICHANDA who flourished about 996 A. C. adopts vernacular not only in various vernacular metres (some of which have now become extinct) but also in Sanskrit metres like Vamsastha :

तहाँ मुणि कायकसेल सोहिण ।

सरौर कुत्ते तवसोर वाहिण ॥

प्रसिद्धि पूया कुमुतोह सोहिण ।

मुणोह संभूय फलोह रोहिण ॥

An example of an extinct metre is :

सुहसाह णाहे ॥ आराहणाहे ॥

कारण, लहं वि ॥ संघं हं कहं वि ॥

[दुहड्डा नाम कुन्द]

Duhadaum metre

The Vamsastha verses of this author remind us of the present-day leading poet of Nepal who has given a modern literature to his country using Sanskrit metres.

DHANAPALA lived in the eleventh century Mr. Hiralal points out that Dr. Jacobi has edited his *Bharishya-datta Charita* recently Unfortunately this is not yet available to me. Dhanapala uses the Hindi metre *soratha* and begins his work with a *soratha*. From his *Srutapanchami katha* extracts have been given pp. 752-6). We find him using Chaupai as his main metre.

अह्निदण, जण, सोहद ण कोद ।

धन स'दय विण, पुणहि ण हाद ॥

YOGACHANDRA MONI (12th century) has doha as the prevailing metre in his *Yoga-sara*, and occasionally *sorathas* and *Chau-pais* :

जीवा जीवहु भंड

जो जाणहु ते जाणियउ

मोक्षहु कारण एउ

भणहु जोदु जोदुहि भाणियउ

कामु समाहि करउ को अ'वउ ।

कापु अ'कापु करिवि का व'वउ ॥

We are thankful to Mr. Hira Lal for putting before us the connecting link between the Chand Bardai-Jayasi epoch, and Raja-Sekhara. We also congratulate the C. P. Government on this production which tells us that even their territory which was believed to be devoid of literary treasures has so much new knowledge in store for us.

I would here sound one note of disagreement with the learned historian. He says that *doha* may be regarded as "to have come into use about 933 A.D." (p. xiviii) I respectfully differ. *Doha* must have been well-established

before 933 A.C. Then Devasena thought it advisable to adopt it. But evidently its field had been secular, or at any rate non-Jaina. It was introduced for the first time in Jaina religious literature by Devasena (933 A.C.), but it must have already existed for some centuries and would have been widely popular.

The question arises, when did this language which had cast off inflexion and declension come into existence? The Prakrit grammarians ignore this new variety of language. They take notice up to *Apabhramsa*—a technical term employed by them to denote an intermediary or transitional Prakrit. But the examples given by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal do not answer the *Apabhramsa* characteristics so much as they display old Hindi features. We know from the later language, that is Old Hindi, that the language brought to light is clearly to be identified as the mother of Old Hindi. What then is the term for it? The answer is given by Narada the law-giver :

नारद आह ।

संस्कृते, प्राकृते वाक्ये, शिष्यमन, वृतः

देशभाषाद्, पायं च वाच्यं तम गुरः भूतः

Narada cited in the *Viramitrodaya*, p. 72 (Calcutta, 1875), see also Jolly, *Sacred Books of the East*, 'Narada and Brihaspati' p. 266.

The Preceptor (or Teacher) was to give instruction to his pupils through Sanskrit, Prakrit, and *Desa-bhasha*. The last one means 'the spoken language of the country.' There was thus *desa-bhasha* distinct from Prakrit. *Apabhramsa* was included in Prakrit. *Desa-bhasha* was something besides Prakrit-cum-*Apabhramsa* and not identical with them. *Desa-bhasha* was thus the term for vernacular. It is probably this language which is implied by Prakrit Grammarians in their term *desi* for certain class of words which are not Sanskrit and Prakrit. Our examples having metres which are not Sanskritic or Prakritic and having a grammar quite distinct from them is the *desa-bhasha* of Narada. It is a justifiable inference from the verse of Narada that when that direction was laid Prakrit had ceased to be a spoken language. The vernaculars would thus have arisen in or about the Gupta period.

The known faithfulness of the religious scribes of the Jainas ensures the preservation of the original texts. *Prima facie* the texts as we find them have to be taken to represent the ascertained periods of their authors.

CANADA CELEBRATES DIAMOND JUBILEE

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, Ph.D.

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

CANADA celebrated sixty years of its national existence on the first three days of July. Just as the people of the United States celebrated this week the 151st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, so the Canadians held the diamond jubilee of the confederation of united provinces. The Canadian celebration was on a scale never before attempted in that country.

The two notable achievements in the brief Canadian life have been the winning of responsible government and the establishment of a federal system. Side by side with this political development has been a steady growth of agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, mining, and lumbering. Technically it may yet lack some parts of an independent national outfit; but Canada to all intents and purposes is a free country under its own steam, rather than an English colony under the hoof of the London government. Canada from 1867 to 1927 has made a record of marvellous progress.

Canada did not always have a national consciousness. It is a modern phenomenon. The Canadian population is a mongrel breed of many races in which the English and the French predominate. Although the idea of a Canadian nation had spread amongst the peoples of Canada even before 1867 when the confederation took place, some of the leading provincial politicians were unrelenting antagonists of a federation.

The opposition to the union was specially strong in the maritime provinces. The anti-confederation sentiment is well indicated by the expressed opinions of the majority of the newspapers in that section of the country. Perhaps the following from the *Halifax Citizen* of June 21st, 1867, will give some idea of the strength of this sentiment:

"The Canadian government has already, before the Confederation Act comes into force, assumed the government of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and has issued an order-in-council appointing the first day of July a national holiday throughout the Dominion, and also ordering the volunteer

forces of the four provinces to turn out in their respective districts, and celebrate the day by a review, firing of salutes and other modes of rejoicing. The order also provides that all volunteers who turn out shall receive one day's pay.

"We doubt if even this magnificent reward, thus generously offered, will induce all volunteers in Nova Scotia to observe the day in the manner prescribed, or prevent those who do obey the command of their officers from feeling a throb of shame as they fire a *feu de joie* over the grave of their country's freedom.

"One of the religious weeklies suggests that divine service should be held in all the churches and that the day should be observed as one of thanksgiving. By all means open the churches, not, however, for thanksgiving and rejoicing, but for the more appropriate services of humiliation and prayer; let every flag in the country float at half mast, and let the day be observed as an occasion of lamentation and mourning over the lost liberties of unhappy Nova Scotia."

These extracts show how bitterly the opposition viewed the outcome. There was much weeping and gnashing of teeth. There were among the irreconcilables days of fasting and lamentation.

It was such a hot fight the anti-confederate group waged that it is now difficult to visualize it. Among the confederation's bitterest enemy none was more vehement than Mr. Joseph Howe, a native of Nova Scotia and reputed to be Canada's foremost orator of the time. Voicing his preference to be known as a British subject rather than a Canadian citizen, the loyalist Joe Howe burst forth:

"We belong to a great Confederacy now—the British Empire. I am a British subject, and for me that term includes free trade and common interest with fifty provinces, two hundred and fifty millions of people, forming an empire too grand and too extensive for ordinary imagination.

"Canada, we are told, has invented a new flag lately, I suppose with the inevitable beaver upon it, gnawing himself off a maple tree. Verily, we should be inferior animals, and our fur not worth much if we were to gnaw ourselves off the great tree whose tap roots are in the British Islands—whose limbs stretch far and wide over the universe—beneath whose majestic shades are at once dignity and repose. Born for the universe as every British subject is, I cannot narrow my mind to accept the great privileges prepared for us.

"Nobody can accuse me of blasphemy, for certainly the constitution we are asked to accept is unlike anything in heaven or earth or under the earth. The Confederacy is neither an empire, a monarchy nor a republic. It is to be a nation without an army or navy—without a King or President, or foreign office—with no capital but debts clubbed together and a frontier of four thousand miles."

That was what Joe Howe said in Canada some sixty years ago. An Indian in reading Joe's lugubrious oration might think that it was delivered by some super-loyalist of India of today. The minds of the ultra-loyalists, both in India and in Canada, strangely enough run on the same track.

The majority of the Canadian people, however, soon perceived that those who are opposed to the union were moved by petty jealousies and rivalries, and were seeking their own local selfish aims. To the altar of the united nation must be sacrificed the local and provincial interests. The "fathers of confederation" sought therefore to establish national institutions capable of handling national affairs common to all the colonies.

"Many of them believed that federation would be the main factor in building up a Canadian national sentiment", writes H. Duncan Hall in his book *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, "a consciousness of unity springing from the fact of high purposes pursued in common, and a wider loyalty binding together, each to each, Nova Scotian, French Canadian, and United Empire Loyalist. They saw, too, that only by creating a Canadian state exercising all the powers of a state, could the inhabitants of the Colonies in Canada be given a sufficiently wide field of action and of responsibility to enable them to raise themselves above dependence, and to the level of human dignity reached by, say, the citizens of the United States, or of the United Kingdom. Nationalism thus meant the end of colonialism. But it did not necessarily mean the formal severance of the connection with the Mother Country. That connection, as all parties agreed, should be strengthened rather than weakened, but the more far-sighted leaders realized that it could not safely be strengthened unless it were rebuilt upon a new basis—that of free co-operation between virtually independent states."

Finally delegates from various provinces met at Quebec in 1864 and adopted 72 resolutions presenting a plan for federation. Then in 1867 the British Imperial Parliament

passed the British North American Act, providing federation of all British North American provinces ratifying. It made Canada the first of the British possessions to attain autonomy. The Act created central government of a royally appointed Governor-General, a Senate of 78 appointed life members, a House of Commons of elected members *apportioned to population*, and a Cabinet responsible to the House of Commons. Each province was to have a Lieutenant-Governor, a legislature and a responsible ministry.

Specified local powers were assigned to provincial governments, while the general and residuary powers were entrusted to Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. In short, Canada became a full self-governing entity within the British empire.

One of the strangest members of the British empire in the New World is Newfoundland. It is an island separated from Canada by a narrow strait. This island is smaller than England, but larger than Ireland. Newfoundland, the oldest settled territory on the Canadian side, is independent of the Dominion. Newfoundland has a government and a written constitution of its own.

At the time of the confederation Newfoundland held aloof. Since then there has been considerable discussion of uniting with Canada; but the union has never taken place.

Professor Robinson in his *Development of the British Empire* tells us that in 1894 when Newfoundland was confronted with a crushing financial disaster, it sought to join the Dominion. Canada, however, was unwilling to assume Newfoundland's debt of forty-eight million rupees. It is probable that Newfoundland, whose chief feature of life is the industry of fishing, would continue to live alone—outside the Dominion. With the exception of Newfoundland, the Dominion of Canada is inclusive of all the varied life of the nation from one sea coast to another.

Unlike India, Canada is not a "subordinate member of his majesty's government." There is still the British appointed governor-general but he is no longer the representative of the British cabinet. He is more of a social ornament than a political power. If he should forget this at any time, God help him! Since the new imperial shake-up, it has been decided that "henceforth communications are not to be through the Governor-General but directly from Cabinet to Cabinet". A self-governing member of the empire, Canada is master of its own destiny. It is subject to

no compulsion whatever from the far-off London government.

As an unquestioned sign of its full nationhood, Canada has the right to send and receive ambassadors. The new Canadian Legation was opened in Washington last March, and the name of the first Canadian Minister is Vincent Massey. America, too, has sent a Minister to Ottawa. This was not accomplished without opposition. "The House of Lords", said a member of the Canadian Parliament recently, "both temporal and spiritual, and practically all of the former British Ambassadors with the exception of Lord Bryce were, and are still, opposed to Canada's entering the family of nations and hoisting her own flag in Washington." Such hostility was, however, coolly brushed aside by Canadians. Today all matters relating to the Dominion and the vast trade between the two great sections of North America are settled by the Canadian envoy and not by the British ambassador. When will India follow the example of Canada and have its own envoy?

All the autonomous territories of England, especially Canada, South Africa and Ireland, enjoy not only national but international freedom. They are not the sort to boggle at a toothless formula. They have completely emancipated themselves from the existing bonds of subordination to London. A great fact has thus come into being in the world. We should give this matter a little attention. From this year of grace 1927, English ministers will sign treaties for England only, and each dominion will sign for itself. The dominions will do about what they please. Self-determination and empire are irreconcilable foes.

Does this indicate that the weakened British empire is on the point of dissolution and about to dissolve? Does this mean that British imperialism is dead and damned for good and all? Some say that the grip of the British empire on all its possessions is doomed to loosen through the years until the empire will fade away like a nightmare. Already the old empire is a thing of the past. Delusion? No use asking! Perhaps we have enough perception of the truth anyhow. Many another empire has marched to the old ash-can of time. That is to say, who knows what is in the womb of the future?

It is amusing to reflect that the title desired for the new confederation was the "Kingdom of Canada." Indeed the sixth draft of the bill

contained the title, "Kingdom of Canada." This was, however, disallowed on the ground that the monarchical term of "Kingdom" would wound 'the sensibilities of the Yankees' of the great American Republic. The official name of the country was therefore substituted as the Dominion of Canada. It has a population of nearly nine millions; but the total area of the Dominion is about the same as that of the United States.

The four-thousand miles of boundary line which runs between the United States and Canada is a remarkable frontier. It is entirely unfortified. The frontier is guarded chiefly for custom with a checking up of immigration. A high tariff wall stands in the way; but the tariff wall is not reinforced by a military wall.

There is at present no thought of Americans annexing Canada. It is not in their dreams. If anyone mentions it, the yawning response is a kind of "ho-hum"! When the American revolution started the American colonies hoped that the Canadians would throw in their lot with the fighting colonials and declare for independence. That amiable hope was never realized. The pursuasion of Benjamin Franklin, who went to Canada, did not avail.

Canada had been the place of refuge for a large number of Americans who were disloyal to the cause of the American revolution. It has been stated that the sympathies of at least one third of the colonists were with the English side. In 1776 when the Declaration of Independence was made, anybody who would not support it was liable to the penalties of treason. "Committees watched every move of suspected Loyalists", observes Professor George M. Wrong of the University of Toronto.

"We hear of Loyalist clergymen dragged from their pulpits and maltreated; of Loyalists who were whipped through the streets and had their ears cropped; of other Loyalists covered with tar and then rolled in feathers taken from their own beds, or held astride of the sharp edge of a rail and made to take a rough ride which involved acute pain; or held under the water and brought to breathe and then ducked again; or tied roughly to a post, with some dead animal dangling by them."

I have rather more than a suspicion that war has never been a bed of roses, not even excluding the late War for Civilization (1914-1918). That is a fact which is useless to hedge in or gloss over with rhetoric. At any rate, American patriots drove out with

great severity—and even with ruthlessness hundreds and hundreds of hated Loyalists and Tories across the border to Halifax. The city of Halifax came to be known as the infamous head-quarters of traitors, and enemies of liberty. Today the past seems to have been wiped out, and a complete understanding exists between Americans and Canadians.

"Everything points to a coming time of trial for the nation and the empire," remarked Dean Inge of London the other day in one of his jeremiads. Like every Tory Englishman of his class, the gloomy Dean believes that the large populations of the British empire should remain in subjection forever. Theirs is but the duty to bow down in humility and contribute

financial and—in war times—military support. The Reverend Doctor William Ralph Inge is a specialist in imperialism, celestial and temporal. Independence is barbarism. If it is, then some three million Americans turned crude barbarians 151 years ago, and their descendants are now enjoying the splendid savage state. The fact is that it is as hard for a Tory to judge Americans justly as it is to get out of his hide. Happily Canadians and most sensible Englishmen understand the American state of mind which prefers an independent barbarian to a vassal of the English nation.

Iowa City, U. S. A.

July 8, 1927

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES AND THEIR POSITION IN FEDERATED INDIA

By CHIMANLAL M. DOCTOR, M. A., LL.B.

"AUTOCRATIC rule will in future be an exception and an anomaly, and in the vast majority of the countries of the world, the realisation of the danger that attends autocratic rule without proper regard to the interests of the people has led to the substitution of Government by the people for the uncontrolled authority of an individual sovereign." (Lord Chelmsford at Bharatpur 1919).

The time for appointing the statutory commission on the Montford Reforms is drawing near, and the Chamber of Princes has already appointed a Committee to report on the future of the Indian States and their relations to the future Government of India as constituted by a further instalment of Reforms. The Committee is expected to report on the ways and means for the maintenance of the present dignities, privileges and rights of Indian Princes. The Princes have become very jealous of their rights and are trying to advance their claims to particular territories, or suzerainty over particular smaller States under the old treaties. The Nizam asked for the Rendition of the Berars and the Gaekwar claimed his paramountcy over his tributaries in Kathiawar, but the late Viceroy Lord Reading gave a stunning blow to the growing ambitions of such Princes by

his memorable reply to the Nizam on the 27th March, 1926, finally rejecting his claim to the Berars with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government. In the course of that reply he said :—

"The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies. It is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with Indian States to preserve peace and good order throughout India."

"The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government had, indeed, shown, again and again, that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason, but the internal no less than external security which the ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action if necessary

must lie." * * * "The varying degrees of sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility."

Lord Reading has thus proclaimed a new orientation of policy towards the Indian States in an authoritative manner, and it is our duty to examine its implications. The British Government has, by its concurrence in the principles enunciated by the late Viceroy, converted its former Allies and Friends into vassals, emphasised the Paramountcy of the British Crown over them, and reaffirmed its right of intervention in the internal affairs of Indian States, if the imperial interests or the general welfare of State subjects require it. The Government has declared in unequivocal terms its duty to preserve peace and good order throughout India, and to take remedial action in the interests of State subjects if their general welfare is seriously or grievously affected by the action of a State Government.

The reply also reminds the Princes that the internal security that they enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting arm of Britain, and that without that support they may find their position quite insecure owing to the revolt of their subjects. Lord Reading assures the State subjects that as they have lost the right of revolt, the Paramount Power is bound to protect them against the tyranny and misrule of their Princes.

The Montford report contemplates a revision of treaties with the Indian States and the time is ripe for such revision in view of the pronouncement of Lord Reading.

The future of Indian States involves the future of their subjects. State subjects are showing signs of dissatisfaction against their present condition and a number of State subjects conferences are being held, pre-eminent among them being the All India Indian State subjects conference, the Deccan States subjects conference, the Kathiawar Political Conference, the Baroda State Praja Mandal, Cutchhi Prajakiya Parishad, and some others. The demand for responsible Self-Government in Indian States is growing apace, and it is being supported by a section of the Indian Press like the "Kesari" and "Mahratta" of Poona, the "Dnyan Prakash" and "Servant of India" the "The Tarun Rajasthan", "The Nava Gujarat", "The Saurashtra" and the great Dailies of Bombay like the "Bombay Chronicle", the "Hindustan", the "Bombay Samachar", the "Sanj Vartman"

and some others. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar the President of the last sessions of the Deccan States Conference held on the 22nd May, 1926 in Poona is a great student of problems of Indian States, and relying on the latest pronouncement of Lord Reading and the previous history of the development of the Paramountcy of the British Power over its former allies, he emphatically asked the British Government *to advise, encourage and even dictate* the introduction of representative institutions and development on democratic lines leading to the realisation of full responsible Self-Government in Indian States.

As the Royal Proclamation of 1917 has declared full responsible Self-Government for India as the goal of British policy it involves the federation of Indian States with the different Self-Governing provinces of British India.

The Montford Report expected enlightened Indian Princes to follow in the wake of British India and introduce parallel constitutional reforms, but that expectation has not been fulfilled and as there cannot be a real federation between potential democracies with actual autocracies without jeopardising the very existence of the Commonwealth of India, the time has come for the British Government to intervene and make the Princes introduce constitutional reforms parallel to those in British India in their States and put constitutional checks on their autocracy. Mr. Abhyankar, therefore, pleaded for a Royal proclamation expressing the will of the British Government to extend the Royal pronouncement of 1917 to Indian States. The King Emperor may call upon the Indian Princes to carry out the Royal behest, and the Princes will have no alternative but to obey the Royal will, backed by the full prestige of the British nation.

In his speech at Bharatpur Lord Chelmsford reminded the Princes that the days of autocracy were gone and that the time had come for substituting Government by the people for the uncontrolled authority of an individual sovereign. But our Princes, just like the Bourbons, learn nothing and sit on a fence depending upon antediluvian methods of administration.

Lord Curzon once remarked that *Indian Princes should remember that they exist for the people, and that the subjects do not exist for them*. He, therefore, required the Princes to take the permission of the Governor-General and Viceroy for their foreign travels

and absentee rule. Some frequent sojourners to Europe like H. H. the Gaekwar felt the humiliation, but judging at this distance I think the rule was salutary, and the present practical abrogation of that rule has only led numerous Princes to make annual pilgrimages to European watering places, pleasure resorts and sporting centres under one excuse or other, resulting in many scandals like that of Mr. A. in the Mrs. Robinson case.

The situation has become so unbearable, the grievances of States subjects are so great, the extravagance of most of our Princes has become so scandalous, that the conversion of our States into constitutional monarchies or their absorption into British India are the only alternatives left to us.

Mr. Abhyankar wants a Royal Commission and the Conference supported him in that demand in order to go exhaustively into the question of treaty rights, status of Princes, their obligations and duties as constitutional monarchs, the method of introducing responsible Government in Indian States, the machinery by which matters of common interests can be adjusted, and the part which Indian Princes and States subjects have to play in reaching the goal of Federated India. The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Shrinivasa Shastri emphatically supports the demand and says that personal rule must go, however benevolent it may be in particular cases. The demand for a Royal Commission is quite opportune and if the Governor-General accepts it, the work of the Statutory Commission will become somewhat easy.

The doctrine of self-determination was one of the fourteen points of the late President Wilson and it was partially applied to the territories and peoples of the vanquished countries in Europe and Asia. Here also it may not be in the interests of Britain to make an unlimited application of the principle and allow India the choice of complete independence or Dominion Status as against the present bureaucratic autocracy. But the principle may well be allowed to have operation in determining the future of Indian States. A *plebiscite* may be taken in each individual State by secret ballot under guarantee of British protection against harassment by the Princes or their administrations to the States subjects, under direct British Supervision and control, requiring all adult males and females to vote whether they prefer to continue as States subjects or want to be British Indian subjects and

desire absorption of their States in British India.

If the Royal Commission goes through the grievances of the subjects of each individual State and gets a plebiscite, I am sure the vast majority of the Ryots of Indian States would vote for absorption in British India, and the British Crown will be bound to respect the wishes of the majority and annex most of these States as rotten States, pension off the Royal families and extend the comparative blessings of bureaucratic autocracy with a veneer of democratic institutions of British India.

Even the elementary rights of man, viz., liberty of speech, Press or Association, security of life and property and the right of *habeas corpus*, are almost non-existent in most of these states. Religious toleration and the protection of the honour of women are not to be found in some of these states and rapes, and abductions in broad day light by the Princes or their underlings are frequently reported.

It is no fault of the states subjects if their minds are alienated from indigenous rulers and turned towards the Paramount Power for protection and benevolent intervention. The incidence of taxation in most of these States per head of population is very much higher than in British India, while the sources of income are lesser owing to want of development of industries, commerce, and agriculture. The states subjects envy the lot of their British Indian brethren, just as they in their turn are dissatisfied with their present condition and want Dominion Status and full responsible Self-Government under the British Crown.

As Mahatma Gandhi once said, states subjects are slaves of slaves and as such their lot is only to be pitied, and they cannot be asked to plunge into the vortex of non-co-operation. *The lot of direct slaves is much better than that of slaves of slaves*, and hence any measures that tend to remove the middle slaves and convert the states subjects into British Indian subjects are welcome. I therefore urge upon the British Government the need of Royal Commission and the application of the doctrine of self-determination in a limited sense to Indian states and their subjects.

The Commission ought to have representatives of states subjects, Princes, British Indians, and the British Government, with power to co-opt local members while

hearing the grievances of particular states and their subjects. As Sir Robert Holland said in London recently before the East India Association the British Government cannot tolerate for a moment any tyranny in an Indian state under its protection, and the people want a sincere attempt to apply the principle. The ways of the foreign and Political Department of the Government of India are indeed inscrutable, but in view of the recent pronouncement of Lord Reading, it must encourage the people to come forward with their grievances and the political officers should try to remedy them and help the Royal Commission in their work with their official confidential reports against particular Princes.

The late Maharaja of Gwalior has laid down the golden rule of two percent of the gross revenues of the state for the Privy Purse, to be followed by all our Indian Princes. The Dewan of Baroda compared the Khangi grant of the Gaekwar with that of the Nizam, Holkar etc., and showed that the Gaekwar's grant was much less than that of these states and stood at between nine and ten percent of the Revenues. When even an enlightened Prince like the Gaekwar wants rupees twenty lacs for himself, two hundred seventeen thousand for the Heir-apparent and some more lacs for providing other members of the Royal Family as announced by the Dewan in his budget speech, what must be the state of affairs in other states can better be imagined than described. The economic strain on the resources of the States is terrible, and in view of the fact that there are nearly 700 states, big and small with a population of nearly seven crores, the problem becomes very important. The gross revenues of these states must be nearly seventy crores taking Rs. 10 as the incidence of taxation per head of population at a moderate computation. Taking the Gaekwar as an example of an enlightened Prince with a percentage of ten percent for himself and some more for the Heir-apparent and the Royal Family at one end and some of the Rajput Princes spending more than half their revenues on their personal expenses, at the other end, we may strike the golden mean and be quite certain that our Princes are spending from twenty to twenty-five percent of the State Revenues on themselves and their Royal Families on the average. This means that an amount ranging from 14 crores to 17½ crores of

rupees is spent to maintain these Princes. Much of this amount is spent in dissipation, wine and women, intrigue and moral degradation, long sojourns in Europe, and purchase of foreign furniture, and foreign materials for their palaces. The atmosphere of most of these Darbars is full of petty intrigues, chicanery and low morals, in which the resources of the State drawn from the lifeblood of the subjects are frittered away. If these states were annexed the expense of maintaining the Princes and the Royal Families will be saved and the administration can be run at a very low cost. As an "Ex-minister" says in the "Hindustan Review" of April 1926, the cost of maintaining the head of an Indian Province is not more than one percent, so that Indian States subjects will be benefitted by an immense amount in case of annexation. Till that consummation is achieved it is the duty of the British Government to see that no Prince exceeds the two percent standard of the late Maharaja Scindia for his Privy Purse, so that more money may be available for progressive departments like education, commerce, industries and agriculture, medical relief and sanitation, local self-government and village reconstruction etc.

The partition of Bengal was a blow aimed at the solidarity of the Bengalis by Lord Curzon, and it is a matter of history what efforts were needed to get it unsettled. In the Gujarati speaking territories of the Bombay Presidency, there are a large number of Indian States in the Mahi-Kantha, Banas Kantha, Rewa-Kantha and Kathiawar Agencies ranging from the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Rao of Cutch to the pettiest Chief of three or four villages in Kathiawar totalling nearly 300. There are British Gujarat Districts also like Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, Kaira and Panch Mahals. The number of such States is legion and the Gujarati speaking population has been partitioned into as many jurisdictions owing to historical causes. The solidarity of the linguistic province of Gujarat has been thus destroyed, and in any future scheme of linguistic provinces, the problem how to restore the full solidarity of the population and remove the evils of mutually exclusive jurisdictions---will have to be faced. Such a condition exists in some other parts of India also. I would suggest that the Royal Commission should be asked to recommend the ways and means of

achieving such solidarity and unity in any given linguistic province in any future Federated commonwealth of India. In my opinion, we should follow the German method of mediatising the smaller states, and create a sub-federation of Gujarat Kathiawar and Cutch states with British Gujarat constituting a new linguistic province with a uniformity of law and administration, converting the states into so many Districts or Talukas or circles as the case may be. The Princes may either be pensioned off or, if that is impracticable, they may be treated as hereditary officers of the Government, holding their offices during good behaviour. This will unify the whole province and the population, may well be trusted to develop a sort of provincial patriotism.

The same solution will apply to other parts of India where the same difficulty arises. The proposed Royal Commission may examine this question very thoroughly as it vitally affects the future constitution of the federated states of India.

In any scheme of federation there can be only two Houses; viz. the Congress or House of Commons representing the population of the whole of India including the Indian States, and the senate or the upper House representative of the various Provincial Legislatures and Governments. There is no

place for a Chamber of Princes or a house of Representatives of States subjects, but till India becomes a full-fledged federation of United States of India, it is necessary to have a separate House of Representatives of Indian States subjects to balance the Chamber of Princes. The functions of the suggested House which is proposed by the Deccan States subjects Conference should be that of the House of Commons for Indian States subjects while the Chamber of Princes may remain as the House of Lords with no greater Powers than that of a similar Body in England. Where there are questions of common concern to the whole of India there may be joint sessions of the Legislative Assembly and the House of Representatives of Indian States subjects and there may be a similar joint sessions of the Council of States and Chamber of Princes. The Royal Commission should be empowered to recommend to the statutory commission of 1929 what should be done for the representation of Indian States subjects in order to safeguard their interests and the redress of their grievances by the Central Government.

The problems of Indian States and their subjects are so many that it is not possible to do justice to them in a single article, but I shall be glad if my article stimulates interest in others and leads to a greater study of the Indian States problems in future by our leaders and politicians.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF PROGRESS IN MYSORE

By B. SUBRAHMANYAM

"MYSORE is the model native state of India. No British province is better managed or more prosperous and contented." So wrote Sir Sidney Low. Nay, he went further and stated that under the inspiring rule of the present Maharaja, the state had been making phenomenal progress. Such indeed have been the results of these twenty-five years of administration of His Highness the Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B., the Silver Jubilee of whose installation on the ancient *Gadi* of Mysore is being celebrat-

ed this month by Mysoreans all over the country. The spontaneous feelings of loyalty and affection that are being expressed everywhere on this occasion could well be considered the real index of the great popularity of this illustrious ruler among his people.

Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, when but a youth of 18 years, was invested with the responsibilities of government on 8th August 1902 by the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Curzon. Even at this age, the young prince was

evincing great personal interest in the welfare of the people and in the problems connected with the administration. Lord Curzon who was present at the installation ceremony of the Maharaja rightly remarked.:

"We have seen the natural good sense of the Maharaja develop by steady degrees until we feel satisfied of his capacity to assume the full and final responsibility of the government of men. He has made frequent tours among his people. He has studied their wants and needs at firsthand. He has thereby acquired the knowledge which will enable him to understand the problems with which he will be confronted".

The Viceroy hoped that "fortified by this knowledge, his (the Maharaja's) natural business-like habits and instinctive self-reliance should enable him to steer a straight course" And the Viceroy's hopes have never been belied. From the day he became the ruler, His Highness the Maharaja, assisted by a succession of brilliant deaws, has been taking Mysore right on the path of progress and today Mysore is acclaimed as the most well-governed and progressive Indian state.

The Maharaja of Mysore has always been amidst his people working for and with them for the common good of all; but at the same time keeping in perfect touch with and some times being abreast of all current movements and thought in the outside world. This intelligent and sympathetic administration of the Maharaja has resulted in a general advance towards prosperity of both the people and the state.

Since 1902, people are being gradually associated more and more with the administration of the state. The revenues of the state have practically doubled. Numerous large industries have been either started or fostered by the government. Thousands of acres of arable land have been brought under cultivation and great agricultural facilities given to the peasants. Large irrigation works have been undertaken. New roads have been constructed and fresh railways laid. Education is spread on a large scale. Public health and sanitation have very much improved. Great facilities for medical relief are allowed. In fact, in every way Mysore has been well on the onward march of progress.

All these improvements would not have been possible without the aid of able assistance. And His Highness the Maharaja has been particularly happy in his choice of ministers and other principle officers of state. These ministers, well-known for their

most unselfish devotion and genuine loyalty to the state and its ruler, have all been brilliant administrators who have in succession contributed considerably to the present progressive state of Mysore.

It was, however, an act of the highest political sagacity on the part of the Maharaja when he took courage with both his hands and appointed Sir M. Visvesvaraya, an engineer all through his life, to the Dewanship of Mysore in the teeth of strong opposition from all sides. And today the people of Mysore are reaping the lasting benefits and advantages of what was at the time considered a rash and autocratic action of His Highness the Maharaja. It was during Sir M. Visvesvaraya's tenure of office that Mysore has made the greatest progress and the large schemes of reconstruction formulated by this great patriot, statesman and administrator, are yet being carried into action by the succeeding Dewans.

It is easily conceded on all hands that in spite of short waves of communal and sectarian animosities that threatened for a time to unsettle the steady progress of the state, these twenty-five years of His Highness's rule could well be the proudest period of administration for any prince in India,

The present Dewan, Amin-ul-Mulk Mirza Md. Ismail, C. I. E., M. B. E., a Mysorean by birth, is an "idealist to the core." At the very first public utterance after his taking charge of this high office he declared: "I regard the office of Dewan less as an appointment than as a great mission of patriotic service." He is ably assisted by the three members of the Executive Council, Mr. K. Chandy an experienced and well-tried civilian of the state, Dewan Bahadur M. N. Krishnarao, who had not a little share in steering the state finances successfully through the recent crisis and Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, one of the most able and distinguished members of the Mysore Civil Service, whose ability was perceived and appreciated very early in his-career by the Darbar and by outsiders like Lord Kitchner. With such combination of brilliance and capacity to assist His Highness, it would be well within bounds of reason to expect that Mysore would continue to fill its proud place among the foremost progressive states.

Mysore is one of the most picturesque beauty spots in India. The long ranges of hills of the Western Ghats covered with

thickly-wooded forests, the gardens and plantations, the undulating stretches of park and of fertile fields of corn, the absorbing panorama of the country through which numerous rivers run their course, enhanced here and there by the awe-inspiring and magnificent waterfalls and beautiful lakes, the healthy hill-stations and the marvellous hill-forts scattered all over the state, the many relics of ancient architecture renowned for their exquisite beauty, all these and others that nature and man have bestowed on this land, make Mysore the veritable "Eden of South India."

Stretching from the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats, the state spreads over the Deccan plateau covering an area of 29,000 square miles and has a population of about 60 lakhs. There are more than 5½ thousand miles of good roads and about 700 miles of railway connecting all important places in the state. The state maintains travellers' bungalows in every district and taluk head-quarter and on some of the important hill-stations for the benefit of travellers.

The revenues of the state have nearly doubled within these twenty-five years, increasing from about 2 crores to 3½ crores per year. This result is not due to mere fresh taxation in any form. It is the effect of the natural growth under the stimulus afforded by the opening out of the country through better means of communication, by the execution of important irrigation works of unsurpassed magnitude, by the general expansion of industries and commerce and in some measure by the better administration of public funds.

Within this period the political institutions in the state have undergone considerable changes. The Representative Assembly which was started by Dewan C. Rangacharlu of revered memory in 1881 and which was merely a body of men brought together from all over the state on a very limited franchise, to make representations regarding local wants and grievances, if any, was the only political institution at the time the Maharaja ascended the throne.

On accession the Maharaja expressed the hope that "it could prove a valuable adjunct to the administration and in course of time will take its proper place among the chief political institutions of the land remarkable for its spirit of independence and its sobriety." And accordingly the Representative

Assembly has since been growing both in prestige, popularity and usefulness.

In 1908, another house of legislature smaller in size but with larger powers and functions, was created. Both these institutions have now been thoroughly overhauled under the Reforms granted by His Highness the Maharaja in 1923. By this the Representative Assembly has been placed on a statutory basis and has been given a definite place in the constitution of the State. The franchise has been very much extended. Sex disqualification has been removed. The privilege of moving resolutions on the general principles and policies underlying the budget has been granted. Resolutions can be moved on matters of public administration, representations about public wants and grievances can be made and interpellations put. The Assembly is also consulted before the levy of any new taxes and on the general principles of any measure of legislation before the same is introduced in the Legislative Council. The Assembly has, of course, an overwhelming non-official majority.

The Legislative Council also consists of a clear non-official majority, having twenty official and 30 non-official members. It used to exercise the privilege of interpellation, the discussion of the budget and of moving resolutions on all matters of public administration. Now it has been granted the power of voting on the demands for grants and of introducing private bills. The Council elects a Public Accounts Committee which examines all audit and appropriation reports and brings to the notice of the Council all deviations from the wishes of the Council as expressed in its budget grant.

They have also got three standing committees composed of members of both the Houses—the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council—to allow greater opportunities to the non-official representatives of the people to influence the everyday administration of the State. One of these committees deals with matters connected with the railways, the electrical and public works departments, the other with the Local Self-government, Medical, Sanitary, and Public Health departments; and the third committee concerns itself with finance and taxation.

Local Self-government institutions have also made a good headway. There are the village Panchayats, the taluk boards, the district boards, the Unions and the municipi-

palities. The powers and functions of these institutions have been considerably enhanced. Many of these bodies are presided over by non-official presidents.

The Village Panchyat Act recently passed by the Mysore Legislative Council has made the villages the real basic units of Self-government in which the villages enjoy a large measure of freedom in the civil, criminal and civic administration of their own Village.

Apart from these, there is the Economic Conference with its committees to look to the economic interests and development of the country.

It might be mentioned here that while some of the other Indian States are making frantic efforts to cover their sins of omission and commission, of autocracy and mal-administration by passing stringent laws against the Press and thus gag and stifle all healthy growth of public opinion, the Mysore State has recently made substantial modifications in the existing Press Act.

Education, as everything else, has made rapid strides in the state during this quarter of a century. Free and compulsory primary education has been enforced in all the cities and towns and is now spreading to the villages. Lower secondary education has been made free. Large numbers of scholarships and freestudentships have been instituted in the high schools and colleges. A net work of schools is spread all over the country, giving a school for every $3\frac{1}{2}$ sq. miles and for 726 persons of the total population.

While in 1902 they had about 2232 schools for the whole state and were spending about 12 lakhs of rupees on education, today the Mysore government have established over 8000 educational institutions and spend on them more than 60 lakhs of rupees per year. The percentage of the expenditure on education to the total revenue of the state works upto about 15. How favourably this compared with the figures for the neighbouring provinces administered by the benign British bureaucracy could be seen from the following: The percentage of expenditure on education to the total revenue in Bihar and Orissa is 14, in the United Provinces it is 13.5, in Bombay and the Punjab 13, in Bengal it is a little over 12, in Assam it is 10, in Central Provinces 9.5, and Burma 9. Nearly 36 per cent of boys and girls of

school-going age in the State are receiving instruction.

The education of girls has also made good progress. There are in the state about 788 girls schools of all kinds and grades in which about 39,000 girls are reading.

Increased facilities are being afforded for the education of the children of the depressed classes, known in Mysore as Adikarnataks. About 16,600 of these children are reading in the 605 schools that are specially maintained by the state for them. Of these about 2,500 are girls. The children of this community are also allowed entrance into all other state maintained general educational institutions without any social barrier. The Government maintains four free boarding homes with tutorial classes attached to them, for the depressed class children at Mysore, Bangalore, Tumkur and Chickamagalur. Besides general education, these boys are also trained in certain handicrafts, such as weaving, carpentry, mat-making, shoe-making, smithy, etc.

Mahomedan education is also receiving its due share of recognition and encouragement. There are all over the State a number of Anglo-Hindustani schools maintained for the benefit of the children of the Moslem subjects of His Highness the Maharaja. Special pardah schools are provided for the education of Moslem girls. Moslem students are given half-free studentships in all the general government schools and colleges as a sort of encouragement for their prosecuting higher studies. In fact, owing to the various facilities created for the education of this community, the percentage of literacy among the Moslems in Mysore has been gradually on the increase.

On this broad-based and firm foundation of primary and secondary education, has been built the edifice of the seat of culture. The Mysore University, which was started in 1916, really symbolizes the culmination of a liberal and progressive educational policy that the Mysore Darbar has been consistently following. The University has Arts, Science, Engineering including civil, mechanical and electrical—Medical and Teaching Faculties. The Arts and Teaching colleges together with a ladies college are situated in Mysore, while the science, engineering and medical colleges are in Bangalore. The University was modelled after the Australian universities, but recently it is being remodelled in the light of the recommendations of the Sadler

Commission. At present there are post-graduate courses in Arts, History and mathematics and the starting of post-graduate courses in Science is in contemplation.

The progress of agriculture in the State has been greatly accelerated by the establishment of a separate department. The Mysore Agriculture Department is perhaps one of the most well-equipped and efficiently managed of its kind in India. It has a big agricultural laboratory at Bangalore under the direct supervision of a distinguished agricultural chemist. It has established experimental farms at five different places in the State at which experiments are conducted in regard to the unit production of paddy, ragi, potatoes, areca nuts, sugarcane and other produce and the combating of certain insect pests that infest the crops and ruin them. A Coffee Experimental Farm has been recently started at Balehonnur in the midst of coffee-growing area, to conduct experiments in regard to coffee pests. Agricultural education is being imparted by the Hebbal Agricultural School where diplomas are awarded to the students after finishing three years' practical and theoretical instruction. Shorter courses of instruction have also been arranged for the benefit of the agriculturists at three other experimental farms. The department also maintains Live Stock, Civil Veterinary and Sericulture sections, each under a separate expert, who is also the head of the department, and with a large staff of assistants scattered all over the State.

These and other facilities afforded by the agricultural department for the introduction of improved and scientific methods of cultivation and farming coupled with the numerous schemes of irrigation, some of which are of exceptional magnitude, carried out during this period and the large sums of money spent every year in giving liberal assistance to the peasant classes by issuing agricultural loans on easy terms to them irrespective of their being small or large holders, all have contributed to a general increase in the area under cultivation and the consequent increase in the prosperity of the agricultural classes in the State. While in 1902 there were 55 lakhs of acres of land under cultivation, today there are 63 lakhs of acres of cultivated land, thus showing an increase of more than 8 lakhs of acres of land which have been brought under cultivation during this period.

Of the irrigation works undertaken in recent years, two are worthy of mention. The Krishnaraja Sagara near Mysore is a reservoir created by the construction of a high dam, 130 feet high, across the Cauveri river and is the biggest of its kind as yet constructed in India. It is considered to be second in size only to the famous Assuan Dam in Egypt. When completed, it is estimated to supply sufficient water to irrigate 1,20,000 acres of land. Apart from the benefits it is able to confer on agriculture, it has contributed to a tremendous increase in the output of electricity both at Sivasamudrum and at the Dam itself. The work is nearing completion and already 20,000 acres of land are being irrigated by its canals. The Krishnaraja Sagara is estimated to cost over 4 crores of rupees to the Daibar.

The other the Vani Vilas Sagara, is also a similar dam constructed across a river in Chitaldrug district, which was completed more than a decade and a half ago. It is a beautiful lake extending over an area of about 40 square miles and has been constructed at an enormous cost. It has at once facilitated the bringing under cultivation of tens of thousands of acres of arable land.

Besides these, there are numerous other minor irrigation works that have been undertaken during this period and which have all added substantially to the solution of the problem of water supply for agricultural purposes.

With the increase of the general prosperity of the people through agriculture, industries and commerce in the State have also made much progress. The Industries and Commerce department have not been sparing in their efforts to stimulate fresh trade and industry. A large number of industries had been either started or aided by the Government during these twenty-five years. The general policy of the Government in this respect has been to afford facilities to people who have reasonable schemes for the starting of any particular industries. They would give them loans for the purchase of machinery and other requisites on very easy terms. They would give them the benefit of expert advice, when possible, and do everything that they possibly could to help the industry. This has resulted in the establishment of a number of weaving factories, oil mills, rice mills, the manufacturing of chemicals, varnishes and paints, slate pencils, tile factories, saw mills, ginning factories, the mining of manganese and other

minerals and various other industries, too numerous to mention.

In cases, however, where the public are shy or have not the necessary facility by way of expert knowledge or otherwise to take the initiative, the Government have undertaken to start such industries themselves to demonstrate to the people the value of the industry and to create the necessary confidence in them. With this object in view, the State started a few industries the chief among which are : a metal factory, a button factory, a soap factory, a weaving factory, the industrial and arts and crafts workshop. Of these the first two have already gone into the hands of private companies and are working very satisfactorily. The Mysore Soap Factory produces the best soap available in India and is working well. The government is anxious to hand it over to a private body, provided a suitable company with sufficient resources is coming forward. The others are maintained for purposes of demonstration and have been doing beautifully well in this direction.

Nor has Government neglected cottage industries. Sericulture, hand-spinning and weaving, rattan work (cane work), toy making lacquer work, knitting, tailoring, sandalwood carving and such others are very much encouraged. Industrial schools are started at various centres in the State for the teaching of these crafts and facilities are created for taking to any one of them either as part time work or as a profession. Special conveniences are afforded for ladies to learn these crafts and where necessary to earn an independent and respectable living by such work.

Of course, the introduction of hand spinning as a cottage industry is of recent origin, but yet the state has been making very sincere efforts to make it popular among the masses and particularly among the agriculturists. The Mysore Administration Report states :

"The department (of Industries and Commerce) has taken steps to organise hand-spinning as a subsidiary occupation on a large scale. A suitable improved type of Charka was designed and arrangements made to manufacture these Charkas in the Art Workshop and industrial schools in the State. Over three hundred charkas are now in use and indents for an equal number have been obtained. Private enterprise has also interested itself in its manufacture. Considerable enthusiasm was evoked in hand spinning and a spinners' Association was formed and spinning demonstrations and competitions with suitable prizes were organised. All classes of the population took interest in the demonstrations and two big spinning competitions held in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore attract-

ed great public attention. Two centres, viz. one at Mysore and the other at Bangalore, were constituted for the supply of carded cotton. Experiments in the utilisation of hand-spun yarn were undertaken in the Government Weaving Factory and printed fabrics, which have a large demand, have also been made out of these cloths."

It is now to be hoped that, especially after the stimulus given to it by the presence of Mahatma Gandhi in the State, hand-spinning would become more and more popular until it becomes a part and parcel of the economy of village life in Mysore. The initiative taken by the State in this matter should also serve as an object lesson to the British Indian administrators and to the many Indian princes who have not yet bestowed a moment's thought to hand-spinning as a useful part time occupation for the peasants and farmers among their subjects.

Chief among the industrial enterprises undertaken by the Government are the Hydro-Electric works at Sivasamudrum and at Krishnaraja Sagara Dam, the Sandalwood Oil Factory at Bangalore and the working of the Iron Mines at Bhadravati.

The Hydro-electric works at Sivasamudrum were started in the nineties of the last century by the late Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, the then Dewan and has since been gradually developed. It has been supplying current for lighting the cities of Bangalore and Mysore and for the working of Gold Mines near Kolar ; but is not in a position to supply electric current to other industrial enterprises. The construction of Krishnaraja Sagara Dam across the Cauvery has ensured a steady flow of water down the Sivasamudra falls and has thus facilitated the production of a greater quantity of power at the place. At the same time current is also being generated at the Krishnaraja Sagara where water is made to fall through a height of about 60 feet for this purpose. Both these have contributed to a large increase in the production of power with the result that all the industrial concerns, big and small, in Bangalore and Mysore or in their vicinity are supplied with electric power at cheap rates. Arrangements are being made for the supply of power for lighting the towns which lie along the main transmission system. "The question of making electric power available at cheap rates to raiyats willing to instal pumping plant on the banks of the Arkavati for irrigation purposes" is receiving the attention of the Government. There is a

separate electric department, which is most efficiently worked.

Sandalwood is a state monopoly and the Darbar started two factories, one at Mysore and the other at Bangalore during Sir M. Visvesvaraya's regime, for the extraction of oil from this wood. But the factory at Mysore has since been closed down, as it was found unnecessary and expensive. The oil distilled is very fine and has the greatest demand in England, France and other continental countries. The factory brings in a net revenue of two lakhs of rupees per month to the State coffers.

The Bhadravati Iron Works also started during Visvesvaraya's time, is the biggest industrial concern as yet undertaken by Mysore and is now in its infancy. It was for some time managed by the Tatas, but is now being worked by a board of Management appointed by the Mysore Darbar. Sir M. Visvesvaraya is the chairman of this Board and is in sole charge of the works.

The blast furnace here has been built at a cost of about 2 crores of rupees. Due to abnormal conditions that prevailed during and after the Great War and the heavy odds under which the concern is being worked, the capital expenses on the Iron Works have been rather a little heavy and it has been worked for some time at a great loss. Now after Sir Visvesvaraya took direct charge of the works, the losses have been considerably minimised by the proper utilisation of the by-products and effecting drastic economies in the working expenses. At the same time, special efforts are being made to increase the output of pig-iron. The furnace now produces about 60 tons of pig-iron every day. The plant is practically in a position now to maintain itself without the incurring of any losses.

The Iron Works are completely manned by Indians, mostly Mysoreans, some of whom have received special training abroad. The patriotic fervour and the spirit of self-sacrifice with which these people are working at the Iron works is well-illustrated by the generous way they voluntarily agreed to forego a share of their emoluments ranging from 6¼ to 10 per cent during the six months from November 1925 to April 1926. But it is, however, unfortunate that there are certain malcontents in the state that are carrying on propaganda against its author, Sir M. Visvesvaraya and the Government for starting and working the Iron Works. These

people do not seem to appreciate the immense possibilities that the Bhadravati Iron Works holds forth for the Industrial development and the general prosperity of the State.

Of the other activities of the State that have contributed to the economic prosperity of the people, the work that is being done by the department of co-operation deserves mention. Innumerable co-operative credit societies and stores have been established in all the cities and towns of the state, which are a source of the greatest help and relief to the middle class people.

A net work of rural co-operative societies to help the agricultural classes with money, seed, etc., and thus save them from the clutches of the usurers, are working in the villages in all parts of the country. There are also professional co-operative societies in some places, such as, weavers' Societies, tailors' Societies and so on. Then there are, of course, the district and provincial co-operative banks. The co-operative movement has helped to considerably bring down the indebtedness of the rural population.

General health and sanitation in the state have also improved. Lakhs of rupees are being spent every year by the government for improving the sanitary conditions of the towns and villages. Medical aid is made available to the greatest number of the population. There are today more than 200 dispensaries for the whole state. The Victoria Hospital at Bangalore and the Krishnarajendra Hospital at Mysore are the two general hospitals maintained with public funds. There are district hospitals with limited number of beds. Along with these there are special hospitals for the treatment of various diseases. The Minto Ophthalmic Hospital at Bangalore is well-known throughout South India. An Epidemic Diseases Hospital, a Leper Asylum, and a Lunatic Asylum are also situated in Bangalore. There are Maternity hospitals in Bangalore, Mysore and Robertsonpet. The Princess Krishnarajammani Sanatorium at Mysore treats tuberculosis patients.

Indigenous systems of medicine are also encouraged. The Government maintains a big Ayurvedic College at Mysore. It has newly started, as an experimental measure an Ayurvedic and Unani dispensary at Shimoga. Some of the municipalities are also following suit.

Unlike in British India, the interests of the people and the authorities are

identical in an Indian state. And with a ruler like the present Maharaja and a sympathetic administration, Mysore has made great progress during these twenty-five years. The community of interests that exists between the authorities and the people is a very hopeful sign for the future of Mysore. And there could be no doubt whatever that it would lead to a general prosperity of the people and to a healthy growth of national life among them. In this connection one cannot do better than endorse the statement made by the present

Dewan before the Representative Assembly :

"Let us by mutual friendliness and good understanding see that the ancient vision of a united national life is restored in its fulness. I feel that any one amongst us, including myself, who sought to use this Assembly for purposes narrower than the universal service of the state would thus dishonour his office. If we as a state are to achieve real progress and to win the regard and approbation of the outside world, it is necessary that we should always look at things from a national standpoint and deal with the problems that face us, and some that distress us today, on lines of *Co-operation, Co-partnership, and mutual goodwill.* (italics ours)

LUCIFER'S LAMENT

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Ah ! the hurts and aches of Creation, the wail without surcease ;
The Wind ever sighs or shrieks in agony as a wandering, lost soul ;
The Stars tremble in eternal terror of impending doom,
Or, in a frenzy of fear, leap headlong into sudden death !
Red with wrath burns the fierce, driven Sun,
Pale and wan and lustreless waxes and wanes the Moon ;
And vast Space mourns, silent, the darkness of her hair shrouding her face !

The Sea is salt with the tears of the Universe,
And the foaming waves beat a refrain of woe on the shore ;
The bowels of the Mountains groan with the cries of chained Titans,
The Earth quakes and is rent with pain, and her white blood gushes forth !
And the trees sway disconsolate, rocking with their grief ;
Open are the wounded hearts of flowers—blood-red and pallid white,
And the mantle of the Dawn is wet with the tears shed by Night,
And shades of sadness mingle with the gloaming of Twilight !

The fret and fever of Life, the travail of Birth and the fearsomeness of Death,
The mystery and menace of the Unknown, the brooding of the Spirit ;
The blinded Thoughts that come and go and never find a way,
The Hopes that are born to be blasted, the Fears that are born to bide ;
The questionings that are never answered, the Quest that never finds ;
The Door that is never opened, the Call that is never heard,—
Ah me ! all this is a weariness without end,
And my anguished soul yearns for the peace that is not

CENTRAL BANKING AND THE RESERVE BANK QUESTION

By H. SINHA, M. SC., PH. D., CERT. A. I. B. (LONDON)

Part I

CENTRAL BANKING

The question of a central bank for India has been engaging public attention for nearly a hundred years. As is well-known, the proposal for a "great Banking Establishment for British India" was mooted by "a large body of merchants interested in the East Indies," as early as 1836. The principle aim was to facilitate the employment of British capital in this country, another object being to give "stability to the monetary system of India." Curiously enough, this latter object, which now provides the 'raison d'être' of central banking in all the principal countries of the world, was dimly perceived by the early empirebuilders. For example, Warren Hastings instituted a bank on indigenous lines as early as 1773, with a branch in every mofussil town of importance, primarily for remittances to and from the different parts of the Presidency but in effect to substitute a stable bank currency, somewhat in the manner of the famous Bank of Amsterdam, which also sought to evolve order out of the monetary chaos brought about by the import of coins from many lands in various stages of debasement.

CENTRAL BANKING IN OTHER COUNTRIES

In countries outside India, central banking has been carried on from very early times, some by accident others by design. The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street furnishes a good example of the former. Born in stress, with the avowed object of financing the wars of William III, she has gradually come to wield a power and an influence, which are the despair of most of the central banks in other parts of the world—even those which have been formed with the clear intention of controlling credit and currency and vested with wide powers for the purpose. A pathetic instance of this is furnished by the South African Reserve Bank---the Standard Bank treating it with ill-concealed contempt and maintaining an attitude of aloofness and independence.

SCOPE AND METHODS

To discuss the problem of central banking, we have therefore to examine its scope and also the methods that have been applied in different ways, in different countries under different social and economic circumstances. It is generally agreed that the aim of central banking is stability in finance, by absorbing shocks to the various economic structures in the country, one of the principal objects being stability in prices. Doubts have however been expressed whether a central bank is competent to effect this and whether it is vested with sufficient powers for the purpose. "Is it quite so certain as some people confidently

assume that the price structure is directly dependent upon the volume of bank loans, and is it so clear as these same people imagine that the volume of bank loans is capable of direct control by manipulation of the rate of interest?" This question was put by Dr. Gregory in his address before the 37th annual meeting of the American Economic Association held in Chicago on December 30, 1924, but has not been satisfactorily answered even now. I do not want to damp the ardour of the central bank enthusiasts in any way but I certainly plead with them to have greater caution, to bear in mind the necessary limitations of a central bank, and not to hope for the impossible. For, in a recent book on Indian banking, the central bank is proposed to be vested with heavy responsibilities, e.g., assisting industrial banks, land mortgage banks etc., which are clearly beyond the scope of central banking.

NECESSARY LIMITATIONS

Even if one concedes that the control of currency and credit by central banks can secure stability of prices, one has still to determine how it is to be realised in actual practice. Control of currency presupposes currency which is capable of control. Theoretically, the ideal currency for the purpose is inconvertible paper currency, to be issued only by the central bank, and which alone will be legal tender. If notes are convertible into gold, as they must be in practice, complication will arise.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF CENTRAL BANKS

Similarly, the control of credit opens up a number of pertinent issues. Obviously, the working of a central bank operating among isolated units as in America, that operating through its numerous branches as in Germany or in France, and lastly, that operating within a small group of big banks, having their own branches as in England,--the working of these different types must necessarily be different. Thus we may have (a) pure central banking, as under the Federal Reserve System (b) mixed central banking, that is central-cum-commercial banking as in the case of the Reichsbank, having 450 branches of its own and (c) 'lying somewhere between, in a position of solitary eminence', the Bank of England.

QUESTION OF PROFITS

It is generally agreed that stability in currency and credit is an end in itself and a central bank should not be charged with making profits. For instance, in a recent Congressional Committee, Governor Strong remarked; "The Federal Reserve system is not run to-day with a view to earning money.

That notion has entirely disappeared." But the matter is not so simple in actual practice. The shareholders expect a certain return on their investment however small it might be. It is for this reason that specific additions to the functions of the South African Reserve Bank had to be recommended in the Kemmerer-Vissering report. The recent Banking Commission in Ireland rejected the proposal for a separate central bank for the same reason. There are three ways for solving this difficulty, by limiting the rate of dividend, by making the State the sole proprietor, or by making the State a part proprietor. The first method has been followed in most of the central banks. The most prominent example of the second is the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, which has figured so much in recent discussions. An example of the third is offered by the central bank of Switzerland, 2/5ths of the capital being contributed by the Cantons, 2/5ths by the public and the remaining 1/5 by the old banks of issue.

STATE OWNERSHIP

State proprietorship, in part or in whole, raises fresh difficulties. It will be conceded even by the most ardent Socialist that politics should have nothing to do with finance and State ownership is an evil which should be avoided. Arguments in favour of this view may be readily obtained from the proceedings of the Genoa Conference, the Kemmerer-Vissering report and the address recently delivered before the Economic Society in Melbourne by Sir Ernest Harvey, Comptroller of the Bank of England, who was on a visit to Australia at the invitation of the Commonwealth Bank to give his views on central banking. Put briefly, the main argument against the establishment of a Statebank, whether central or commercial, is that it is called upon to grant facilities for political reasons, in cases which would not commend themselves to ordinary banks as remunerative propositions. But the whole aspect of the thing is changed, if it is conceded that, in the case of some countries at least, it is in the national interest to impose such liabilities on the State. The reason for such differentiation is obvious. What is true in the case of creditor and economically advanced countries, which are politically free to lay down their own national economic policies, may not be necessarily true in the case of debtor and less advanced countries, on which are frequently forced measures, ostensibly in their own interests but really in the interests of their financial creditors and political masters. It must not be forgotten that the League of Nations and its various Committees are dominated by people living in circumstances wholly different from those obtaining in comparatively un-developed countries, and in the case of the latter, State ownership may be a necessary evil.

PROPRIETORSHIP BY MEMBER BANKS

It was stated above that in the Swiss National Bank a part of the capital was contributed by the old banks of issue. This feature is present also in the South African Reserve Bank and many other recent central banks. For instance, in the Banca Central del Ecuador recently proposed by the Kemmerer Commission, the authorised capital

of 10 million sucres (5 sucres being equivalent to one U. S. dollar) is to be divided into "A" and "B" shares, of 10 sucres each the former to be held by the banks operating within the country and the latter by the public. There is an obvious advantage in allowing the commercial banks in the country to participate in the profits in this way, for the central bank can then count on their goodwill and co operation. It is all the more necessary, for a central bank has frequently to carry on commercial banking for a proper discharge of its duties and may thus antagonise the member banks, in the absence of proper safeguards.

RESERVES

The percentage of reserves to note issues and the composition of reserves show great diversities. It is not true as stated in a recent book on Indian banking that 'all the banks of issue excepting the Bank of England accept foreign bills in their portfolios and reckon them in their note reserves. In Norway, for instance, all issues above the fixed fiduciary issue of 250 million kroner must be backed by gold alone. Not only are gold equivalents permitted in certain central banks, the percentages also vary,—from 25 per cent. in the case of Russia to 60 per cent. in the case of Spain, for all issues above 4 billion pesetas, issues below 4 billion pesetas being covered to the extent of 45 per cent. In most cases again, reserves have not only to be kept for notes but also for demand deposits, the percentages varying from 21 per cent. in the case of Austria and Czechoslovakia to 50 per cent. in the case of Chile, Ecuador and Peru. The former ratio is however regarded as too low. It is provided by statute that the percentage will have to be gradually increased to 33 1/3 per cent. in the case of Austria and 35 per cent. in the case of Czechoslovakia. For certain issues again, beyond prescribing a certain maximum limit, no other restrictions are imposed, e. g., for currency notes in England and for notes issued by the Bank of France.

PROPORTIONAL RESERVE

PS.

FIXED FIDUCIARY RESERVE

What are the reasons for this almost endless diversity? In a country which is predominantly agricultural, the issue of notes must be necessarily elastic, temporarily expanding during busy seasons to finance the exports. We can, therefore, lay down the general proposition that the proportional reserve system imparting as it does the necessary elasticity to currency will be suitable for agricultural countries. For a proper working of this system, however, there must be a large supply of eligible commercial bills, a feature which is frequently absent in many agricultural countries. Not only this, there are other reasons for discarding the proportional reserve system and adopting the fixed fiduciary system. A free market for gold like London must be subject to large withdrawals of gold, which will result in contraction of credit by three times the amount, if a 33 1/3 per cent. reserve is maintained and this must hamper the economic activities of the country. As a set off against this is must be remembered that the fiduciary limit cannot be estimated offhand but only as a result of experiments extending over a long period.

As a matter of fact, this system is in vogue in only one country of importance viz., Norway, England having currency notes in circulation side by side with the Bank of England notes. Moreover, the system was adopted in England when deposit banking was in its infancy. The recent tendency is to maintain reserves not only against notes but also against demand deposits and clearly the system of fiduciary reserve is not suitable in such cases. Even in England, eminent bankers like the late Dr. Walter Leaf and Mr. Reginald McKenna have suggested the proportional reserve system when currency notes will be taken over by the Bank of England.

RELATION WITH MEMBER BANKS

The relation of the central bank with the commercial banks in the country also raises complex issues. It is generally agreed that the functions of the two are quite distinct. As has been well put by a recent writer, "the central bank is the spring from which the water of life wells up; the commercial banks are the pipes and channels by which it is conducted to a thirsty economic system." In theory, the central bank may be a marginal lender of funds, but is it realised in actual practice? Have we not had instances of central banks competing with member banks on grossly unfair terms utilising as they do, the interest free deposits of the member banks? The Bank of England has in recent years tried to maintain the high tradition of working in public interest and not as a mere money-making concern. But it is a matter of common knowledge that during the 1896-97 period, "when credit went a-begging," it offered serious competition to English joint-stock banks, specially in its branches. Should the member banks then be permitted to have not only a share in the profits as stated above, but also a voice in the management of the central bank? There is no question that the wealth of experience of practical bankers will be of the greatest possible value. But it is also true that a director from any commercial bank must stand in the way of a proper scrutiny of bills offered by it for discount. The fact should not be forgotten that, in the absence of adequate safeguards, directors frequently try to finance their companies with monies obtained from banks over which they may have control. Apart from this, a seat on the directorate of the central bank will enable a director of a commercial bank to have an insight into the working of his competitors which is clearly undesirable.

CONCLUSION

I have now come to the end of the first part of my paper devoted to central banking in general. This is by no means an exhaustive survey but sufficient has been said to establish that it is impossible to lay down doctrinaire principles holding good in all times in all countries under all possible circumstances. One must not forget that even at best economic theories only summarise economic tendencies, their actual working being dependent on the environment. This is a truism but has nevertheless to be emphasised when approaching the Reserve Bank question.

Part II

THE RESERVE BANK QUESTION

This essentially practical nature of the problem has subjected the Reserve Bank Bill to a good deal of criticism, even the name not being immune. It has been suggested, not by an ardent nationalist but by a sedate banker, that the name savours of Americanism and should be changed into "Bank of Hindusthan". I must confess I am unable to agree with him—specially when I remember the tragic fate of the first institution of that name, started about 1770 by the great Agency House of Alexander and Co. Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that this measure has elicited criticism in diverse quarters. It is also true that this Bill is the first important piece of legislation which has been referred to a Joint Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Not being tied like the Joint Committee to the draft Bill published in the "Gazette of India" Extraordinary on January 17, 1927, let us go into the preliminary considerations. The main point is that India is a country of cash transactions. The control of credit here must be subordinate to the control of currency, unlike countries with highly developed credit systems like England or U. S. A. In fact the conditions here to-day resemble the conditions in England about a hundred years ago, when deposit banking was in its infancy. It will therefore be necessary to give greater attention to currency than to credit in India. Besides, in the absence of a regular bill market, the power of the central bank to control credit cannot be paramount and will frequently amount to moral suasion only, in addition to control of currency.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION

To take up the currency question first, we have seen how the abstract theory in favour of inconvertible paper currency has to be discarded as impracticable. Similarly all the learned disquisitions of the Hilton Young Commission about the effective linking of notes to gold under what it chose to call the gold bullion standard can convince only the official apologists. The obvious fallacy in having a wide margin between the buying and selling rates is neatly exposed by a recent writer in the following words:—"One fails to see how this gold bullion standard may be called a standard at all, when gold will admittedly vary from its par value by as much as 2.3 per cent. If a yard stick is sometimes equal to 35.2 inches and sometimes to 36.8 inches, no scientist would accept it as a standard of measurement." It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the Joint Select Committee has been able to reduce the selling price for gold in the teeth of determined opposition from Government to Rs. 21-3-10 per tola plus single transport and interest charges for delivery in Bombay instead of the double transport and interest charges as recommended by the Commission and proposed in the Bill. The reduction of the minimum saleable quantity to 250 tolas instead of the impossible 1,065 tolas is

also a step in the right direction. It is an open secret that Sir Basil Blackett and the Government of India are resisting the demand for the minting of mohurs not of their own free will but at the dictation of Whitehall. They too are convinced of the necessity of finding "some further and more direct and visible means for bringing it home to the masses that gold is the standard of value."

STATE OWNERSHIP

Confidence in currency which is the "sine qua non" of success of the proposed issue can be secured only by associating it with Government in the existing circumstances in India. This was tacitly admitted by the Commission "when it recommended that the Reserve Bank notes should be guaranteed by Government. I confess I am unable to appreciate how the payment of a note which is to be legal tender can be guaranteed for, obviously, to guarantee the payment of such notes means a guarantee to pay one type notes by another. If it is interpreted as a guarantee to convert it into gold at the stipulated rate, the Reserve Bank must be said to have the doubtful distinction of being the only central bank which provides such a guarantee. The truth of the matter is that the Commission proposed to do the impossible by recommending a central bank for India independent of government. It is to be hoped that in a fit of petulance Sir Basil Blackett will not resurrect the shareholders' bank to which the Joint Committee has given the quietus at Bombay. There are many practical considerations which may be adduced in support. For instance, if it is a State institution, no share capital need be issued. This will prevent, on the one hand, the present unseemly wrangle among Imperial Exchange, and Joint-Stock Banks for participating in the share capital, and on the other, any possible loss in the initial stages in the absence of a well-developed bill market. If necessary, debentures may be issued later, which will in any case be a cheaper method of raising money. The only objection to this measure is that it is merely a case of a government bank taking the place of a government department charged with the control of currency. In other words, it is a case of King Stork being solemnly installed in the place of King Log.

CONSTITUTION

This brings us at once to the question of control of the central bank, for that is the real crux of the problem. It has been publicly stated that the unbending attitude of Sir Basil Blackett towards the exclusion of the legislative bodies from the bank is due to definite instructions received from the Secretary of State in the matter, thus furnishing another instance, if any were needed, of the much-vaunted financial autonomy of India. It should be remembered, however, that the disqualification of members of legislative bodies from having a seat on the directorate has been removed in spite of the strenuous opposition offered by Government members of the Joint Select Committee,—an opposition which is quite in keeping with the usual practice of disenfranchising large bodies of people by setting up communal as distinguished from joint electorates for the

legislatures. In this matter, Indian nationalists have the support of men like Sir John Ball and Sir Felix Schuster, who are as acutely conscious as Government of the experience of this system notably in Australia and partly in South Africa. Be that as it may, it is now possible for Councillors and Assembly members to be elected to the Board of Directors through the various Chambers of Commerce, either European or Indian and they should have therefore no reasonable cause for complaint. The commercial and co-operative banks also should take a similarly reasonable view of the matter and not insist on being elected as such but through Chambers of Commerce in the usual way.

RESERVES

The question of the proper system of reserves has been similarly a bone of contention. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, it is stated, informed the Joint Committee that he and his friends, who supported the fixed fiduciary system and were opposed to the proportional reserve system, reserved their opposition till the discussion in the Assembly. It is to be hoped that wiser counsels will prevail. As has already been stated, the trend of central banking in all countries is towards the proportional reserve system. The only point for consideration is whether reserves should not be kept against demand deposits in the same way as against notes following recent practice in other countries, for there is no valid distinction between the two. Apart from this, as open market operation, will have to be permitted to the central bank often in competition with commercial banks with their own monies compulsorily acquired interest-free by statute, it is clear that from the ethical point of view, if from no other, some obligation should be imposed on the central bank in the matter of deposits.

COMPENSATION TO IMPERIAL BANK

The "compensation" to Imperial Bank is another thorny question. This almost reminds us of "compensations" extorted from the puppet Nawabs of Bengal in the early days of British rule in India. A "compensation" presupposes some "sacrifice" but what is the "sacrifice" involved in this case? At most, it is the withdrawal of some special privileges, when the occasion for such is no longer existent. But Sir Basil Blackett seems to have a deeper sense of the "wrong" done to the Imperial Bank than the Managing Governors themselves. Sir Basil, it is said, explained to the Joint Committee that "although the agreement with the Imperial Bank would expire in 1931, it was understood at the time the agreement was made that it would be continued; there was no legal obligation to make allowance for that implied understanding, but there was certainly a moral obligation." We should like to know who imposed this "moral obligation" behind the back of the people and the unsuspecting legislature which passed the Imperial Bank Act. It must have been some responsible member of the Government whose unauthorised promise is now pricking the conscience of the Finance Member. It seems, however, that in fact, no such wicked promise was ever made, for, in their letter dated June 28 last addressed to Rai Pramatha Nath Mullick Bahadur, the Managing

Governors explicitly stated that after January, 1931, "the Imperial Bank will have no legal claim for any Governmental benefits and also no moral benefit rights." "This extreme solicitude on the part of Government to do "justice" to the Imperial Bank reminds us irresistibly of the old lady in the Bengali proverb, who bears greater affection for a child than its own mother. As this question has been ably dealt with by Prof. J. C. Sinha in the July issue of the "Modern Review", his arguments need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say, that instead of tying down the Reserve Bank to a definite scheme of doles to the Imperial Bank, a money award may be made for the alleged "sacrifices" by a board of arbitrators and, failing that, the Reserve Bank should be brought into being after January, 1931.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have confined myself to the main issues leaving minor details severely alone, but I am afraid that I have already trespassed on the time set apart for discussion and must crave your accustomed indulgence. I would conclude by merely pleading with Government as well as legislators to realise fully their responsibilities as laid down in the preamble to the Bill,—“to establish a gold standard currencywith a view to securing the stability in the monetary system of British India.....” What I apprehend is that this preamble may turn out to be a mere pious wish, our Government following the dictates of Whitehall and our legislators guided by empty catchwords of politics.

[A paper read before the Bengal Economic Association on Thursday, August 11, 1927.]

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE MYSTERIES OF THE BIBLE: By Sital Chandra Chakravarty M. A. Vidyandhi with a supplement. Pp 39+1. Price 18/-

The mysteries are the origin of the serpent idea, the forbidden tree, the temptation, the original sin, crucifixion, resurrection and Holy Ghost.

Quotes some parallel passage from Hindu religion and philosophy. The author believes that "Christ in his crucifixion took upon himself the sins of all."

JESUS THE AVATAR: By V. Chakka Rai, B. A., B.L. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp 229. Price one Rupee.

There have recently appeared four notable books on Jesus and we place the conclusions of their authors side by side with that of our author.

(i) "Jesus is God or God is Jesus" (our author. p. 57).

(ii) "A careful study of the story of his [Jesus] life reveals to us not God taking on the form of man but a man rising to fellowship with God" (The Story behind the Gospels by B. M. Allen M. A., LL. D.)

(iii) "The foundation of all Jesus' preaching and teaching was single and simple; it was his knowledge that he was a son of God and that all men might be sons of God like him." (The Life of Jesus by J. Middleton Murry).

(iv) "Jesus was a Jew and a Jew he remained

fill his last breath." "Jesus never regarded himself as God" (Jesus of Nazareth by Joseph Klausner Ph. D)

(v) Jesus never existed as a man but is a wholly legendary figure—Jesus: A Myth by George Brandes)

Brandes is a Danish scholar and one of the greatest critics of modern times. Klausner is a Jewish scholar. Murry and Allen are Christians. Our author is a Christian convert.

European scholars are becoming either liberal or sceptical on the Jesus question. But our author, an Indian convert, is going back to the crudest form of Medieval Orthodoxy.

MAHES CH. GHOSH.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS FOR NORMAL PEOPLE: By Geralline Coster Oxford University Press: Pp. 232: size, 6 3/4": Price 2/6 net.

Contents,—eight chapters and a bibliography: Introduction; Terminology; Instinctive Energy; Fear; Adult fears; The Power instinct; The Sex instinct; Dreams; Sublimation and Religion; Bibliography.

In the Preface, the authoress writes. "This little book on a big subject was begun at the suggestion of the matron of a public hospital, who deplored the lack of a manual of practical psychology on modern lines.....it is also in some degree the outcome of the remark of a well-known examiner in psychology, to the effect that the papers of candidates for the teaching profession seldom show any realisation of the practical bearing

of psychology on the work of educating and training children.....the present book is an effort to set forth in the simplest possible way the main principles of analytical psychology in its application not to the insane, perverted, or abnormal, but to the ordinary people whom we meet everyday."

Modern educational machineries in India seem to be very shy of psychological implications. Applied Psychology scares away most of our British mentalities to whom Psychology, as a science, is almost a myth. But a small book like this will do no harm to one. The general public will find the book quite interesting. The bibliography adds to the interest in the book, especially the list of 'fiction embodying new Psychological principles'. We should request the author to change the heading of the last chapter in the next edition of the book and rename it as 'Sublimation and Christian religion'.

A. K. S.

WESTERN CIVILISATION: By Chandra Chakraborty. To be had of Vijaya Krishna Brothers, Calcutta. Pages 92. Price Rs. 1-4.

The readers who go to this book in order to find in it a discussion of Western Civilisation in the abstract will be disappointed, but those who wish to read interesting descriptions of the people and principal cities of Europe and America, will find themselves amply rewarded by a perusal of it. The book is, indeed, a good guide-book for those who intend to visit Europe and America.

GURU NANAK AS AN OCCULTIST: By Professor H. C. Kumar B.A. Bandhu Ashram, Hyderabad, Sindh. Pages 41. Price As. 1.

We are afraid the author reads too much between the lines in the writings of Guru Nanak and his book, therefore, savours of special pleading. Anyhow, the author is to be complemented on presenting a difficult philosophical thesis very lucidly.

DICTIONARY OF PUNJABI PROVERBS: By S. Kishan Singh, Overseer, P. W. D., Burma. Pages 41. Price As. 8.

The scope of this book is modest and does not justify its ambitious name. Still, the pains which the author has taken in compiling this volume are commendable. The rendering of the Punjabi proverbs in English is not felicitous in many cases and the author will do well to revise it in the next edition.

DEWAN CHAND SARMA

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE ENGLISH ROMANTICISTS: By Crane Brinton, Oxford University Press. Price Shillings 15 nett.

English Romanticism was the product of the hundred years 1750-1850. Looking at all aspects of English life this period was probably the most changeful in the whole history of England. Materially speaking, tremendous development and progress is noticed during these one hundred years. One may, however, ask what connection it is possible to find between this progress and the literary movement known as Romanticism? The answer is that to understand any aspect of human conduct truly and thoroughly one must

study the whole field of human conduct critically. It is the mind of man that is fundamentally responsible for all that man achieves. Thus it may be said that the English Industrial Revolution was not merely an isolated material fact; but it was the material manifestation of a wider revolution in English outlook and thought that took place in the years referred to above.

But why should one write a special book on the political ideas of a number of literary men? The justification for this is found in the fact that some men of letters "have been profound political philosophers, makers of creeds, and leaders of men as well as artists of the finest sort." Further justification is found in that men of letters "Play an important part" in disseminating "the ideas of others" and in that in their thoughts we often discover the political ideas of the "average" man of their age.

The author introduces us progressively to "Jacobin and Anti-Jacobin." "The first Generation of Revolt" (namely Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey etc.), "Tory and Radical" (Scott and Hazlitt) "the second Generation of Revolt" (Byron and Shelley) and "certain other writers." In his "conclusion" the author indulges in a little speculation—a little Psycho analysis of the men who were the Pioneers of the modern movements in thought—and in a little optimism. The progress of democracy in the present age is not heading us for intellectual extinction, far from it. The author believes we are moving towards even better things, for we are becoming more and more precise in our thought, more thorough and scientific in our inquiries. Our heresies are really expressions of our intellectual humility; for in them we own up our greatest doubts.

The book is well-got up and well-printed.

CASES ON THE LAW OF THE CONSTITUTION: By Berce A. Dicknell of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, Oxford University Press. Price Sh. 7-6 nett.

In this book we find summary of a large number of important cases which go to illustrate the working of the Law of the constitution. The cases are classified as relating to (1) The sovereignty of Parliament, (2) The privileges of Parliament, (3) The House of Lords, (4) The Relation of the Prerogative to Statute, (5) The Petition of Right, (6) The Rights and Liberties of Servants of the Crown, (7) The Administration of Justice, (8) The Rights and Duties of the Subject, (9) Aliens and Nationality, and (10) The Relation of the Crown and Parliament to the Empire. The book will prove valuable to students of Constitutional Law as well as to practising lawyers.

A HISTORY OF EUROPE: THE MIDDLE AGES, By Jerne L. Plunket, M.A. (Oxon) and EUGENE AND THE MODERN WORLD 1492-1914. By R. B. Mowat, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Price Sh. 8-6 nett. Demy oct. Pp. 806+xx, cloth-bound with 28 maps and 140 illustrations.

This is one of the finest text books of European history that we have come across. The authors do not take history as a catalogue of political events only, they put special stress on the cultural aspect of the story of nations. The numerous illustrations add greatly to the value of the book

and the low price makes it eminently suitable as a college text-book. We hope our University authorities will give this really good book a trial.

NEW SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL CULTURE : *By Captain P. K. Gupta, late of the Indian Medical Service, Lecturer on Physical Culture under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. Published by the author at 101 C, Musjidbari Street, Calcutta. Price Rupees three and annas eight only.*

Captain Gupta is a well-known physical culturist of Bengal. Many people have developed an enviable physique under his guidance and many more have regained their lost health as students of the Captain. Being a qualified medical man, a fine wrestler and a very strong man, Captain Gupta holds an altogether unique position among our physical culture experts. His book is the outcome of years of study and experience and will doubtless prove a great asset to men aspiring after a better state of health and physical vigour.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1066-1874 : *By Charlotte M. Waters, B. A. London, Late Head Mistress of the County School for Girls, Bromley, Published by the Orford University Press, Price Sh. 7-6 nett.*

The authoress has tried to remove the want of a book which will tell beginners about the life and activities of the people who lived in the land in the past. Such a book has been in demand for the last few years ; for history these days no longer means mere political history---history of the people at the top only,---the life of the majority who formed the nation deserves more attention. The book is well-written, profusely illustrated and nicely got up.

THE FIRE OF LIFE : *By Harold Spender, Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., London Sh. 15 nett.*

Harold Spender is in need of no introduction. This book, published after his untimely death, with a foreword by F. S. Marvin, contains his memoirs. Harold Spender was one of the most well-travelled and erudite of journalists of his age and his age was eventful enough to satisfy the greediest of minds. The result of such a man and such an age coming together is this book which is charmingly literary, stirring and romantic and profoundly thoughtful.

Spender had a wide outlook and a soul commensurate with his vision. If he shows any narrownesses here and there in his imperialistic inclinations or anti-German vehemence, it is because of his nurture. One cannot very well expect an Englishman to be altogether a sane man. If Spender is narrow at places, it is pardonable in view of his general broad-mindedness. He is no common Anglo-Saxon, though he may show some of the weaknesses of his race. The book is rich in anecdotes in which some of the most eminent men of the age play a part. Thus we come across the Fawcetts, Archbishop Lang, Mr. Bonar Law, Andrew Carnegie, Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain, Redmond, O'Connor, Grey, Bannerman, Salisbury, Kitchener, Lloyd George, Balfour, Churchill, Parnell, Curzon, Lord Milner, Botha, De la Rey, De Wet, Lord Cromer, Michael Collins, Northcliffe and a whole host of other celebrities. The book throws new light on many obscurities in the history of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and tells us of possibilities of which we have

never dreamt. Wars that might have taken place, developments that stopped prematurely and other unknown and unheard of matters crowd the pages of this interesting book. It is almost like a collection of rare political documents.

Good printing, binding and general get-up make the book doubly attractive. All sound readers will like it.

A. C.

INDIAN STATESMEN : *Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rupees Three. 1927.*

At a time when the question of the future of Indian States and their place in the prospective democratic constitution of India is agitating the public mind the volume, under notice, is sure to receive welcome from all quarters. In this book the publishers have given life-sketches (with illustrations) of eminent Indian administrators of some of the well-known native states of India. Besides being a biography the book presents a brief historical survey of the evolution of native states in India ; because with the lives of distinguished dewans and prime-ministers like Sir Salar Jung, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Rajah Sir T. Madhav Rao, Ramesh Chandra Dutt etc., are linked the fortunes of many first class native States in India. And our publishers correctly observe "Hydrabad without Sir Salar Jung, Nepal without Jung Bahadur or Gwalior without Sir Divkar Rao is inconceivable, Bhabanagar and Oodeshanker, Mysore and Rungacharlu, Travancore and Sir T. Mahadeva Rao, Pudukottah and Sir Sashiah Sastri are so intimately connected that neither the history of the States nor the lives of the statesmen can be complete without the other."

In this connection it may be pointed out that the illustrations of this book are not upto mark and in it we miss the life-story of many prominent administrators of Indian India. We hope that in the next edition the biographies of Dadabhai Naoroji, Sansar Chandra Sen and other capable and distinguished administrators would be incorporated. In offering our congratulations to the publishers for their attempt to bring under one cover critical sketches of the lives and achievements of notable Indian dewans and prime-ministers we hope that this book will be universally appreciated.

THE SOUL-GOSPEL OF OMAR KHAYYAM : *By J. E. Saklatvala. Miniature Edition (5" x 1 1/2"). Limited circulation. Bombay : 1926.*

Mr. Saklatvala has in his collection translations of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam in many languages. The dainty little book, under notice, contains English renderings of some of Omar's Rubaiyats from the original Persian. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

P. C. S.

DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS : *By G. Mitra, Prof. T. N. J. College. Mitra & Sons. 12 N. B. College Street Market, Calcutta.*

Prof. Mitra deserves our congratulations for bringing out this treatise on calculus on a novel plan entirely suited to the requirements of our students. The book is sure to help students in getting a clear grasp of the subject and as such it would receive wide popularity among those for whom it is intended.

S. K. D.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES : *By Dr. Himalacharan Law, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The early history of India still remains to be written. We have not yet got any systematic and complete history of early India—both political and cultural from any scholar. We have only a few scholars here and there, who are just reconstructing a few phases of the early Indian history. We know that in ancient India there were many tribes which tried to establish their kingdoms in various parts of India. In the present work, Dr. Law tries to trace the history of the Kasis, Kosalas, Asmakas, Magadhas and the Bhojas. He has utilised all the available materials from the Sanskrit, Pali and Jain sources. The book is published in the Punjab Sanskrit Series, which deserve to be patronised by the educated Indians. Dr. Law has done good work in collecting all the facts about these ancient Indian Tribes.

P. B.

SANSKRIT

THE SATAPATHA BRAHMANA IN THE KANVIYA RECENSION :—*Edited by Dr. W. Caland, M.A. Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Utrecht. Vol. I. Published by Moti Lal Banarsi Das of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Price Rs. 10.*

Many Vedic texts have been published, properly edited and translated by the European scholars. But so long the *Satapatha Brahmana* in the *Kanviya* recension had not been taken up by a competent scholar, though Professor Eggeling of Edinburgh had already rendered a service to Sanskrit scholarship by his excellent translation, in the Sacred Books of the East, of the *Satapatha Brahmana* according to the recension of the *Madhyandinas*. It was also announced in 1893 that Prof. Eggeling would edit the *Kanviya* recension also in the Anecdote Oxoniensis. Towards the end of 1908 it was found out that Prof. Eggeling had given up the plan of publishing the text for want of sufficient materials. It was then that Dr. W. Caland of the University of Utrecht took upon himself the task of editing the *Kanviya* recension for the first time. The result we find in the book under review. It must be admitted that Prof. Caland has done a signal service to the cause of Sanskrit learning by offering the text for the first time to the Sanskritists. He has added a well-written introduction to the book. In the introduction he discusses such topics as the Vedic literature and the *Kanviya Satapatha Brahmana*, the manuscripts of the present text, grammatical peculiarities of the *Kanviya* recension, and the relation of the *Kanviya* books 1-7 to the kindred texts. In the present book we have only the first part of the work covering over 200 pages, and the remaining portion would cover about 500 pages more. It is an expensive work undertaken by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, which, we hope, will be patronised liberally by the lovers of Sanskrit learning. We wish Dr. Caland success in his undertaking and commend the work to all cultured Indians.

P. B.

GUJARATI

KUMAR NAN STRI RATNO : *By Indulal K. Jainik, Printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Rajpur, Paper Cover. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (1926).*

Six vignettes of Indian Womanhood, so set in their frames of our domestic and social life as to transform a misogynist into a woman lover. Without indenting on our ancient lore or Puranic traditions, the compiler has presented the ideal of woman's service to society and family so as to make her fit in with their existing structures. The modernity of the education of the girls and women of these stories does not militate against the object intended to be fulfilled. That is the beauty of the compiler's pen.

MURID-E-SHAITAN, THE DISCIPLE OF SATAN : *By Thakkur Narayan Visanji. Printed at the Gujarati News Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 215. Price Rs. 2-8 (1927).*

The other name for the book is the excesses of the Moplahs of Malabar. It is a vivid word picture of the fanatical out-burst on the part of the Moplah Mussalmans of Malabar six years ago (1921). Incidentally the author tries to expose the fallacy of those who preach that the Koran enjoins the principle of religious toleration. He also feelingly points out the sad result of treating a very large part of her Indian brethren as "untouchables," an evil rampant in its worst aspects in 'South India.' It is based on a Marathi Novel. Its style is the one usual with the author, stilted and sanskriticised. It is full of historical information.

SAROVAR NI SUNDARI : *By Kumanlal Nanalal Shah.*

A very small booklet, re-telling in the author's words the story by Prof. Bain of "Livery of Eve," in simple style, suitable for little children. The title in Gujarati is misleading, though correct as far as facts go, as Princess Aparajita did come out of a lake, the book being based on an English one, leads one to think as if it had something to do with Scott's Lady of the Lake.

JAR KE ZEHR : *By the late Mr. Chavilal Punjiram Maniar. Printed at the Prajambhush Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pp. 201. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1927).*

Money or Poison ? This is the title of this Novel, and the writer has commendably shown that in the hands of unscrupulous person possession of wealth is not a blessing but a curse. The interest of the narration is well sustained and the sequence of events such as could easily be followed by an average reader. The "silent" Munim is the hero of the piece, and the character of Ramu, the humble but loyal gomashta well-drawn.

We have received the following books from the Commissioner of Education and Vidyadhikari, Baroda State :

1. **THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHOKA :** *By Bhanusukhram. N Mehta.*

A complete guide on the subject.

2. **NRUKUL VIDYA** : *By Madhu Kumar Desai, M.A.*,
A book on Ethnology, and a translation of Dr. M. Heberle's Volume on the subject.
3. **SATYA MIMANSA** : *By Vidyabhushan Hiraul V Shroff, P.A.*,
An enlightened work, necessarily technical.
4. **THE PEOPLES OF INDIA AND THEIR PROBLEMS** :
By P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.B.
A translation of Sir T. W. Holderness' book, fully bringing out its spirit.
5. **A SHORT HISTORY OF AYURVEDA** : *By Bhamusukhram N. Mehta.*
A prolific and omnivorous writer, a useful book.
6. **SHAKESPEARE** : *By Chandulal Maganlal Doctor, B.A., LL.B.*
A translation of C. H. Herford's book, the language being simple.
7. **INTRODUCTION TO CHEMISTRY** : *By L. S. Dave, B.A., LL.B.*
8. **ADVENTURES OF WATER, PARTS I & II** : *By K. N. Joshi.*
Books on the Model of Prof. Bha's Work of Rain and Rivers.
9. **STORY OF THE LUNGS** : *By G. N. Mehta.*
10. **A COAL-MINE** : *By Ratilal J. Desai.*
11. **AIR AND WATER** : *By M. P. Bikhshi, B.A., LL.B.*
12. **BUGS AND LICE** : *By the late J. D. Desai B.Ag.*
13. **UTSARG TANTRA** : *By Dr. C. S. Dave, M.B., B.S.*
14. **CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD** : *By M. M. Parikh, B.A., LL.B.*
From (7) to (14) are very small manuals, still the writers have done full justice to their important subjects.

LOK-SANGIT : *By Narayan Moreswar Khare, Printed at the Navivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 86. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1926).*

This is a valuable collection of popular songs, sung and not only read extensively in Gujarat. They are so to speak scientifically treated in this little book without losing their most attractive feature, their popularity. Such a collection was required and it has been produced.

PRAKRITIK BHUGOL : *By Chhotalal Balkrishna Purani. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. 17p. 99. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1925).*

This is a text-book on Geography intended for students of the Gujarat Vidyapitha, but likely to prove useful to all. The subject has been very intelligently handled, and the different aspects of physical Geography well brought out.

AT THE FEET OF THE JAM SAHEB, is a small pamphlet. Published by Mr. Anantlal Sheth, M.L.C. addressed to H. H. the Jam Sahib of Navanagar containing a list of grievances which awaits disposal.

K. M. J.

"MOTHER INDIA"

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

Mother India : By Katherine Mayo. Published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 410 pages.

THE writer of this book says she went out to India with a free and open mind to study conditions and not to write a propaganda book. And so her first step in creating an "unprejudiced" atmosphere was—to go to India Office in London and explain her plan! The result is that she has achieved a brilliant stunt of British propaganda and could not have done better had she been bought and paid for it by India Office itself. She seems to have displayed a remarkable genius for meeting English men and women who could show her the darkest side of India in a convincing manner; for picking out just those Indians who are boot-lickers, and who shudder to think of the

awful thing that would happen were India free: for meeting Indian princes who are such noble chaps; or for reading those books, or extracting passages from books, whose chief virtue is damning India and lauding British rule. As I said, hers is a brilliant achievement. An English Viceroy could not have done better on twice the money.

Her chief song and dance is the social evils of India—child-marriage, purdah, enforced widowhood, the lack of discipline in sex life, untouchability, and so on. That is the prelude which occupies half of the book. The latter half is devoted to apologizing for British rule, for refuting the political charges of the Indian movement for freedom, for showing how noble the English are and how rascally and dishonest the Indians. She

reminds me of the speech of Jawaharlal Nehru, the delegate of the Indian National Congress to the Brussels Congress against Imperialism, in which he said :

"Having disarmed and emasculated us, they now say we are unable to defend our country ; having destroyed our system of education, they now say we are too ignorant to rule ourselves."

It is not my intention to do anything but admit the social evils that exist in India. Every Indian with a shade of honesty in him must admit them. In this respect, Miss Mayo has told of horrors which, as individual facts, appear to be true and which would make every Indian ashamed of the social system which tolerates them.

She gives one case after another of little girl children being used to death by their husbands ; of physical injuries that ruin their lives ; of men who demand their little girl wives back from a hospital because they "require them for their use"; of the dwarfing and stunting and ruination of one generation of women after another in the vile name of religion and social custom ; of the attitude of Indians that a woman in child-birth is unclean ; and she concludes her thesis in these words :

"A sidelight will be found by a glance down the advertisement space of Indian-owned newspapers. Magical drugs and mechanical contrivances, whether 'for princes and rich men only', or the humbler and not less familiar '32 Pillars of Strength to prop up your decaying body for One Rupee only,' crowd the columns and support the facts."

Facts so terrible as child-marriage and purdah, which strike at the very roots of human development, cannot exist for a day amongst a people who pretend to any form of culture. Until they, as well as untouchability and enforced widowhood, are wiped out, I, for one, refuse to regard India as a land deserving the name of culture or civilization. These customs have absolutely no justification in human society, and they reveal degeneracy and spiritual disease of the lowest order. Those Indians who are insensitive to them show that they have degenerated to the lowest scale of human culture, to that of the purely physical, the purely sexual.

A section of Miss Mayo's book is devoted to social evils and their effects, which we admit in general terms, but not in every detail, as we admitted them long before she ever went to India. But when she touches politics and economics,—then we part company with her, and even doubt her honesty of

purpose in writing the section on social evils. It looks as if she has exploited India's social evils merely for political propaganda on behalf of British rule in India. Therefore, the last part of her book, as well as the little drops of political poison interlarded throughout the pages of the first part, is absolutely untrustworthy. That social evils exist in India is no justification for British rule. We admit the social evils, but our solution of the problem is different from hers. Our solution is this : the doors of India's life to be opened to world-currents—which means the immediate end of British rule that the land may be swept clean of the social evils which are bred under the present system.

That Miss Mayo has produced a propaganda book on behalf of British rule is beyond a shadow of a doubt. She speaks of the leaders in the national movement as "talkers". She quotes Gandhi, Tagore, Lajpat Rai, or other Indians only when she can find something in their speeches to justify her thesis and to help her paint a picture against India. Then she stops. What these men are doing to fight India's social and other evils, what the national movement is doing—she either ignores completely, or she belittles. Take untouchability, for instance, which she condemns. We all condemn it. Gandhi is the outstanding enemy of it and with a pen like a sword writes against it, travelling and organizing to abolish it. Not a word from her, of this, however ; nor of what work other men and women did before Gandhi and have been doing even now to destroy this evil. But when the Prince of Wales went to India and was boycotted until even the cats stayed at home, she descends to the cheapest American sob-stuff. She has the unmitigated audacity to publish English gossip that when this representative of British imperialism went to India to try and crush the national movement, the untouchables throw themselves before his carriage and tried to touch him, crying, "Our Prince, our Prince—we want to see our Prince." In other words, one would think that the Prince of Wales had devoted his life to working amongst the untouchables. But apart from this fact, the story is an absolute lie and is one of the concoctions of Englishmen in India to hide their chagrin about the boycott of the Prince of Wales. It pariahs in Bombay really did what she said, we may know that they were paid an anna a day to

do it. Gandhi, whose word is honoured by the untouchables, was one of the leaders in the boycott movement. It is strange that this American writer can condemn the ignorant Hindus who crawl before the idol of Kali in Calcutta, while on the other hand, she resorts to the cheapest stage tricks to praise the few untouchables who are said to have crawled before the Prince of Wales. What is it that makes crawling condemnable in the former case but commendable in the latter? No comparison is suggested between the Prince of Wales as an individual and Kali as a goddess. But if Kali be taken to be merely a goddess of destruction, belief in whom is dying away, political and economic imperialism, which the Prince was brought out to save, is a living force which destroys the freedom, prosperity and manhood of its victims.

One could, of course, take up literally hundreds of details like this and prove them false. She has drawn false and ignorant conclusions from both social and political facts. But in a problem so vast as that of India, we must take a broader and a more fundamental view. I, the writer, see the problem from the following economic view point.

Up to two centuries ago, India was the richest and most prosperous land on earth, with a culture and civilization in advance of anything that existed in England or in most of the European countries. Two centuries have passed. Today, in the year of our Lord 1927, India is the poorest land on earth, the pest-house of the world in so far as ignorance, poverty, and disease is concerned. What has happened in those two centuries? The thing that has happened is that England has put her hand on India—and the touch has been deadly. England, the poorest land on earth two centuries ago is today the richest and most powerful, the center of the British Empire. England was built, not only upon the slave-trade from Africa, but upon the plunder of India, and it was India's plundered wealth that gave the capital for the development of machinery that, in other words, caused the industrial revolution. England's culture and prosperity is rooted in the slavery of generations of Indians.

When the British, taking advantage of the period of chaos and reconstruction in India—similar to that in most European countries of the same period—conquered India by one war after another, and won, they laid down

a fundamental principle of rule. They said that "all" they wanted was to hold economic and political power, and that they would not interfere in the social or religious life of the people. The Indians, being naive or ignorant people,—or both,—accepted this situation. The policy was a most cunning one. For the fundamental law of life is the economic law, and upon economic conditions social and religious customs rest. Social and religious customs are indeed but by-products of an existing economic order. India is no exception to this law which has ruled all lands from the beginning of time.

India, living as it has for two centuries under slave economic condition has intensified and perpetuated slave social and religious conditions. Ignorant to the depths of animality, poor to the extent that Europeans cannot imagine, its social evils sink their roots deeper and deeper into the soil which helps nourish them. Permitted to develop economically only in so far as English capitalism (now co-operating with Indian capitalism) finds it profitable, is there any wonder that its social life is a stagnant pool and that each year shows a lowering of the average length of life, a higher death-rate, a deeper misery of the masses? Slavery produces slaves. Slavery nourishes all that Miss Mayo has written about in her book—ignorance, bigotry, cruelty, superstition passing for religion. But this is not a peculiarity of India alone. Were it possible for Japan, for instance, to conquer and establish its rule in America; to establish a tyranny such as that of British rule in India; to drain the country of its wealth, not for one generation, but for two centuries, until even the memory of freedom was dead; to destroy its system of education and establish a few schools where Japanese would be the language of instruction to train clerks for Japanese rulers; to make laws whereby any man could be arrested and imprisoned for years without even a charge being brought against him, or without a shadow of a trial; to deny the light of education to the masses unless they paid for it themselves—and they had no money to pay; to cultivate the poppy and manufacture opium and establish opium shops throughout the land where opium could be sold for the adults and for babies in arms alike; in other words, were it possible for Japan to hold America on the same terms and conditions as England holds India—I would wager my life that in two centuries

America would be a stinking swamp of social evils and diseases worse than India is to-day.

There is but one solution of these evils under which India groans. *It is that England get off India's back.* Nothing more, nothing less. Practically nothing is possible until that is done. We can put a patch here and a patch there on a social sore, but we will not cure the *cause* of the disease. Today it is the vast system which is responsible for these diseases. And instead of the British helping in any way abolish them, they act like a mill-stone about the neck of the nation, preventing it from climbing upward. For every step upward the Indians are forced to take two backward. It is the British rulers of India who are far more reactionary in social matters than the Indians. They are not only social reactionaries themselves, but they use their old excuse of not "interfering in the social customs or religion" of the people. The ending of the supremacy of the British and the servitude of the Indians in India is the first and fundamental essential of Indian progress. At the present time all Indians come up against this prison-wall of British rule, it matters not in what field of work it is, whether in education, or medicine, or social progress. It is like a prisoner who comes up against his prison-wall with every step he takes.

An Indian national Government—but not the abortion England is trying to force upon the country now—could solve all such social evils as Miss Mayo writes of in her book. An Indian dictator like Mustapha Kemal of Turkey, or a dictating party like the Communist Party of Russia, could, within ten years, wipe out child-marriage and many other social evils in India. Not only could they make such practices crimes punishable by death for any man or woman party to them, but they could, by introducing an immediate universal free and compulsory

system of education, create a new mentality in which such evils could not exist. They could by opening up fields of activity for every Indian, settle the religious conflicts which have their roots in poverty and the miserable hunt for jobs. They could by opening India to every progressive thought, sweep away the ignorance upon which social evils thrive. Such a system requires brave men, but India has those men. It requires brave women, and India has them. India's diseases are many and deep. They cannot be dabbled with as they are being dabbled with today. The only future worth living for, fighting for and dying for, is a free India—and I mean a *really* independent India, not the thing that Englishman and Indian boot-lickers wish to call "free".

We, to whom a free India—social, economic and political—is precious, we who hate with unabating hatred the social horrors that are eating at India's life today, hate with a no-less unabating hatred the economic and political slavery which harbours and perpetuates these horrors; we do not say that Indians should wait for freedom until they think of wiping out their social evils. Up to this time the abolition of these social evils is chiefly an individual matter confined to educated men and women who should, in no way, be a party to any form of child-marriage, purdah, enforced widowhood or untouchability. Each educated Indian is duty bound to come to a dead halt in his own private life and refuse, it matters not what the consequences, to be a party in any way to these conditions. But on a *mass* scale these things cannot be abolished until India is free. They are problems with their roots in subjection—which produces in turn ignorance disease, and supersitition. To wipe out these things requires a new economic and social order.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Should Modern Christianity abandon Miracles?

Under the caption, 'Why Modern Christianity is abandoning miracles,' Mr. J. T. Sunderland has written a very interesting and thought-provoking article, in the May number of the *Modern Review*. In it he presents seven difficulties which confront the modern scientific man, when he tries to believe in miracles. The difficulties he adduces are both scientific and moral and though they are stated simply as difficulties, yet when one comes to the end of the article, he has produced in him the impression that the difficulties are insuperable. The objections raised against miracles are the following:

1. If miracles have ever happened in Bible times or any other, why do they not happen today?
2. Why do they not flourish as much in light as in darkness, in ages of intelligence and science as in ages of credulity, and among the intelligent as among the ignorant?
3. Persons who contend most stoutly for their own miracles usually deny most vehemently the truth of all miracles outside their own.
4. The moment we have accepted any of them there seems to be absolutely no place to stop; we have got to accept each and every miracle recorded in the Bible.
5. To admit miracles is to degrade the character of God. It makes him changeable and arbitrary.
6. It is impossible to reconcile the idea of miracle with belief in the goodness of God.
7. A serious difficulty in the way of believing in miracles is the famous objection of Hume, that miracles are a contradiction of human experience.

My purpose in writing this short article is to point out that modern Christianity in order to be in line with the concessions of modern science need not abandon the age-long theological concept of miracle. This does not of course mean that the modern scientific man accepts the category of miracle in the same sense in which it was believed hundreds of years ago. The concept has certainly suffered great changes in its connotation in the course of theological controversy, but I feel sure that it is both scientifically unwarranted and philosophically unsound to regard it as a thought form that is outworn. To be sure, one can see in the present-day thought, a very strong tendency to reject the miraculous or the supernatural

and very often it is done on the flimsiest grounds. Even such a renowned author as Doctor Fosdick, in his latest book, 'The modern use of the Bible,' after giving a very instructive account of the evolution of the meaning of the word miracle from very early times to the present day, dismisses it with scant courtesy, as a concept which is superfluous to modern religious thought. One would have expected from such a great leader of modern religious thinking, a more patient and thoroughgoing discussion of a concept which has held sway in some form or other in theological circles for hundreds of years.

One of the arguments that is advanced very frequently and with almost a certain sense of victory, is that, miracles are un-understandable contraventions or inconsistent breaks in an otherwise harmonious system of nature. The uniformity of nature is said to be a conception which is a recent discovery of modern science, and since this conception means that everything in the universe is subject to inviolable laws, it obviously excludes the possibility of miracles in the sense of interferences or breaks in the established order. God is said to be a God of order and not of disorder which he would certainly be if he allowed miracles to happen in the world.

The argument has very great plausibility and seems to fatally close the case against miracles so long as one does not stop to enquire into the real meaning of the word miracle. But when one questions the meaning given to the word miracle here, the hollowness of the argument becomes transparent. By a miracle one does not mean (at least in the present day) an event that is contradictory to the laws of science. If one meant that, then perhaps the argument that admission of such miracles would mean making God to behave in a self-contradictory way and disorderly way, would have a great weight. But nobody believes in miracle, in the present day, in the sense of interferences with nature. By miracle it should be understood an event that does not at all contradict known laws of science, but only transcends known laws of science. It is an event which certainly refuses to be explained with reference to any one or a combination of the already discovered laws of science but this refusal to be resolved into known laws is not tantamount to a violation of the known laws. Possibly in course of time, as science advances what is now unanalysable and inexplicable may

become resolved into its various laws and understood as every other ordinary event is understood.

If once miracle is defined in the above sense, as an event that is impossible of present scientific explanation but quite capable of a future scientific analysis, it becomes quite clear that there can be no objection to a belief in it from the side of science. What science cannot tolerate, is not the occurrence of an event that is a present mystery but only that given same conditions different results should not happen. Very often the Uniformity of Nature is understood to mean that the present order of things will continue to be what it is, eternally. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of the postulate of Inductive science. All that the law of uniformity means is that nature behaves in a uniform way that if an event occurs in the universe it must be because it has been produced by some cause or other or in other words, that in the occurrence of events there is no possibility of what is called chance in the sense of uncaused effect. As it is usually expressed, every effect has a cause and the same cause has the same effect. This does not exclude the possibility of an event occurring whose cause we do not know or cannot understand at the present time. It cannot say that nothing new or different to what has occurred in the past can ever occur in the present or future, for the simple reason that science is always advancing and can never claim at any one particular stage to have comprehended all thought and knowledge.

Now it is in the above sense of the word miracle, that Mr. Sunderland criticises it and as such it commits a fatal fallacy.

There is also another statement in Mr. Sunderland's article to which I would like to take exception and that is, when he says in page 546 'when it is understood that God works everywhere according to law, miracles disappear---there is no longer any place for them.' In this sentence the author expresses in so many words that God's working in this universe is according to laws. But I wonder if this is a true representation. It seems to me on the other hand, that God's way of acting far from being according to abstract general laws in which things are taken in classes, is according to individual needs and particular peculiarities. Law is essentially abstract; it is that which is arrived at after the examination of a number of instances supposed to resemble in essentials and to differ in accidentals. But this division of qualities into essentials and unessentials is an entirely arbitrary division. Ultimately there is no such thing as classes in the universe. They exist only as our thought's activity on the infinite variety of things that we see. God's creative activity is never so poverty-stricken as to reveal itself in the production monotonously of same things.

Again when we observe human experience, we find how in our behavior towards others, the strict adherence to laws is often inadequate and lands us in inextricable difficulties. The laws only tell us what we should do in a uniform way repeatedly under similar circumstances. They never tell us as to how we should behave under particular concrete circumstances. Hence it is because of this inherent inadequacy of laws to dictate to us definite details of action under particular and complex circumstances that we

are often advised to act according to principles and according to the needs of the particular situation before us. If such is the case with man, that is, if even with us, to act according to strict and inviolable abstract laws is a defect rather than merit, how much more should it be with God?

Besides scientists themselves do not regard the laws they have discovered with reference to the things of this world as having anything more than a provisional validity. No scientist ever thinks of claiming an absolute validity for the scientific laws because there is always the possibility of the conclusions now accepted being revised and enlarged with the accumulation of new data. If what has been said above in this paragraph is true, how can we say that God acts everywhere according to law? If I understand Mr. Sunderland aright, it is because he is anxious to think of God as one who governs the universe in a uniform and systematic way, that he wants to regard him as working everywhere according to law. But I wonder, whether, if he realised that in the meaning of the word law there is an essential element of impermanence and provisionality, he would still continue to make that statement.

There is just one more point which I would like to make before closing this very brief and random criticism of the article. It does not pertain to any one of the difficulties that is raised by the author. But it is simply a question as to what place would be assigned to prayer and faith on a view of the supernatural or miraculous as is depicted by Mr. Sunderland? It seems to me that if one is to be consistent with the conclusion arrived at in that paper, he has perforce to deny that prayer has anything more than a merely subjective effect. The prayer of a faithful man cannot achieve things that are impossible to the ordinary individual. Prayer will be a foolish farce if it were not regarded as the condition of producing effects that are 'contradictory to ordinary human experience.'

I am sorry I have not been able to deal with the article at greater length or in more particular detail. But my main purpose was simply to point out from a criticism of one of the fundamental arguments advanced against belief in miracles, namely, that which is founded on the orderliness or the Uniformity of Nature, that Modern Christianity in order to be modern and in order to be in line with science, need not give up its belief in miracles in the sense of events that transcend known laws of science.

DAVID G. MOSES

Late Mr. 'Khare

Mr. T. M. Bhat, M.A., sends us the following corrections in the article relating to Mr. Khare published in the Modern Review for July :—

P. 65 "The young husband of 14". Though the late Mr. Khare was married at that age he did not go to Satara immediately after his marriage. He passed 2 to 3 years again aimlessly at Guhazar.

P. 65, Column 2. "He migrated to Poona." He did not go to Poona in search of service. He got it and then went to Poona and at first served in an English School for about a year

before joining the founders of the N. E. School, Poona.

P. 66. Column 1. "Ugra Mangal" was published during author's life-time. "Deshkantak" is not yet published.

Widows at Brindaban

With reference to a note under the heading "*Widows at Brindaban*," published in the Modern Review for July 1927. On page 87, written by one Miss Ingram, I beg to request you on behalf of the Braja Mandal Seba Sangha, Brindaban, to publish the following few lines in your widely circulated Review :

This Sangha has taken up the cause of imparting true culture to the widows in general, particularly those of Brindaban, by doing Seba Work and trying its utmost to remove all the superstitions and prejudices which are detrimental to the growth of universal humanity. The poor widows of Brindaban regularly assemble in numbers at Radheyshyam Bhajanashram, Luni Bazar and their necessities are supplied by the kind-hearted proprietor of that Ashram, but still some occasional frictions would arise which were recently removed by this Sangha and through the help of some generous-hearted gentry of Brindaban. These widows come not only from Bengal but from other different parts of India also, for which Bengal is not solely responsible. The Sangha is suggesting to the Indian Nation to start such Ashrams throughout the whole country, especially at villages, by some highly cultured Indian ladies who may promote the cause of womanhood and try to check ignorance and spread true culture among the widows.

Outrages on Women in Bengal, and A Muslim Protest

In your August issue, while commenting on the subject of outrages on Women in Bengal, you have asserted that this is a well-organized affair with brains and money behind it. Such an assertion might well have been ignored had it come out from the pen of any other Editor of questionable dignity and with less reputation ; but coming as it does from your powerful pen, one can reasonably hold that you must have positive proof for your assertion. As a layman, with no editorial reputation to lose, and claiming some knowledge of the affairs of the country, I must say at once that Bengal has not yet gone so far to the dogs that any community thereof will be so utterly mean as to organize itself with brains and money for abduction and outrage of women of whatever creed or caste. Unless and until you give the reasons, which you may have ready for making such an assertion, or any proof in support thereof the public or at least a large part of it is bound to regard it as an editorial aberration or slip of the pen.

The rest of your comment is a thin-veiled insinuation that Mahomedans are the main culprits in this nasty business. In fact, this is not the

first occasion when you have directed your attacks on that community. With all respect for your old age, no less than for your pre-eminence as a journalist, may I humbly warn you that you are slowly but certainly gliding into an unholy communal bias ? You do not understand why there are cases of Mahomedans abducting Mahomedan women, where no question of conversion arises. You also state that in case of Christians desiring the conversion of Hindus, cases of abduction and rape etc., are not usually heard of, but in case of Mahomedans wanting to convert Hindus, such cases are quite common. I regret that these questions betray want of clear thinking on your part. You, Mr. Editor, will no doubt concede that all things in the world do not happen with a geometrical precision, causing the same kind of results everywhere, so that in a case of abduction,—where the crime may have been perpetrated by a Christian, the act may not create the same amount of fuss or give rise to the same degree of agitation, as probably in a similar case where it may have been perpetrated by a Mahomedan, particularly at a time when the whole atmosphere is surcharged with a spirit of antagonism between the two great communities. It is not quite correct that Mahomedans abduct Hindu women often by way of conversion. At least many of the cases of abduction are purely sexual crimes committed by human brutes for their gratification. Sexual crimes in its grossest forms have existed in all countries, and in all ages, and you seem to forget this, when you paint the Mahomedans rather a little too black. Please do not think that I am in any way lending a favour to either the crime or its perpetrators, whoever they may be, but I am really sick of seeing from day to day my community being often the target of unjust and unjustifiable attacks at the hands of publicists of the other community, too numerous as they are. If you have statistics to show on the one hand, that the number of Mahomedan culprits abducting Hindu women are really large, then it can also be proved on the other, that a great deal of the modes and habits of life, the treatment accorded to Hindu widows obtaining in the lower classes of Hindus generally of the mufassil, easily rouse the cupidity of men, and no wonder, ruffians, who really belong to no community, bide their time. In fact, these modes and habits of life, etc., contribute largely to the creation of an atmosphere, so to speak, where abduction and outrage become easy and possible. You would say, why even then there should be any abduction at all. The only reply is that you cannot make a whole people moral.

You often blame my community for their apathy towards this matter. The charge is not justified, for they condemn it as much as you do. If they are not as much vociferous as the other community, it is because they have reasons to believe that many of the cases, where a Mahomedan man and a Hindu woman are involved, are not really cases of abduction and outrage but only trumpeted as such by the not often well-guided activities of the 'Sabhas' or 'Samities' which are now growing in the country like so many fungi. My community have also reasons to believe that many cases of alleged abduction might have resulted in happy and peaceful conversions and marriages but for the vicarious attentions of such Sabhas

or Samities or a few local Hindu zealots. You also seem to regret that the Mahomedan community are not enthusiastic over the question of Asylums or refuges. It may be true, but the reason is not far to seek. You must remember that their need in this direction is almost nil, for they can well afford to take into their fold any fallen or abducted women.

I hope you will show me the courtesy of publishing it in your journal as a reply to your comment.

Yours truly
A. HAQUE

Editor's Note

We have read Mr. Haque's letter carefully. After reading it we do not feel that we ought to alter or withdraw a single sentence or word of our note on the subject in the August number.

Some of our reasons for thinking that there are organizations, with brains and money behind them, for the abduction and kidnapping of girls, are to be found in the first paragraph of the note itself. Mr. Haque will observe that in the note we do not accuse any particular community—Hindu or Muhammadan, of being the organisers. In fact, so far as our information goes, both Hindus and Musalmans are implicated in organisations for supplying victims of commercialized vice. We suspect that organized attempts by some Muslims have gone on for a different ulterior purpose also, *i.e.*, increase in numbers. As for proofs of our allegations, we may at once say that we are not in a position to publish the names of the organisers and other particulars, even if we could obtain them from those who know. Mr. Haque may remember that during last year's riots at the conference held at the British Indian Association Rooms, both Hindu and Musalman leaders asserted and many newspapers also wrote that there were brains and money behind the riots. But we do not remember that Mr. Haque or any other person called upon these leaders and newspapers to prove their assertions. Those who are inclined to regard *our* assertion "as an editorial aberration or slip of the pen" may please themselves.

Mr. Haque says that the rest of our comment "is a thin-veiled insinuation that Mahomedans are the main culprits in this nasty business." We should be sorry if what we wrote were really a thinly-veiled *insinuation*. Let us, therefore, repeat what we have often written in *Prabasi* and this Review. In the cases of outrage on women which are published in the papers, among the offenders there are many Hindus, more Musalmans, and a small number of Christians. In some cases Musalman and Hindu scoundrels commit the offences jointly and severally. This has all along been our general impression after reading the news of the outrages from day to day in the papers. To check this impression, we count the number of cases against persons belonging to different communities in the lists published in the *Sanjibani* week after week. These lists are of cases which have occurred from the year 1329 B. S. In not a single list published up-to-date have we found the cases against Muhammadans smaller in number than the cases against persons of any other community.

These lists are prepared carefully and honestly. We do not know whether any human being is or can be as impartial and unbiassed as God is. But this we know that the *Sanjibani* has not sought to minimise or extenuate the guilt of any offender because of his being a Hindu, or to magnify the guilt of any offender because of his being a Musalman. That paper has not been less severe upon the Hindu community than on the Muslim community. If any other paper, which Mr. Haque considers more careful and honest and impartial in this matter, has taken the trouble to prepare and publish lists like those of the *Sanjibani*, he is at liberty to base his conclusions thereupon.

As for our "slowly but certainly gliding into an unholy communal bias," it would be fruitless to defend ourselves against such a charge. In fact, we are not competent to do so. We *try* to be unbiassed—that is our only claim. We have been doing journalistic work for nearly forty years. During this period we have been occasionally told that we are anti-Hindu, anti-Christian, anti-Muslim, anti-British, and even anti-Brahmo. After every such occasion, we have felt that there was every possibility of there being some truth in the accusation, and have consequently intensified the process of self-examination. That is the only statement we can make. But we cannot honestly plead either guilty or not guilty.

Mr. Haque says :—"You do not understand why there are cases of Mahomedans abducting Mahomedan women, where no question of conversion arises." This sentence and some of those which follow have been written probably because the writer has not read our note carefully. That is also the reason why he has said : "It is not quite correct that Mahomedans abduct Hindu women often by way of conversion. At least many of the cases of abduction are purely sexual crimes committed by human brutes for their gratification." Now, it is not *our* assertion that Hindu women are abducted by Muhammadans for conversion. What we wrote is : "No one has tried to find out excuses for or to explain away the offences against women committed by Hindu and Christian brutes. In the case of Musalman ruffians accused of such crimes, it has been sometimes asserted by some *correligionists* of theirs that the women ran away from home of their own accord, and *conversion to Islam has also been sometimes pleaded as the motive*." It is this latter statement of some Muslims which we discussed in our note. There may be a few cases of elopement, or of running away from home for embracing Islam, but the evidence and conviction in the vast majority of cases show that they are cases of brutal outrage.

Mr. Haque wants statistics. So far as we are aware, no statistics have been compiled except those to be found in the *Sanjibani* and we have already said what they show.

Mr. Haque's reference to Hindu modes and habits of life and the Hindu treatment of widows, etc., confirms our observation in the August number that Musalmans try to extenuate or find explanations for outrages against women committed by Muslims. We have never spared the Hindu community for whatever inhuman treatment of women it is guilty of ; nor have we ever adduced excuses for some of its modes and habits of life. But in our experience we have not yet come across a single Muslim

journalist, writer or speaker who has been as severe a critic of his community in the matter of outrages on women, as we and many other non-Muslim and Hindu journalists and speakers have been severely critical of the Hindu community in this matter. If we are mistaken, we are sorry for the mistake. Of course, we do not either think or say that the whole Muslim community is to blame; but its leaders, journalists and speakers have not, in our opinion, done their duty in the matter.

Mr. Haque is at liberty to say, as he has said, 'you cannot make a whole people moral.' But all communities should aim at making all their members moral and make adequate efforts to gain that object. It is only in that way that a high moral level can be attained. We are not satisfied that any Indian community, large or small, is as moral as it ought to be.

We will not discuss Mr. Haque's views on Sabhas and Samitis, because in our opinion, though all of them are not entirely unprejudiced, Mr. Haque is a biased critic. *At least some*

women's protection societies work in an unsectarian spirit.

As regards his remarks on asylums or refuges, they are due to his not understanding what we meant when we wrote, "There are non-Muhammadan organisations for rescuing and otherwise helping women who have been victimised. We shall be really glad to know, that there are such Muhammadan organisations also." By such organisations we did not mean those which maintain asylums or refuges; we meant societies for finding out, rescuing and making over to their relatives and guardians women who have been abducted, etc., and for helping them to prosecute and bring to book those who have committed the crimes. We know the *Nari Raksha Samiti* of Calcutta, of which Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra is the secretary, has helped many Hindu and some outraged Muslim women in this way. No Muslim organisation, to our knowledge, exists for this purpose. What is the reason? It cannot be because Muslims "condemn it (abduction, etc.) as much as you (that is to say, we) do," or because the Muslim community's "need in this direction is almost nil."

DRAVIDIAN CIVILISATION

By R. D. BANERJI

I INTRODUCTION

SINCE the discovery of the remnants of a civilization of the copper age in India, two serious problems have presented themselves to scholars; (1) to what culture group does this civilisation belong and what are its special characteristics; and (2) what is Dravidian civilisation and what are its affinities?

There is a 'Negroid' strain among the Dravidians and that on the whole they still belong to a "very indeterminate group of varieties which range from the Dravidian and other 'dark-white' stocks to the 'poor-whites' of the Near East and the Mediterranean.*

Though the racial grouping of the Dravidians is still indeterminate, sufficient data have been discovered to indicate, in very broad outlines, their cultural affinities. The culture of the Dravidian people, in the southern provinces of India, is divided into

two distinct parts or complexes; the Pre-Aryan or the original Dravidian civilization and culture is widely different from the Post-Aryan or the so-called Hindu culture of the Southern and Central provinces of the Indian Peninsula.

The Indian Dravidian is denoted principally by his speech and the Dravidian languages in India are divided into three broad geographical groups;—(1) the Southern, consisting of Tamil, Kanarese and Malayalam, (2) the North-Central, consisting of Telugu, Gondi and minor groups and (3) the North-Western, consisting of Brahui. The areas in which the first two groups are spoken are contiguous or adjoining but the third and the last group is spoken in Baluchistan only and that by a very small community. Ethnically the Brahuis, the ruling race or clan of Baluchistan, are quite different from the various people who speak Dravidian languages and dialects, in central and southern India. There are people of many different races among the latter. Beginning with the Oraon in the South-Western corner of Bengal and ending with the Tamil-

* Prof. J. L. Myres in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I. Chap. i, iv.

speaking population of North Ceylon, the Dravidian languages are spoken over a very

or a collection of bones of one individual, bleached but uncalcined.

III. Receptacles containing ashes or calcined bones. These three classes may again be divided into two general classes :—

I. Pre-cremation burials and

II. Post-cremation burials.

The methods of the disposal of the dead employed in districts of India where Dravidian languages are exclusively or partly spoken provide us with sufficient materials for the analysis of the culture of the Ancient Dravidians. In South India such tombs, vaults and cemeteries belong exclusively to the age of Iron. Iron implements weapons and other objects are to be found in large numbers in the tombs, vaults, coffins, and urns. But this Iron-age is not far distant from the end of the Copper Age, as along with Iron implements are to be found



Monster burial-Jar from Adittanallur
Tinnevely District

wide area. In order to trace the affinities of the ancient or original civilisation of the Dravidians, we shall have to begin with the remains discovered in Southern and Central India where Dravidian languages and dialects are spoken even now.

The remains in the country to the south of the Chilka lake along the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula and to the south of the Bhima and the Krishna along the western coast contain monuments of a kind, altogether new to other parts of India, such as the Ganges and the Indus valleys or the northern part of the watershed of the Narmada. These are tombs and cemeteries, family-vaults of princes or of great cities. These tombs and vaults belong to many different varieties and the first classification possible among them is according to their contents ;—

I. Tombs or coffins containing the entire body.

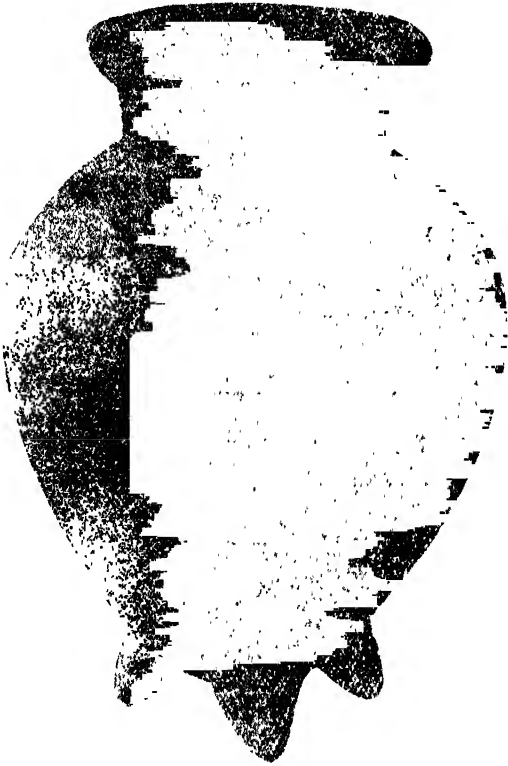
II. Receptacles containing a single bone

Burial Urn with pointed end on ring-stand
from Pallavaram. Chinglepeth Dist.

beautiful vases, pots and other objects made of Bronze. North of the Narmada exactly

similar burials are found associated with objects and implements of Copper and stone. In Northern and North-central India such burials are to be found in two different areas:—(1) Sindh and Baluchistan and (2) Chhota Nagpur.

Sindh and Baluchistan have come to be recognised as areas containing Dravidian burials only recently and similar burials also appear to have been discovered in south-western Punjab. While Baluchistan was recognised as a Dravidian language area long ago and the first discoveries of burials of the south-Indian types were made more



Tripod burial urn from Berumbair
Chingleput Dist.

than half-a-century ago, Sindh has come to be recognised as such only during the last few years. Sindhi, the language of Sindh, is an Indo-Aryan dialect, but it contains a number of additional consonants in its alphabet just as the south and central Indian groups of Dravidian languages do; *e. g.* their additional linguals. This peculiar feature of the modern Sindhi alphabet is no accident. The additional consonants which are not required in writing any other

Indo-Aryan dialect in India, are considered to be such necessary adjuncts of the Sindhi language that they have been retained in the recently created Sindhi-Perso-Arabic alphabet used by the Amils and the Musalman inhabitants of Sindh. The only possible explanation for their occurrence or existence is their use in an area where once Dravidian languages or dialects were exclusively used. Similar characteristics are to be observed in other parts of India, *e. g.*, the southern Maratha country and Orissa, whence Dravidian languages and dialects have been forced out by Vernaculars of Indo-Aryan origin in recent times.

The first recorded burial of the new or Dravidian type was discovered in Sindh by Mr. H. Cousens of the Indian Archaeological department at Bhambro-jo-thul or the ruins of Brahmanabad in 1903-4 and 1908-9, but at that time it could not be recognised as burial of a new type. Similar discoveries were also made by Pandit Dayaram Sahnii of the same department at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab in 1920-21.

In North-Western India the first record of such burials are to be found in Dalton's account of the Mundas. * Since then more complete accounts have been published by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi. Mr. Roy's account is in many cases based on hearsay evidence, but is on the whole reliable as affording instances of the South-Indian type of burials in Northern India where some dialect of the Dravidian groups of language is still used. †

The burials of the new or the non-Aryan type in southern India are generally ascribed by the local people to the heroes of the Mahabharata and tombs, mounds or stone circles are called *Pandu-kulis*, or the temples of the Pandavas. The general tendency throughout India is to ascribe all monuments of unknown origin to the Pandavas. Asoka pillars are called "sticks of Bhimsen"; forts of unknown origin are called "fort of Bhim" in Central India. So the tradition of the locality is not a sure index of the origin of any ancient monument at any time, except in exceptional cases. The general trend of races of Indo-European speech was to dispose

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873 Pt. 11. Pp. 112-19.

† *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. I. Pp. 229-233.

of their dead by cremation. In India the general practice of people who follow Hinduism is to burn the deadbodies completely or with the nearest approach to completion. Burial is practised by a limited class, who cannot be regarded as though they are house-holders, orthodox Hindu. Who, then, were the people who practised burials in tombs, coffins, cists, urns, etc., in the south of the Peninsula? Were they physically different from the people who now inhabit the same districts?

A number of skeletons, in a comparatively perfect state of preservation, enables us to answer firmly that in physical characteristics, the people of Southern India who did not cremate their dead were the same as the present-day inhabitants of the same country. It is certain that the people who speak Dravidian languages and dialects at the present-day are not homogeneous. It was apparent also to the earlier writers and observers that the Dravidian languages are spoken by people of diverse races including some of the aborigines. A line drawn parallel to the course of the river Krishna from its source near Satara to its mouth, with a northward extension at its eastern extremity would correspond to the northern boundary line of the area in which Dravidian languages are exclusively spoken. In the east Dravidian languages and dialects such as Gondi, Oraon, are spoken by the peoples of aboriginal extraction in the Central Provinces and Chhota Nagpur, respectively. Further south pure Dravidian languages e.g., Tamil and Kanarese are spoken by a number of people who are evidently of aboriginal descent. The Irulas of the Nilgiris speak a mixture of Tamil and some other unknown language, the Kurumbans speak Tamil but their Hinduized brethren, the Kurubas, use Kanarese. In the north the Yanadis of the island of Sriharikot in the Nellore District speak Telugu; but all of them along with the Paniyans, and the Kadirs belong to a very dark flat-nosed people, who "are ethnically related to the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Toalas of Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra and possibly the Australians." * The languages spoken by these people are impure Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese and they contain an element of one or more unknown languages which were very probably their mother-tongue. In fact

the force and the extent of Dravidian culture was such as to compel the aboriginals within its zone of influence to adopt not only the language of the conquerors but also some of their manners, customs and institutions.

The existence of these aboriginal people in the provinces where Dravidian languages and dialects are still spoken tend to prove that one particular people brought the Dravidian language with them when they came and settled in India. We do not know whence they came or what part of India was colonised by them first of all. We know only this much that Dravidian languages and dialects are exclusively spoken in the extreme south of the peninsula and in certain contiguous areas to the north of the lower course of the river Krishna,



Entrance to the stone-cist, Gajjalakonda
Karnul Dist.

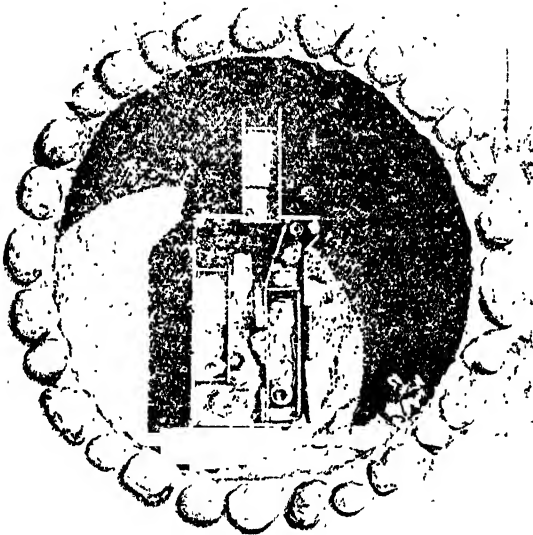
extending as far north-east as the Rajmahal hills of eastern Bihar. In the far north-west, in the secluded barren valleys of Baluchistan, a Dravidian dialect is still spoken by the Brahuīs, a people of Turko-Iranian origin.

At the same time it has to be admitted that the languages of the basins of the Indus and the Ganges also belonged to the Dravidian group before their displacement by Indo-European languages. The presence of the linguals in the Indo-Aryan alphabet and a number of words of undoubted Dravidian origin in these languages also prove conclusively that the Aryans came into close contact with people of Dravidian speech as soon as they arrived in Afghanistan and the western Punjab. Though the Dravidian languages and dialects do not stretch in an unbroken line from the Punjab and Baluchistan to the

* E. Thurston---*The Madras Presidency*, Pp. 124-5.

extreme south at the present day, there are reasons to believe that at one time they prevailed over the whole of the sub-continent, both in the north and the south.

There are two different theories about the Dravidian invasion or migration into India. One class of writers believe that the Dravidians migrated from India into Babylonia through Afghanistan and Beluchistan. The similarity of Dravidian and Sumerian ethnic types was recognised by H. R. Hall long before the discoveries at Mohen-jodaro and Harappa. He is of opinion that "it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the two Rivers."* The second



Sketch of the stone-circle and tombat
Gajjalakonda, Karnul District.

theory is just the converse of this," there is therefore nothing in the existing racial condition and equally nothing in the existing physical conditions, to prevent us from believing that the survival of a Dravidian language in Baluchistan must indicate that the Dravidians came into India through Baluchistan in prehistoric times."† The recent discoveries in Sindh and Baluchistan prove that the cultural affinities of the Dravidians extend in an unbroken line from

the Tinnevely District in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula, through Sindh and Baluchistan, the island of Bahrein in the Persian gulf, South Persia, Mesopotamia into Crete and some of the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

II. DRAVIDIAN BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE IRON AGE

The country which is now known as "Dravida" i.e. in which Tamil dialect is only a small part of the area in which languages and dialects of Dravidian origin are spoken. Let us take the burial customs of the province which is still understood to be Dravidian, because in that part of the Madras presidency we find certain methods of disposal of the dead which are widely different from those of the Indo-Aryans.

Cremation or the burning of the dead-body is very ancient custom, which has prevailed in different parts of the world and among different races of people of the world at different times. At times and places it has given place to complete or partial internment, while in other parts of the world it has replaced internment altogether. The general tendency of the peoples of Semitic and Hamitic origin, e.g., the Egyptians, was to bury their dead. After the adoption of Christianity, essentially a religion of Semitic origin, internment was generally adopted by all people of new faith, irrespective of their origin. Cremation was an old custom in Europe. Most of the people who spoke Indo-Germanic languages practised entire or partial cremation.

The Indo-Aryans generally practised complete cremation, Prof. J. L. Myres says "Something must however, be allowed here for the dispersal of the Tripolje people westwards, over the middle basin of the Danube, and for the prevalence of cremation among the Aryan-speaking invaders of India, and therefore probably among the other folk also on the northern grassland."* Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda has recently collected the Vedic and literary evidence about Indo-Aryan methods of the disposal of the dead in a monograph entitled "The Indus valley in the Vedic period."† This evidence goes on to show that full or partial cremation was the form enjoined for the disposal of

* *Ancient History of the Near East* 5th ed. pp. 173-4.

† Prof. E. J. Rapson in the *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 43.

* *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 111.

† *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* No. 31.

the deadbody and there was the custom of collecting the bones of the dead and burying them in a mound sometime after the cremation. Let us take it for granted, therefore, that cremation, partial or full, is a pure Indo-Aryan custom, and all internments, which show even traces of calcination of the bones or ashes must be regarded as belonging to the post-cremation period and therefore anterior to the Aryan invasion or occupation of India.

In the districts of the Madras Presidency where the Tamil language and its dialects are exclusively spoken we find a method of disposal of the Dead, which is foreign to the forms prescribed in the Indo-Aryan textbooks. These burials fall into three separate classes:—

I. Complete interment in;—

- (a) stone chambers (cists)
- (b) terra cotta coffins or chests (Larnakes)
- (c) or in large funeral jars.

II. Incomplete burials or interment of some bones only, without cremation, in;—

- (a) pyriform receptacles
- (b) pointed-end urns and
- (c) flat or round-bottomed vessels.

These burials are not to be found in isolated cases only, but in great cemeteries and collections, indicating without doubt that this was the generally adopted method of disposal of the dead of the ancient inhabitants of this part of the country. Skulls discovered in a comparatively perfect state of preservation enable anthropologists to state that these people, whose methods of disposing their deadbodies are so different from the present-day custom, were really the same people as the ancestors of the people who speak Dravidian languages at present; not the untouchables or the real aborigines such as the Kadir, the Paniyan, the Irula or the Kurumban but of the great higher castes, not excluding the Brahmana.*

The generally accepted notion in European countries about the origin of Megalithic monuments is that they are Neolithic, but the

case is quite different in India, at least in Southern India. In many cases the Megalithic tombs or internments in the centre of stone circles have yielded well-preserved implements of iron. Along with this fact we must consider the total absence of Copper implements in southern India. While in the North, i.e., to the north of the Narmada and the Vindhya, approximately, the Chalcolithic culture slowly emerges out of the sub-neolithic phase, in the south the Neolithic culture suddenly makes way for the early Iron age. This can be understood from a close study of the pre-cremation burials of



Four-footed burial Urn from unknown place in Coorg

the Tamil country proper, with its natural extensions in the western edge of the Indian Peninsula and the lower portion of the Telugu-speaking country. Let us begin with the latitude of Madras in the north. Large prehistoric cemeteries are known to exist in the District of Chingleput or Chingalpeth and several of them have been excavated in this century, while dolmens are known to exist near the Bay of Bengal on the Red Hills near Madras.

In the Chingleput district systematic exploration of the pre-historic necropolitan areas began late in the last century, though they were well-known to people who take any interest in them from the days of Fergusson. The earliest record of exploration in the Chingleput district is to be found in a detailed report by Mr. A. Rea. The site selected was a hill near the village of Trisulur close to the Cantonment of Pallavaram, almost in the suburbs of Madras. Rea discovered a number of Jar-burials at this site. These jars were large and pointed at one end and therefore incapable of stable

* The languages or dialects spoken by aboriginal tribes of Madras are "a grotesque caricature" of pure Dravidian tongues—F. J. Richards, *Monograph on some Dravidian affinities and their sequel*, p. 19.

equilibrium. Rea found that these funeral jars were covered with a lid whose form "was almost 'exactly a replicate of the tomb itself, only of a slightly greater diameter, so that it may be easily placed over and enclose the tomb proper.'" Rea found some bones in a very decayed condition in one of these jars but notes that they were "uncalcined." The other important discovery on this occasion was that of one or more large oblong terracotta sarcophagi on numerous legs, one at least of which was removed with great care to the Madras Museum. In 1888 prehistoric terminology was yet indefinite. The funeral jars were called pyriform tombs and the terracotta



Bath-tub-shaped sarcophagus from Gajjalakonda. It was placed on a collection of ring-stands

coffins earthenware tombs. The prototypes of such necropolitan furniture discovered in other countries of Asia have been aptly termed funeral jars, to distinguish them from smaller jars which are called urns, and "Larnakes." A number of small earthenware vessels were found in both classes. The excavator observes "The remains at Pallavaram are evidently those of a burying people and not of those who first cremate, and afterwards collect and place the burnt bones in the ground."

Numerous pre-historic remains were observed at the foot of a low range of hills in the southern part of the Chingleput district close to the village of Perumbair. There are stone circles the diameters of which vary from 8' to 50'. In this necropolis the deposits are to be found at depths varying from 2' to 7' and consist of Larnakes of all shapes and sizes. They are 2' to 7' in length and generally resemble the Larnakes

found at Pallavaram; the only difference being that here almost all of the Larnakes are provided with three instead of two rows of legs. One Larnax only was found without any feet, a fact which ought to have aroused more attention even at that time. The excavator's description is extremely short, almost verging on incompleteness. Along with Larnakes some burial jars were also discovered but they were fewer in number. The number of Cromlechs and dolmens examined is not clearly stated and except in a few exceptional cases the reader is left to his imagination about the contents of the Larnakes.* In eight cromlechs situated near the village of Perumbair, Mr. Rea found potshords, stone and iron implements and weapons, bones and shell ornaments. We do not know whether the bones appeared to be bleached or calcined. In cromlech No. 7 at this place Mr. Rea found a number of small jars and vases in the upper layer and a complete skeleton below it. The jars and vases are important. Some of them were oval in shape with three or four legs, others were round like modern Indian pitchers, while others were wide but shallow dishes. The position of the skeleton is more interesting. The legs were doubled up and drawn in front of the chest, while the hands were crossed over the legs. Plainly the corpse must have been trussed up in this position before *rigor mortis* had set in. Inside cromlech No. 14 at Kadamalai-puttur near Perumbair a burial jar was found with a curiously shaped vase. It is elongated in shape, tapering upwards, with a narrow mouth at the top. But around the narrow mouth are grouped four smaller mouths or openings. The Larnakes of Perumbair are for the most part small indicating that the dead were reduced in size by being doubled up.

Numerous cromlechs and dolmens were discovered in the North and south Arcot districts. But systematic exploration for prehistoric antiquities does not appear to have been undertaken in these areas before 1916. The most interesting account of such discoveries is from the pen of the late Mr. M. J. Walhouse of the Madras Civil Service. Referring to the discovery of certain Larnakes by Mr. J. H. Gristin near the villages of Kollur and Devanur in the South Arcot district he made a number of extreme-

* *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1908-09 Pt. II, pp. 92-99.*

ly interesting and valuable observations in August 1876. Mr. Garstin had found a number of polypede Larnakes in the South Arcot district* in one at least of which he



Two terracotta Larnakes covered with a single stone, Gajjalakonda, Karnul Dist.

found a number of iron implements and weapons and some bones. Mr. Walhouse gave a number of interesting parallels and referred to the discovery of a similar Larnax at Panduvaran Dewal in the North Arcot District in 1852 by a certain Captain Newbold.

In January 1916. Mr. F. J. Richards F.C.S. (Retd) excavated three stone cists at Odugattur in the North Arcot District in which he found large and small pottery, iron weapons and implements and fragments of human bones. Among the pottery were a number of tripod and fourlegged urns.†

Further south, in the maritime districts of Madura and Tinnevely, pre-historic necropolitian remains were discovered in large numbers. In 1888 Rea described a burial jar at Dadampatti in the Madura district covered with a large stone which contained bones and miniature necropolitian pottery and referred to a similar discovery by a certain Mr. Turner at Paravai in the same district. There is a large pre-historic cemetery at Paravai, which was partly excavated by Rea. He found that the cemetery was full of jar burials. In one jar, at least he found a skull and a large quantity of human bones in another, along with miniature or small pottery. At Anapanadi on the outskirts of Madura, there is another of

these large cemeteries. In one large jar Rea found a human skull and the complete outline of the skeleton.*

The most important discovery at this place was the finding a skull and a number of bones in a semi-globular vessel. The discoveries in the Tinnevely district are the richest. In 1876 Bishop R. Caldwell wrote an interesting account of certain discoveries made by him at Kayal or Kail at the mouth of the Tamraparni river in the Athenaeum for the 12th August. On the outskirts of Kayal in the bed of an old tank Dr. Caldwell discovered a monster burial jar, eleven feet in circumference which contained the bones of a man with a perfect skull‡ Writing to the Indian Antiquary in 1877 Dr. Caldwell records the discovery at Ilanji near Kartalum of a skull and the outline of a complete skeleton inside one of these monster jars.§



The complete skeleton from the Jar at Perumbair, Chingleput Dist.

Epoch-making discoveries were made by Mr. A. Rea in the excavation of the vast pre-historic cemetery at Adittanallur in the Tinnevely district close to the mouth of the Tamraparni river. In some of these mounds regular pits were excavated in beds of loose quartz in rows and very large funeral jars were placed in them. "The objects yielded by these burial sites, are finely made pottery of various kinds in great number; many iron implements and weapons; vessels and personal ornaments in bronze; a few gold ornaments; a few stone beads; bones; and some household

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. Pp. 159-60.

† *Journ. Roy. Anthropol Institute*, Vol. LIV, 1924, pp. 157-65.

* *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* Vol. VII, pt. I. pp. 63-64.

‡ *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VI. p. 83.

§ *Ibid.* p. 279.

stone implements used for grinding curry or sandalwood. Traces of cloth and wood preserved by rust or oxidation in contact with metals are found."*

The pre historic cemetery at Adittanallur consisted entirely of jar-burials. All of these jars are pointed at the bottom and therefore incapable of stable equilibrium. Some, only of the jars, contained complete skeletons. Generally only a selection of the bones of a skeleton were interred. The position of the bones in cases of complete inhumation showed that "the body had been set inside in a squatting or sitting position."...none of the bones were calcined."†



An oblong sarcophagus from Perumbair,
Chingleput Dist.

The examination of these cemeteries in the Tinnevely district prove that ;—

- I. they belong to the Iron age
- II. that the use of Copper for the manufacture of weapons had become obsolete
- III. that they were not the burial places of any primitive or aboriginal tribes but contained the mortal remains of a highly civilised and cultured people who possessed a distinctively developed artistic instinct
- IV. that they contained the graves of all classes of people, from the highest nobles, who used golden diadems to the poor commoner and
- V. that the people who used such burial customs were a dolichocephalic race but were not possessed of platyrrhine noses.

Such remains are by no means uncommon in the inland districts of Salem and Coimba-

tore. In 1876 the Rev. Maurice Phillips wrote an account in which he referred to Cromlechs which contained small urns, iron implements and small pieces of bones ; cairns in which were found large jars containing iron implements and ornaments and small terra cotta pots with large human bones but the position of the bones indicated that the complete body of the deceased was interred. The three-legged jars were all well-known in this district to Walhouse even in 1876

On the western coast of the Peninsula stone cists and burial jars are equally well-known. Bishop Caldwell referred to the existence of huge jar-burials in the Malabar coast from the southern extremity of Travancore to the northernmost limit of the Malabar district. As early as 1869 Dr. J. Oldham, then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compared the stone cists of Malabar with the cairns and dolmens of Coorg and Mysore. In 1876 Mr. Walhouse referred to some dolmens, "called Topekals, at Chataparambal on the Bepur river, seven miles from Calicut." In 1910 Mr. Rea described some pre-historic remains at Kaniyampundi, near Mangalam railway station in the Coimbatore district. Here the burials were placed at the centre of stone circles and consisted of the jar type. In 1911 Mr. A. H. Loughurst, Mr. Rea's successor, visited a rock-cut tomb in the same district in which were found a number of smaller urns of two types :—(the flat-bottomed (b) and the type with four legs, so common all over Southern India. They contained red earth, ashes and minute fragments of bones.

We have now exhausted the Tamil-speaking districts. We shall now see that such burial customs were not confined to the Tamil-speaking districts ; but extended northwards on both sides, into the Telugu-speaking districts in the centre of the Peninsula and the eastern coast as well as the Canarese districts of Mysore and Coorg. The earliest known discoveries in the Telugu-speaking districts or the Andhra country were recorded in 1872, in the first volume of the Indian Antiquary. In the remains in the Paluad adjoining the Eastern Ghats, near Kurunpudi, Mr. Boswell, like all earlier writers of the type of Fergusson, paid more attention to construction and structural remains than to the cultural side of his discoveries.

The credit of the earliest systematic exploration of prehistoric cemeteries in the

* *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey Pt. II, 1902-3, P. 117.*
† *Ibid. p. 119.*

Telugu-speaking country belongs two contemporary scholars, Messrs. A. H. Longhurst and Ghulam Yazdani. Mr. Longhurst's account of the excavations at Gajjalakonda shows that about two miles from the Railway Station, there is large prehistoric cemetery in an open plain. Originally most of the tombs in this cemetery were enclosed within stone circles and in the centre there were stone cists covered with cairns of boulders. The cists were rectangular chambers of rudely dressed slabs. One of the large tombs opened by Mr. Longhurst at this place contained two layers of burials. In the lower layer were four different tombs the contents of which were crushed by the superincumbent weight. Only fragments of bone and pottery were found. In the upper layer there were six different tombs with dressed stone partitions between each, containing bones and pottery. No skulls or pelvis bones and jewellery, beads or iron weapons and implements were found. The age of these tombs can be determined from the dressing of the slabs for which iron tools must have been used. The excavator observes that "None of the bones appeared calcined, but rather that they had been dried and bleached in the sun before being put into the tomb."

Another tomb opened at the same place was more interesting. The excavator found a bath-tub-shaped Larnax containing large human bones. There was no cover to the Larnax and it had *no legs* as are to be found in the majority of the Larnakes from Perumbair and other places. It was supported on ring-shaped stands, which were quite separate. Under a small cairn Mr. Longhurst found two polypede terra cotta sarcophagi with lids, covered together by a large slab of stone. "Mr. Longhurst observes about these burials at Gajjalakonda that "The nature of the pottery and the construction of the tombs show that they were a highly civilised race of people and no mere wandering jungle tribe."

Mr. Ghulam Yazdani's discoveries were made at Maula Ali and Raigir in the Nalgonda district. At Raigir he opened a stone cist which contained three skulls placed on sides of a large pottery jar. †

In 1853 Meadows Taylor also found complete skeletons or internment of selections of bones with ashes along with pottery in tombs in the Shorapur district of the Nizam's dominions.* In 1877 Mr. William King described certain cist-burials in the northern part of the Nizam's dominions. In Mysore and Coorg the search for prehistoric antiquities, specially necropolitan remains, have never been thorough. Cist graves exist at Konur and Aihole in the Badami Taluka of the Bijapur District† A stone cist, containing bones and pottery, was found at Gokak, near the well-known falls in the Belgaum district. In 1875 Captain R. Cole found cists at Margal near Bowringpet which contained fragments of bones and iron objects.§ In the same year Captain J.S.F. Mackenzie found a stone arrow



Collection of Necropolitan pottery and other furniture found above the skeleton in No. 7 at Perumbair

or spear-head, iron implements and weapons, bones and a brittle substance like charcoal at Fraserpet on the Kaveri. The most important discoveries were made by Colonel B. R. Branfill in the Savandurg cemetery 22 miles west of Bangalore. Here were found charred bones in one with a piece of flat copper, jars near the pavement slab of one cist with minute pieces of charcoal husks of grain and small pieces of bones in a second and in another a complete skeleton. "Plain indications of a human skeleton having been buried lying on its right side along the south side of the chamber, with

* *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras. 1914-15, p. 10.*

† *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1917, p. 56.*

* *Journal. Bombay Br. Royal As. Society. Vol. IV, 1853, pp. 380-405.*

† *Indian Antiquary. Vol. III, pp. 307-08.*

§ *Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 86-88.*

the head to the east, and looking towards the north. The figure must have been in a bent posture."*

Branfill also described certain Larnakes discovered in cists at Aneguttahalle near Tekkali on the Madras—Bangalore section of the M. & S.M. railway, precisely of the same kind discovered in Chingleput, Arcot, Karnul and other districts of the Tamil country.

To the west of Mysore pre-historic cemeteries are to be found in Coorg. Those on the Muribetta hill are of a different type. Here the roofs of the cists are arched being constructed of two or more slabs resting against each other. In these cists were discovered funerary urns with three or four legs and a number of *miniature pottery* †. Similar urns and remains were discovered at other places of Coorg and some of the funerary urns still exist unopened in the

Indian Museum at Calcutta. Nothing is known about their find-spot.‡

To summarize; Southern India, i.e. the country to the south of the Vindhya and the river Narmada shows the wide-spread existence of a Non-Aryan burial custom in which the body was not burnt even partly; the body was buried either in full in stone cists. Only in one or two very rare instances do we hear of stone implements such as flint scrapers or knives or arrow-heads being found in these tombs but in no case copper or bronze weapons have been discovered. Copper or bronze is used in certain cases as ornaments or art-ware, e. g. the vases and plates found at Adittanallur. In the majority of cases iron implements and weapons are found inside the coffins or jars or outside them but inside the tomb.

* *Indian Antiquary* Vol. X, p. 4.

† *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* 1869, p. 88.

‡ J. Anderson—*Catalogue and hand-book of the Archaeological collections*, pt. II p. 435.

GLEANINGS

Glimpses Of Modern Russia

Muriel Paget, an Englishwoman who saw Russia during war and revolution revisited Moscow and



Peasants at market in Moscow

Leningrad ten years later and tells of everyday life as it is lived there today.

"Arriving in Moscow, I noticed a great change for the better in the general appearance of the streets since my last visit. The houses had been repaired and painted. People looked fairly well-nourished. Food, I found, was plentiful and not expensive, and the Russian people have always eaten less than we do in America and England. The majority of the people were hurrying along as if intent on business. They were dressed neither very well nor very badly, their clothes being either remnants of old days or made of material manufactured in the country. Imported clothes are rare because they cost so much—Russia has imposed a heavy tariff on imports, except raw material and machinery, because she has not sufficient exports to justify further imports. As a result, an overcoat imported from abroad costs about \$100—a doctor's salary for two months.

The streets of Leningrad gave me a different impression—and a sharper emotion, for Leningrad had been the center of our hospital activities during the war and revolution, and the place was full of memories. The brilliant court and diplomatic life of the city I had known was dead.

Leningrad seemed to me tragic because it had fallen from a high to a very low estate—from the sparkle and gayety of a royal capital to a threadbare city without even the dignity of the present governmental activities, since Moscow is the capital.

Both in Moscow and in Leningrad I interviewed

officials of the Ministries of health and Education. I visited hospitals, schools, infant welfare centers



From Moscow River one may look back at the ancient Kremlin, at golden domes catching the sun, and grim walls in whose shadows so many have died



A view of the Cathedral of Christ Our Saviour, Moscow's largest church

and other institutions. One of the most acute problems for such agencies in Russia is that of the



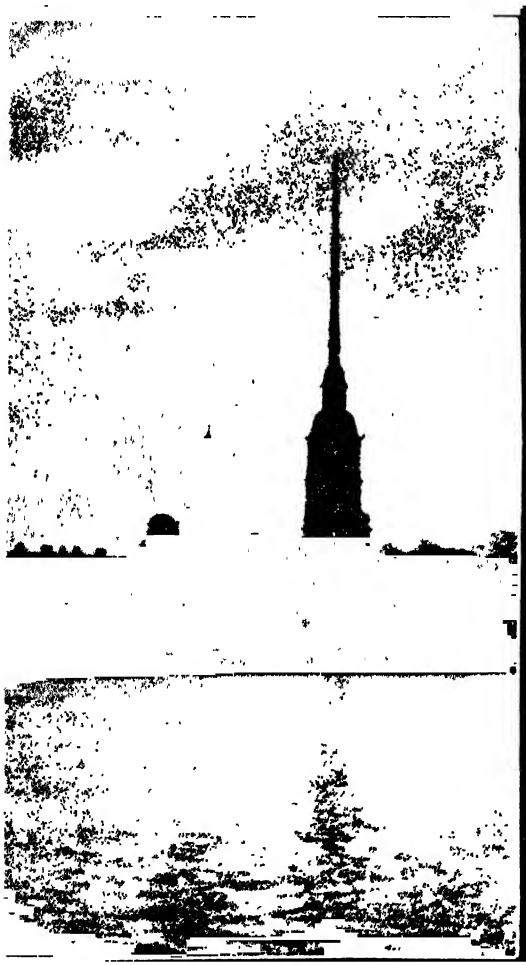
(Ewing-Galloway)—Leaders of the present Russian government dream of the time when radio and electricity will reach even such isolated peasant farms as this one, high in the mountains of the Caucasus

"wild children." At one time as a result of war, famine and revolution, there were as many as two million homeless orphans wandering about the country. They lived during the summer in the towns, and when the cold weather came migrated south, like the birds. Today it is estimated that there are still about 300,000, and that about 80,000 of these were in Moscow last autumn. Institutions are absorbing them by degrees, but they are still a tremendous problem. Securing suitable people to handle them is as urgent as the building of homes, for it takes great tact and patience and a knowledge of psycho-therapeutics to tempt these children back to ordinary civilized life after they have led the wild life of the streets.

Most of these "professionally homeless" children have spent one to seven years of wild life. They seek shelter at the stations, in old asphalt boilers, and sleep on doorsteps or in refuse boxes. For the most part they steal their food and drugs.

Perhaps ten per cent of them drink and take cocaine. "Having snuffed cocaine, you become more brave, you are no more hungry, you feel so happy"—so one of them explained the habit. Imagine hundreds of children, cold and hungry, craving love and care, finding their happiness only through a sniff of powder, unconscious of the inevitable coming horrors of despondency and hallucination. The Ministry of Health is trying to treat these tragic narcotic children, but the lack of funds is hampering. In one home, I saw twenty-six narcotic boys in charge of a woman doctor—boys small for their age but very intelligent and keen, their wits sharpened by necessity.

Another woman doctor, a very remarkable one, is at the head of the section that deals with the health of mother and child up to the age of six.



(Ewing-Galloway)—Bel's of the stern old Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul now clang out the International, instead of the old national anthem of earlier days. The slender gold spire of Peter-Paul Cathedral rises over the church where most of the Romanoffs were buried.

She is responsible for a very complete and admirable permanent exhibit illustrative of the health of women and children. Several large rooms are devoted to this purpose, and here are educational posters painted by the best artists, together with medical, surgical and dietetic exhibits. Wax figures portray with almost horrible reality every form of childish skin disease, and statistics of every description are graphically displayed. Thousands of people visit the exhibition.

The housing problem in Russia is acute, especially in Moscow, where there has been a population increase of forty per cent since the war, and a twenty per cent decrease in housing accommodation.

Radio is a new factor which is bound to improve Russian life. By this means it is possible to transmit information, amusement, music and education without the medium of reading or writing—pleasures and interests formerly unknown have been brought into the lonely lives of people living miles from civilized centers.

Russia holds great promise for the peasants in the shape of development of the Co-operatives—a movement not new, of course.

I gathered that the present strength of the Co-operative movement is eleven million members and that about twenty-five per cent of the peasant population are associated with the movement. Membership is limited to voters in the towns, and to agricultural workers in the country. In the towns sixty per cent of the members are Communists, and in the rural districts only nineteen per cent. Administrative posts are barred to the clergy and the "well-to-do classes"—i. e., employers of hired labor. Eighty per cent of the sales of sugar and salt and seventy per cent of textiles are effected through Co-operative societies. In the grain trade during 1926 out of twenty-five billion pounds the Co-operatives handled over one-third of the amount.

The present organization is in part political, having the aim of developing Socialism and annihilating private trade. It also carries on educational work by special schools and courses. These are attended by nearly 10,000 students.

Education under the present regime is a subject of great interest. After the Bolshevik revolution everybody had access to the universities and technical high schools.

All orthodox forms of teaching were rejected and new and fancy methods were tried.

I was much impressed by the intense and universal desire of all young people to acquire general information.

Communists, of course, are implacable foes of religion, but religious tolerance is theoretically practised.

I share the belief of many others who know something of the Russian temperament that the Bolshevik movement in Russia, in spite of all its brutalities and the appalling destruction which it has brought to Russia itself, is developing not only as a new system of government, but as a new religion. It seems to me a sort of blind and blundering attempt to escape from old injustices and to set up new ideals—not only for Russia but for the world at large.

Undoubtedly there is much more discipline now than in the first years of the Revolution. By

degrees order has been restored, and such independence is no longer tolerated.

The Woman Citizen.

Pinkie

We reproduce here a painting on the canvas which is known as "Pinkie." It is by the famous British artist, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and was sold in a London auction-room on November 25 for 74,000 guineas or about \$377,000, said to be the highest price to be paid at an auction anywhere in the world. The fortunate possessor is likely to be an American, since the purchasers, the Messrs.



"Pinkie"—By Sir Thomas Lawrence

Duveen, have announced that the picture will come to America sometime in the spring. Another interesting fact in connection with the canvas is that the young lady here painted was Mary Moulton Barrett, who in later life was the aunt of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

The Literary Digest.

Flemish Art Valued at Fifty Million

A loan exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art, organised by the Anglo-Belgian Union was

40½—9



Owned by the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury



Found in a Bruges Fish-Market



Another American Contribution

displayed at Burlington House, and those who are impressed by dollars may gasp on reading that it represents a value of £10,000,000. The great



"God the Father Manifesting the dead Christ"

gallery looked its grandest with a glorious series of Rubens and Van Dyck full-length portraits. *The Literary Digest.*

New System of Education



A geography class in the Alabama school has been studying Hawaii and graphically illustrates the native costume

Marietta Johnson is pioneer, prophet, and demonstration center for the people who believe that "education is identical with growth," and who are sure that developing the latent abilities of a child is better for him than stuffing him with extraneous information.

Marietta John is a vivid visionary, a warmly lovable prophet of a cause. She speaks of things dreamed of afar, and brought near for the glory of your children, and as you listen you catch fire from that glowing voice, and burn with the desire to make these dreams come true. Her face is mobile, warmed with charm and humor, and lit with an all-embracing love of humanity.

Fairhope, Alabama, is the bubbling experiment station where youngsters from six to twenty years old demonstrate various stages of growth under Mrs. Johnson's theories. The Edgewood School at Greenwich, Connecticut, is probably the

difficult to manage. Books she would ban until children are eight years old. And so skilfully is her program planned that the children are busy with concrete things up to the point where they feel the imperative need for the knowledge that is in a book.

Religious instruction in the schools is prohibited.

The whole undertaking is an interesting example of intelligent co-operative effort among parents in a small suburban community in an attempt to solve the ever-discussed problem of schooling.

For many years it has been the American tradition, and not always an applauded one, that the teaching of children should be in the hands of women. Mrs. Johnson transcends the tradition, making schools instead of just teaching them. And the schools she makes, with their emphasis on healthy growth instead of on book-learning, are acting as a leaven in the over-heavy mass of the established system, forcing up bubbles here and there which let in light and air to old ideals and old methods.

The Woman Citizen.



Mrs. Marietta Johnson, who believes that "education is identical with growth"

best known of her Northern schools, and the Manhasset Bay school at Port Washington, Long Island, is her youngest fledgling. A dozen other private schools from Cape Cod to the Golden Gate bear witness to her inspiration and her unflagging enthusiasm, and public school officials in the most enlightened cities are experimenting with her methods and trying to adapt them to the larger groups of children they must handle.

Little children are provided with projects that keep their small bodies in healthy action, let them move around freely, and do not demand too fine co-ordination or too long concentration. Games and folk dancing supplement carpentry and modeling and nature study, and develop good physiques and muscular control as well as stimulating and feeding that natural curiosity which is the thing that makes education possible and so

Sun-Spots



Enlarged picture of a Sunspot showing a giant whirling torando of fire. Brighter than any flame on earth, but so dull compared to the rest of the Sun's surface. That it photographs black; the white line across its centre is a bridge of calcium flame, 20,000 miles long.



A pair of Sunspot Storms as they appear in relation to the entire disk

Mussolini Paints His Own Portrait

Mussolini, the Great Leader of modern Italy has made in the last four or five years a vast number of spirited and eloquent speeches. From these we have culled a few characteristic phrases that reveal the "Duce" to us in his own words. In reading these speeches one is both struck by his evident sincerity and amazed at his acute understanding of mass psychology. His skill in manipulating the word of power, beloved of the ancients, is remarkable. He has constructed what amounts to a ritual for the close of many of his speeches, specially to his beloved "Black Shirts."

"We control the nation not in order to enslave it, but to serve it, with humility, with absolute devotion, and with a sense of duty that I would describe as religious."

"Violence for us is not sport. It is not, nor can it ever become, a diversion. For us violence is, like war, the hard necessity of certain fated and historic hours."

"Violence is not immoral. On the contrary, it is sometimes moral."

"Fascism is a phenomenon that interests the entire world, which has discussed it eagerly ever since its inception. A literature regarding it has grown up in all languages. Men have come from Japan, China, and Australia to study it. Evidently they too suffer from the ills that have been ours."

"We must stay in the League of Nations for the reason that others are in it, others who might be glad if we were to withdraw and who would arrange their affairs and protect their interests without us and possibly at our expense."



Signora Mussolini

"My ambition is this—to make the Italian people strong, prosperous, great, and free."

"The foreign policy of the present Government is inspired by the necessity for a progressive revaluation of our diplomatic and political position in Europe and the world."

"Imperialism is at the base of the life of every people which desires economic and spiritual expansion."

"May God help me to carry my arduous task to a victorious end."

The Literary Digest.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

By U. K. OZA

B RITISH East Africa comprises Uganda Protectorate, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The whole region is inhabited by the black races of Bantu origin, and extends from the North to about 15° South of the equator. It is supposed that the Phoenicians and the Hindus traded in ancient times with the East Coast. The element of Sanskrit in the Swahili language and a similarity of some Bantu rites with Indian animistic ceremonies have led some people to assume that a much closer connection existed between India and Africa than has been generally granted. In the eighth century Mombasa and Malindi were important centres of Arab power and important Persian settlements existed at Kilwa at the same time. Zanzibar which appeared on European maps for the first time in the twelfth century had been for long an emporium of trade with the East—with Arabia, India and China. The Portuguese and the Turks followed in the fifteenth century. The former were massacred at Mombasa in 1631 and finally annihilated by the Imam of Muscat in 1696-8. Zanzibar was captured by the Arabs in 1784 and for a hundred years afterwards the Arabs were supreme on the East Coast from Somaliland to the Rufuma River. The United States of America established a Consulate at Zanzibar in 1836, England followed in 1840 and France in 1844.

The general belief on this side is that there has always been an Indian population on the East Coast of Africa. Vasco da Gama found an Indian colony and according to "the Chronicle of Kilwa" a temple to a Hindu goddess at the Persian settlement of Kilwa. At Malindi, he encountered rebellion amongst the native crew that he had engaged. Unshaken in his determination to reach India the Portuguese Captain decided to sail without the aid of natives along the African Coast. It is stated that had he done so, he would have perished amongst the shoals and reefs that line that part of the East African Coast. But it was his good fortune to meet an Indian Captain from the Port of Cambay,

Kanna Mallum by name who took him to the part of Moghadisho (or as some of my friends here say, Mukhadisha the point looking straight to India) and piloted him in a straight line to Calicut across the Indian ocean. There has always been an Indian Colony on both sides of the Persian gulf and the treasurers, customs officers and surveyors of the Imams of Muscat have been Indians, mostly Hindus—Bhatias from the West and South-west of Cutch and Sorathia Bhatias from Kathiawar. When Zanzibar was formed into a separate Sultanate, the Indians who helped the Arab ruler of Muscat and traded between Zanzibar, Muscat and India also came over here and settled in the "Island metropolis of Africa." The names of Jeram Shivji, Ibji Shivji and Lila Banker are household names in the Protectorate. They had the farm of the customs and probably of other revenue sources and carried on a thriving trade in ivory and slaves. There were also Indian Mussalmans from the West Coast, followers of the Shia Imamite sect.

These men came across the Indian ocean in frail sailing barques from the ports of Memdui and Poreliender. These barques are not even now out of use. Messrs. Gopal Parshottam, a large banking and trading firm of Tanga still possess their own fleet of barques for importing Indian goods and exporting African wares. The enterprising Kharmas of Cutch and Kathiawar put to sea in September with miscellaneous Indian ware, pottery, guilds, household necessities, rice, millet and sundries, go to Malabar, sometimes round the Cape Comorin for Rangoon, and then cross over here about March. The familiar cry of the potter pedlar or that of the bird-catchers' casteman selling simple toys for Indian children is heard with great interest by Indians on this coast during this month which is looked forward to with intense eagerness. The Mussulmans had no other trouble on the voyage, but the Hindus who came with the Arabs were staunch Vaishnavas and took great care to remain pure. Even as late as 1910, they used to have their own water and their own food untouched

by any non-Hindu on the voyage. There is a Vallabhacharya Vaishnavite temple, two Jain temples and a small place housing the phallus of Shiva in Zanzibar besides a Parsi Fire Temple. A Jainite temple has also been recently erected in Mombasa.

From Zanzibar Indians penetrated the territories of the East Coast along with Arabs. With the advent of European conditions began soon to settle down everywhere and the Indian was the first to take advantage of the establishment of peace. It is generally supposed that the Indians are to be found only on the coast. It is not so. Both Hindu and Mahomedan traders are established in the remotest native villages of East Africa, some have even crossed the Lakes and are settled in Belgian Congo. I saw a flourishing Indian Colony of 50 traders at Kigoma which is about 750 miles inland on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. About five miles by road, across the hills is Ujiji, a native village of about 5000 men. Livingstone met Stanley here in 1861 on the beach of Lake Tanganyika under an old mango-tree which is still in existence. It was a pleasant surprise to find that there were five Indian shops in the village, two of which belong to Hindus and three to Mussulmans. Travelling over the Tanganyika and Kenya and Uganda Railways, we find that all stations have at least one Indian Duka. In the wake of the Indian trader have followed the Indian barber, the Dhobie, the shoe-maker, the taxidermist, the milk-seller, the carpenter, the mason, the goldsmith and finally also the Brahman. I was shaved by an Indian barber at Kigoma, while the steamers of the Zanzibar Government are entirely manned and captained by Indians. Both Indian Mussulmans and Hindus have also been putting in special effort for getting their children educated and most of the bigger villages have Aga Khan schools or Indian primary schools run by private subscription. Lately has come the Indian clerk, a very useful and cheap instrument in the hands of Government for manning their subordinate services. The political awakening of India and the great publicity which the situation in Kenya received in 1923 have attracted Indians of liberal education to look to East Africa. An Indian press is struggling to grow up and Indian medical men and lawyers are slowly coming in and trying to establish themselves.

In spite of the growth of Indian immigration, the establishment of the White races in East Africa has been distinctly injurious to our interests. Our position at the court of Zanzibar has been entirely lost to us and the initiative we possessed in the development of business has passed away from our hands to those of the European races. Before the war it was clearly recognised that the Indian community had only a subordinate role to play in East Africa. As soon as it was found that the Highlands of the mountains of East Africa were suitable for permanent white settlement, deliberate attempts began to be made for confining Indians to only a subordinate role. And when we raised our head in 1923, what formerly were attempts and experiments became definite measures and assumed the forms of a defined attitude. We were to be tolerated in East Africa if we consented to be petty traders and clerks and did not claim social equality with Europeans. The moment we looked up, a blow would be dealt to us.

I shall explain this further. We had in Kenya big Indian merchants and land-owners before 1923, and it was with a view to handicap them that the white settlers manoeuvred the political situation to their advantage. The decisions of the White Paper of 1923 were not far-reaching enough to satisfy the hunger of the white men. Ever since 1923, therefore, the settlers of Kenya have been trying to draw the settlers and merchants of other East African territories into the orbit of their influence. Wherever there are suitable highlands, prompt steps have been taken to occupy them and get them thrown open for settlement. While a demand for White self-government has already been put forward in Kenya, white public opinion has been cleverly educated to press for a Federation of East African territories, self-government for Kenya has been refused, but the refusal has been tempered by the decision to appoint a Commission to proceed to East Africa and explore the possibilities of a Union of British East Africa which may either take the form of a Federation or an Empire. This decision has been announced along with a declaration that while making their recommendations, the Commission will adhere to the White Paper of 1923-4 entitled "Indians in Kenya" in the matter of the Federal or the Imperial policy with respect to our people.

The latest blow to our position lies firstly in the definite move taken in the direction of a federation of East African territories, and secondly in the declaration of policy. The White Paper of 1923-4 definitely and perpetually assigns us an inferior and subordinate role of life in East Africa. A closer union of East African territories is being demanded to make white supremacy secure in East Africa.

Though the position of Indians in Kenya and Uganda was determined by the White Paper, other territories were not affected so far by its principles. Indian position had suffered in Zanzibar and was not what it should be in Tanganyika, yet, theoretically we suffered under no bar sinister both on the island as well as in the mandated territory. His Highness the Sultan's Government has always been very liberal and the European and Indian communities in the island have always lived on terms of cordiality. In Tanganyika there has been special endeavour both on the part of Europeans as well as of Indians to keep out the Kenya atmosphere, and it was therefore that the Hon. S. N. Ghose, one of the Indian members of the Territorial Legislative Council, gave his support to Sir Donald Cameron's scheme of non-native settlement on the Iringa highlands. When the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri

was in Daressalam, the Hon. Mr. Dundas, Secretary for Native Affairs, speaking at a lunch given in honor of the former assured him on behalf of the European community that there was no reason why in Tanganyika at least the relations between the two communities should be strained.

The application of the White Paper to Zanzibar and Tanganyika and the ultimate possibility of its extension to Nyassaland and Northern Rhodesia changes all this and makes the position of Indians uniformly risky all over East Africa. In fact, the better class of Indians seem to have realised that there is hardly any future for us on this coast. Petty traders, clerks, and petty artisans have been coming on in great abundance, but no big merchant has come over to invest his capital in this country nor have any large purchases of land been made by Indians. This stoppage of the coming of capitalists, merchants and planters from India is a bad sign. It spells the elimination of Indians from East Africa. Indian clerks are being rapidly displaced by natives and as education advances, native artisans and traders are also beginning to come out. Nobody can object to this, but anybody may also see that the death-knell of Indians in East Africa has been already tolled.

THE REVOLUTION IN GYMNASTICS AMONGST GERMAN WOMEN

By ALICE MEYER

Berlin

TAKING the German women as they are, one can put them under three categories :

1. The old generation—having no physical culture of any kind.

2. The middle-old generation—to whom gymnastics were obligatory in the schools. Their physical culture was of the same nature as that of the boys and originally based upon military drill. There was no separate or special department of female gymnastics ; and

3. The younger generation—among whom one finds a reformed gymnastic system specially adapted to the female constitution.

From the middle of the last century, it was thought necessary that women should also have some kind of physical training and culture, but the organisers introduced the same sort of gymnastics as was prevalent amongst the boys. The girls were to take up drill (mostly military) twice a week, and try to do the following exercises very carefully ;—

Heels together—toes apart,



Fig. I

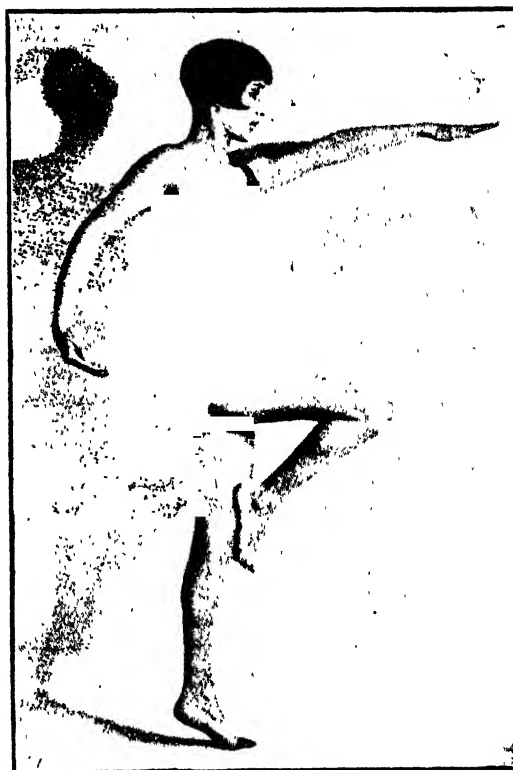


Fig. III



Fig. II

Breast—up,
Abdomen—in,
Knees—straight, etc.

In fact, it is that kind of exercise, absolutely followed by the boys, and every movement was done by command and sharp military order.



Fig. IV. Childrens' Exercise

During the last decade, a great change has taken place; and the after-war period has revolutionised the women's gymnastics introducing various systems, which are quite suiting the women's constitution, and thereby becoming very popular. The individual



Fig. VI

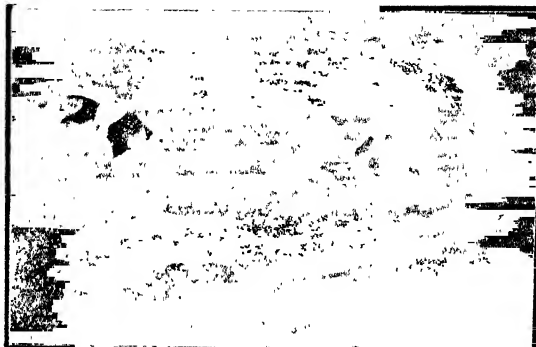


Fig. V



Fig. VIII



Fig. VII

systems are, of course, quite different, but there is one predominating principle, common to all : *Freedom from boys' gymnastics.*

The question to-day is to give facilities to the development of each individual by all possible means. This development is both physical and according to the latest methods psychical, too.

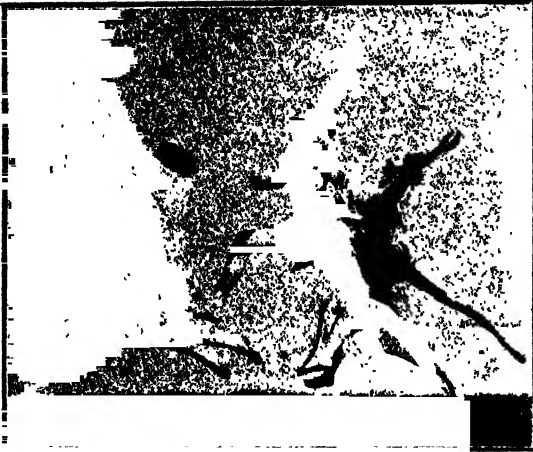


Fig. IX

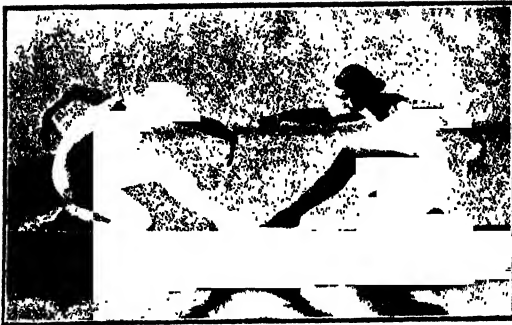


Fig. X

The first thing is to get rid of the military ground principles: instead of taking a stiff attention-posture, one is to have a free and pliable attitude just befitting the female constitution. Next, there should be no commands. Before any exercise is given, it is first of all fully analysed, and the object and result clearly demonstrated, so that every girl taking the exercise becomes fully conscious of what she is going to do. Thus every muscle group is taken care of, and the whole body becomes lively. Each bit of instruction, that is given, is done not in the commanding tone, but in the suggestive form. The individual exercises are arranged so as to attain the stiffest and the most elastic attitude of the whole organism through the contraction and relaxation of the muscles.

So long we have mentioned all the modern systems in general. Now each particular system will be given proper attention to. It



Fig. XI



Fig. XII

will be convenient to divide these systems into 3 groups viz :

1. The Hygienic gymnastic,
2. The Rhythmic gymnastic,
3. The Artistic gymnastic.

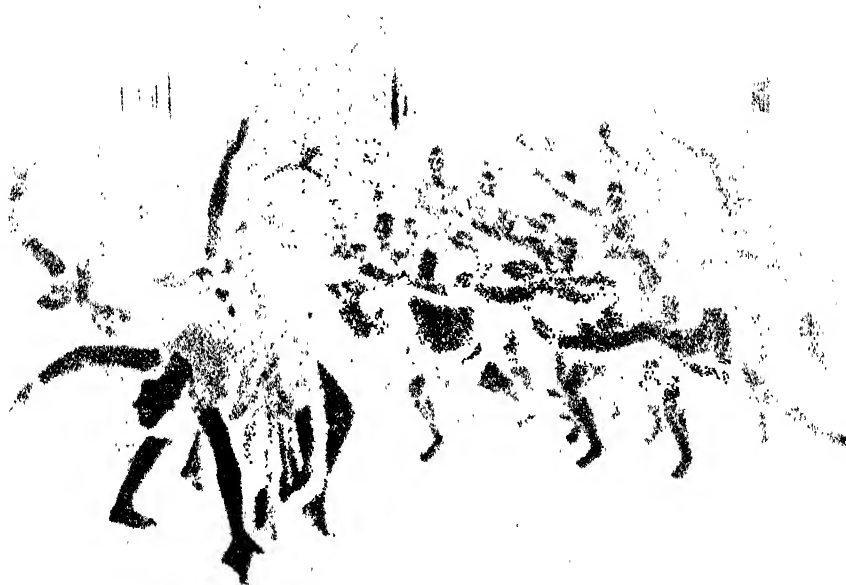


Fig. XIII



Fig. XIV

The *Hygienic Gymnastic* (Figs. 1—VI) : It is the oldest one and forms the ground basis for all other systems. This process is built upon the exact knowledge of anatomy. The first thing in this system is that it enforces the formation of tight breast, and tight abdomen, and breathing exercises play a great role in this system. The schools of *Mensendieck* and *Dora Mevler* are examples of this method. There are exercises to set right the hanging abdomen, to avoid the double chin, to strengthen the back muscles to prevent scoliosis, to tighten the abdominal muscles, to keep up proper form of breast and many other similar exercises. A part of the hygienic gymnastics is the Orthopaedic



Fig. XV

Exercise and it is mainly therapeutic in character.

The *Rhythmic Gymnastic*—(Figs. VII X.) goes a step further. It teaches how to keep harmony and rhythm of the



Fig. XVI

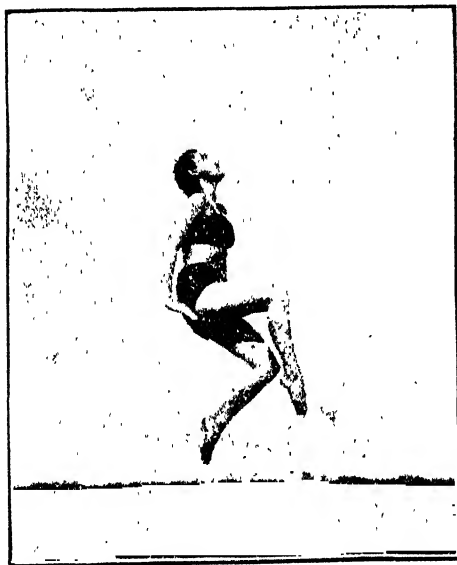


Fig. XIX

body first, i. e., to train up muscles in such a way that every movement made, will be quite graceful and aesthetic. For this purpose, music is a necessary

accompaniment. We see that there is a marked development of mind as well as body; and it cannot be denied that by following this method a grown-up girl with a bit of intellect can make herself worthy both in mind and body. The most important schools of this class are those of *Bode* and



Fig. XVIII

Loheland. Both of them understand quite well the typical womanly characteristics, which help in the unfolding and manifestation of the soul of a woman through physical culture. This system is quite popular.

The last one is the *Artistic Gymnastic*. (Figs. XI—XIX) This might as well be called "Intellectual Gymnastic," because it is meant only for the highly intelligent class of girls, who can carefully receive the idea, and carry it out through their own initiative. The propounders of this system are Rudolf von Laban, Mary Wigman and Jaques Dalcroffe. The object of this school is to make the body an instrument of the mind towards its development. The anatomical knowledge is not at all



Fig. XVII

neglected, and there is also a clearcut process of training, but it does not end there; it goes further to realise the ideas and try to give expression to them (Expressionism). It is really worth-noting how the students are put into groups, while at the same time proper attention is given to the individuality, and a careful psychical development of each student is particularly attended to.

The traditional exercises of relaxation of the body, etc., are done very little; the teacher gives a theme, e. g., "Giving", "Taking", "Joy", "Pain", "Fight", etc., and each student tries to express them by the movement of her own body according to her feelings and capacities. The aesthetic and graceful movement is not the first thing in this system, but the definite and the most clearcut expression of the most intensive feelings is what is wanted. So, it might seem a bit grotesque at the first sight to lay people—but one becomes simply charmed to follow how a band of young girls beginning

to express their individual feelings according to one particular idea, gradually and quite unconsciously work out their ways and ultimately find out the rhythm, thus asserting that the movements, however, chaotic they might appear individually, become the very important units to the realization of one great cosmos.

We thus see that physical culture has got a strong hold on our women. This gymnastic is at present not a hobby of any particular class or sect, but taken up by all of every age. There are innumerable private courses for the girls to take and it is so arranged that the girls can take the exercise at any part of the day. One must say that the gymnastic has become quite obligatory during the last 10 years in Germany, quite as much as a bath is necessary, and it certainly forms a helpful adjunct to keep women sound in body and mind, and thus to produce a really healthy nation.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Mathematical Basis of Hindu Iconography

Rupam contains an article by Mr. E. B. Havel on the mathematical basis of Indian iconography, which begins thus:—

Though Hindu philosophers have laid down rules for the making of sacred images, for philosophy regulates the whole of the Hindu social fabric, yet the fear that the artistic temperament might lead the worshipper astray, has always led them to prefer mathematical symbols for ritualistic purposes as being more exact and logical than humanistic forms conceived by artistic imagination. The Vedas declare against images of wood and stone because the gods themselves come to the sacrifice and can be seen by the spiritual eyes. Images were only for the vulgar crowd not admitted to the sacred feast whose spiritual sight was undeveloped. For the whole of the Vedic period or until a few centuries before the Christian era, the higher Brahmanical ritual had apparently no recognised place for sculptured or painted images of divinity, though they were doubtless used in the rites of the common householder. The prejudice was so strong that in early Buddhist art, which includes practically all that is extant of early Indian art, the person of the Buddha is never represented except symbolically by a horse without a rider, an empty throne, the tree of wisdom or a relic shrine, the stupa. On the other hand, the use of *yantras*, or geometrical symbols which still take an important place in Brahmanical ritual is recognised by the philosophers of the Upanishads. Geometry in fact was an essential part of Vedic ritual. The construction of altars involved comparatively advanced problems in practical geometry. The sacrificial priests had to orientate the altars according to prescribed rules and to determine astronomically the times of the seasonal tribal sacrifices. Metaphysics, aesthetics and mathematics thus developed simultaneously in the Indian philosophical schools. The temple-builders of later times applied the geometric science of Vedic sacrifice not only to the construction of the temple itself but also to its symbolic ornamentation and to the images enshrined in it. When long afterwards Indian craftsmen were forced into the service of Islam they could no longer indulge their fancy in the richness of animal and human forms with which Hindu and Buddhist art abounds. They had to restrict their imagination to the elaboration of geometric patterns: a great deal of what we call Saracenic art is just Hindu design reduced to its geometric foundations.

The Indus Valley Discoveries and the Assyrian Affinities of Ancient India

Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A., writes in the *Young Men of India* :—

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISCOVERIES IN THE INDUS VALLEY

The discoveries which have been recently made in Sind and the south-west Punjab are as remarkable as any ever made in this country, and equal in interest and significance to those made by Schliemann, Evans and others in the prehistoric Greek world. Harappa, in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, and Mohenjo-Daro more than 400 miles away in the Larkhana District of Sind, are the sites of these famous discoveries. Harappa has been known to archaeologists as the find-place of a unique class of seals, engraved for the most part with the effigy of a bull and bearing inscriptions in an unknown pictographic script (as early as 1875 these were noted by Sir A. Cunningham, the pioneer archaeologist). Other specimens of this type were acquired for the British Museum; but the secret of their age and character remained a mystery till recently.

HARAPPA

R. B. Dayaram Sahni made large excavations at Harappa in 1920-21, the operations were resumed on a larger scale two years later. The site of Harappa was shown to be manifestly that of a great city covering a vast area, and composed of many strata of successive buildings, like the strata that were discovered in the Chir-stupa near Taxila by Sir J. Marshall, some years ago.

MOHENJO-DARO

The site of Mohenjo-Daro, being nearer to the main centre of the Indus culture, has been found to be far richer and vaster in its treasures. It has been known to contain some articles of interest: but till the recent excavations were made there was no suspicion that the remains there dated back much earlier than the times of the Kushana kings, to whose age belonged a large number of coins found on the surface of the site—as also the masonry casing of the ruined monument which crowns its highest point. The excavation of this site was made under the immediate supervision of Mr. R. D. Banerjee in 1921-22; and he is the main source of the subsequent discoveries made there.

The finds from these two sites were examined by Sir J. Marshall, and found to belong to the same stage of culture and apparently to the same age; and they were totally distinct from anything known previously in India.

The similarity between the objects found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and those found in the

ancient Sumerian sites, has been confirmed by the identity of a seal which was found in the debris beneath a temple of Hammurabi's time with those found in the Indus valley sites.

CULTURAL DISTINCTIVENESS OF THESE FINDS

Sir John Marshall says that the civilisation which these discoveries reveal was developed in the Indus valley itself in spite of its affinities with Sumeria, and was as distinctive of this region as the civilisation of the Pharaohs was distinctive of the civilisation of the Nile. These discoveries ought to show in time that the civilisation of the Indus valley formed part and parcel of a much wider sphere of culture, which embraced not only S. Mesopotamia and India, but probably Persia and a large part of Centr. Asia as well and which may have extended even as far west as the Mediterranean, where the early Aegean civilisation presents certain somewhat similar features.

The writer adds in a Note :

GREATER INDIA IN THE EAST—DIFFUSION OF INDIAN CULTURE

Note.—While ancient Indian culture was so much in contact with Mesopotamia, and is now becoming increasingly clear that the eastern diffusions of Indian culture spread widely and deeply over the Malaya Peninsula, and Archipelago, Indonesia and China. Prof. G. Elliot Smith, in an article contributed to *The Illustrated London News* (January 15, 1927), traces the cultural (as manifested in art and sculpture) links that possibly existed between Asia and Central America, by means of resemblances in figures between Maya art and the mediæval art of Indonesia and Indo-China. He would draw a growth from the Gupta art of India to the art of the Tang Period of China, and then on to the Maya art of Central America in the eighth century.

The Decrease of Hindus

The Standard-bearer observes :—

It is to be added from Census of 1921, that the Hindus have decreased by about three quarters of a million, while the Christians have increased by nearly a million, maintaining the rate of increase shown during the decade 1901-11. As a matter of fact, the Census of India of 1921 shows an increase in all India of 3.1, 7.4 and 22.7 per cent. among Mahomedans, Sikhs and Christians respectively, and a decrease among Hindus amounting to 5 per cent. It should be interesting to note that the Census figures for Hindus include an overwhelming proportion of low-class people, amongst whom the practice of widow-marriage is widely prevalent and who are remarkable for their fecundity. No doubt, it is from these classes, that the missionaries whether Mahomedan or Christian, draw the greater number of their converts,—as we are told, not by the powers of conviction and arguments but by the prospect of gain and the fear of punishment.

Hinduism, in spite of its orthodox puritanism and high considerations, cannot long overlook this lesson of figures and sit tight in spiritual aloofness

and non-chalance. If it is not merely to endure as the spirit, but also continue to live in the body in a world of rival communities, each striving for supremacy and self-expansion, it must not blink at facts, but seriously bestir itself up to action, with a view to stem the tide of its numerical decrease and continual dismemberment. If both Christianity and Mahomedanism can live and grow as aggressive religions, even at the expense of Hinduism, why should not the Hindus awaken themselves to the pressing need of such a progressive orientation and prepare themselves at once for an offensive and defensive plan of action?

Women's Sphere in Public Life and Inter-Communal Civil Marriages

We read in the *Yonug Theosophist* :—

The question of women and their sphere in public life has evoked considerable discussion in the country, particularly in the last few months. Newspapers have devoted columns in expressing their views and in Bombay, young men and women have been having their say. Lady students of one of the local colleges have given vent to their feelings that education will be dull without the boys to look at. It is a happy idea happily expressed. The system of co-education has been vindicated by the verdict of the lady students. This has been followed by a debate at the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, which recorded its verdict that inter-communal civil marriages are conclusive to the progress of India. The interest taken on these occasions, the trend of the discussions and the verdicts indicate clearly that the younger people are getting determined to decide for themselves what is best for them as men and women, who will one day have to take up the responsibility of governing the State. None can be entirely satisfied at the way in which the propositions were argued and debated. No clearcut issues were put before the assemblies and it is difficult to draw a conclusion as to whether the propositions put in assertive forms, defined correctly the feelings of the younger people in the country. The fact is, they have not been able to grapple with the problems in as scientific a manner as it warrants, owing to their being handicapped in the task by the absence of any definite form of questionnaire to answer.

Sunlight, the Universal Benefactor

Dr. A. E. Clark, M. D., writes in the *Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :—

It has been said, and truly so, that the most precious things in life are those which are free for the asking. These may not be the exact words, but they express the idea. And what might these most precious things be? I have in mind three, to which others can be added;—Sun light, Air, and Water. Who cannot secure these? And what price can purchase them if they are missing? It is true, we can manufacture artificial sun-light: we can also produce liquid air and even water can be made by combining two gases under proper

conditions but these are all expensive processes, and they cannot hope to compete with Mother Nature in her legitimate business of supplying mankind with a continuous stream of sunlight, air, and water.

Long before man realized the value of sun-light the plants were making use of the sun's rays to build up their structures. It is in only comparatively recent years that science has recognized in sunlight one of man's greatest benefactors. We find that only about twenty-five years ago did the use of sunlight as a curative agent begin to receive attention. Finsen of Denmark called the attention of the medical profession to the value of the light rays in the treatment of disease. Rollier in Switzerland advocated the use of the sun's rays in the treatment of disease, especially tuberculosis. From the work of these two men particularly has the importance of the sun's rays as a remedial agent become known, and so to-day we find that in every civilized country natural and artificial sunlight is being made use of in the practice of medicine and surgery.

The animals have been trying to teach us for a long time that sunlight is beneficial. Have you ever seen a dog with a bad sore on its leg, sunning itself? The animals recognize the fact that there is something in the rays of the sun which not only warms up the injured part, but hastens the healing process. Man is such a superior animal, though, that he fails to recognize what the dog well knows. However, we are waking up as a medical profession to the fact that the practice of medicine is about 90 p. c. the work of Nature, in which we take but little part, and the remaining 10 p. c. represents the really, honest-to-goodness cures which we are able to effect by our own efforts, but in which Mother Nature also plays a part.

Three Principles of Buddhism

According to *The Mahabodhi* :—

Three principles which are helpful to scientific progress are emphasised by the Lord of Compassion the Buddha Gotama. They are *ahimsa*, *ahimsa* and *nekkhamma*. The first demands the destruction of hatred from the mind, the second the spirit of compassionate pity and the third requires the renunciation of destructive abnormal sensuous enjoyments. Are the European prepared to adopt the three principles which form the second limb of the Noble eightfold path. Science should come to the rescue of the destructive civilization of Europe.

Opium, alcohol, cocaine etc. that destroy the brain cells and the thinking powers of the human being should be stopped from being manufactured. They should not be sold to the poor by governments who reap large profits through monopolies. India that was once the beacon light of Asia, that gave the sublimest ethics for the improvement of the human mind, to-day is the breeding ground of opium and other abominations. To the glory of the American people they have succeeded in putting a stop to the manufacture of liquor, and the next thing to be done is to teach the young not to touch liquor nor sell it to others. The element of humanity in the mind is increased by

the adoption of the three principal rules of ethical psychology which were formulated by the Lord Buddha.

The low class gods of pagan religions love bloody sacrifices. The blood of millions of cows and goats are offered to the god on one day. When the god began to control the individual prophet, who was to preach to the ignorant mob, he found difficulty in getting enough blood to satisfy his appetite of the beginning. He lamented then that he was not given enough blood but with the spread of the religion, rivers of blood poured on the million altars that were hurriedly erected for the day. Science came to the help of the butcher, and the stockyards of Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, scientifically built are daily killing millions for human consumption. Religion in Asia, encourages killing animals for sacrifices and science in the West helps the porkpackers to kill millions. Renunciation is the foundation whereon the superstructure of righteousness is built, and all meritorious activities are the result of the element of renunciation. This is the teaching of scientific psychological Buddhism. Semitic barbarians with no knowledge of science or psychology promulgated the ethics of immorality, and uncultured races came under the influence of the ethics of barbarism.

The Meaning of the Removal of Untouchability

The Hindu Mission Bulletin contains the following :—

By the removal of untouchability we mean the re-incorporation of the oppressed untouchables into the socio-religious fold of the Hindus and the extension to them of all the privileges of social communion in things mundane and spiritual and our fellow-ship, so that they may develop their individuality.

As regards interdining and inter-marriage we hold that these two particular points ought to be left entirely to the free choice and discretion of every individual. Neither the so-called untouchables should claim, in heat and hurry, as a matter of their class right, to dine or marry with the members of the so-called higher classes nor the members of the higher classes need be socially persecuted if he actually dines with any member of the untouchable class or marries outside his caste. The inviolable natural law of society in this regard is that the matrimonial union or any form of social intercourse generally takes place among the equivalent groups determined by the standard of culture and wealth, wherever the caste regulations have not become rigid and inelastic as in our country. The sense of justice and equality that is gradually dawning on the minds of the so-called upper classes, we are sure, will do away with the invidious inequities.

The Graduate, the Rayat, and the Book Entry

Sir Daniel Hamilton observes in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* :—

The graduate and the rayat are alike in this respect,—both are poor, but they need not remain poor much longer. All material wealth is created by the labour of men's brains and hands, and as India's brain power is of the best, and her hand power only waits to be organized, the "staggering" poverty of India should soon be a thing of the past. The one thing needful is money, and as modern money is merely a matter of book-keeping, and as book entries cost little or nothing to manufacture, there is no excuse whatever for India remaining longer in the Slough of Despond.

My authority for saying that modern finance is simply a matter of book-keeping is one of the highest in the Empire, viz. the Cunliffe Committee appointed by the British Government towards the close of the war to advise what should be done after the war in order to bring about the restoration of normal conditions in matters of currency and exchange.

The manufacture of money is the best paying business under the sun. Jute cannot compare with it. Just think of it,—a profit of five or six per cent. on thousands of crores of rupees which cost, practically, only the bank clerks' wages to manufacture. In my younger days in Calcutta I made lakhs and lakhs of book entries, but I got only Rs. 300 a month for making them, and my Bengali colleagues very much less. The banks get millions sterling for the same job. The modern cheque is simply a book entry. The cheque for Rs. 1,000 which I sign is only a letter to my banker telling him to debit me and credit some one else with that sum. Bank notes are simply book entries. The ten-rupee or one-rupee note is only a book entry written up as a deposit, not on a sheet of paper in a bank ledger but on a loose sheet in my pocket, certifying that I hold at the debit of the nation and at my credit ten rupees' worth or one rupee's worth of rice, or cloth, or gold or silver, whatever I may want.

The British banks make their huge profits and pay their sixteen and eighteen per cent., dividends very largely by lending money which they do not possess. Like the lawyers, they fatten on other peoples' misfortunes. When other people require money, the banks manufacture it for them out of the borrowers' own trustworthiness or credit, and charge five or six percent., for doing so. And when a war or a great commercial crisis comes along, and the banks are asked to pay their deposits, Government comes to their help as the British Government did in 1914 and as the Japanese Government has done in 1927 and authorizes them to pay out scraps of paper instead of the gold which they profess to be able to pay but cannot; and so the situation is saved and trade resumes its normal course as if nothing had happened.

India has, for years, been endeavouring to increase her manufacturing industries. She has now cotton, jute, and iron industries in full swing, but the safest and most prosperous industry of all, manufacture of book entries or good paper money

has, somehow or other, been overlooked. Now is the time to make a beginning. All that is necessary is that there should be a plentiful supply of reliable men in need of money. The money is in the moneyless men who borrow, and not in the bank which lends. India has 250 million of these poor men who can be organized co-operatively and made reliable. They require first of all 600 crores to free them from the *mahajan*, and they will be delighted to pay five or six per cent., or more for their freedom. If Government takes up this business and manufactures the 600 crores, these poor men will pay 30 crores every year into the Government Treasury. If Government manufactures another 600 crores to give the 250,000,000 a fresh start in life they will pay another 30 crores into the Treasury. And India will want a great deal more than 1,200 crores before the ship of State is really afloat and under full steam; and the more money Government manufactures and lends to needy reliable men who will return it, the more will the needy ones and the Government prosper. And, when Government, or rather I should say the nation, takes all the risk in times of stress, it would be both foolish and unfair not to take the profit in times of peace and it is here that the graduate and the rayat can come in to reap a rich harvest of banking profit for their country, and lift themselves out of poverty at the same time.

What I have to suggest, therefore, is that Government arrange at once for a great forward movement in the development of the Co-operative banking system, by harnessing on to it the brain power of the graduate for the organizing of the hand-power of the rayat. The combination of both will give the world a new form of Constitution, a Co-operative Commonwealth which will preserve the freedom of the individual,—a Commonwealth in which Man and not money will be the Master, and a constitution stronger than any party system can make it, and greater than Mussolini's Corporative Commonwealth, for under it Labour and Capital will become One, and India a united Nation.

Education and Communal Understanding

Miss. A. B. Van Doren asks in the *National Christian Council Review* :—

In the presence of communalism and its attendant evils, what responsibility is laid upon the followers of Christ in India, and what opportunity is open to us? That such responsibility and opportunity do exist has been affirmed so often that the statement has become a commonplace. Yet how much have we as Christians actually accomplished? Have we not in most cases been content with the utterance of a 'pious hope,' expressed in the form of an exhortation or resolution, but never translated into a programme of action?

Much material has been brought forward to prove that the roots of communal enmity are embedded in economic rather than in religious differences. This theory is not to be disputed by the present writer. The object of this article is to show that whatever be the source of these troubles their future solution is in the hands of the genera-

tion of students now passing through our schools and colleges. The India of the future lies with them—its antagonisms or co-operation, its divisiveness or oneness.

Students of Social Psychology are coming to believe increasingly in the malleability of human material. To an astounding degree, the children of a nation become what the educational leaders wish them to be. Germany is the chief instance of a nation re-made, and mis-made, by its educational system. There are many other examples of education-set-to-an-end. Bertrand Russell says: 'Take as examples the Chinese *litterati*, the modern Japanese, the Jesuits, Dr. Arnold, and the men who direct the policy of the American public schools. All these, in their various ways, have been highly successful. The results arrived at in the different cases were utterly different, but in the main the results were achieved.'

Are we then wrong in contending that if the leaders of Indian education were to set before them as a prime objective the unification of India, incredible changes might take place within the space of one generation?

That in the minds of most educationists, Indian and foreign, no such conscious objective obtains is not difficult of proof. Perhaps the absence of such an aim may be due partly to the old idea of education as the business of imparting information. Modern educational theory tells us that the more important function of education is the creation of attitudes and habits—states affecting emotion and conduct. Much of the information acquired fades with the passing of years: attitudes and habits grow ever stronger as they harden into character.

Swami Saradananda

Prabuddha Bharata has been publishing notes of conversations with Saradamani Devi, wife of the saint Ramkrishna. In the course of one of these conversations she referred to the late Swami Saradananda, then alive, and observed:—

And Sarat—how hard he works, how silently and patiently he bears all troubles! He is a Sadhu, what need has he personally to do all this? They can, if they will, remain ever in uninterrupted thought of God. It is for your benefit that they are dwelling on the lower planes. Ever keep their character before your eye and serve them. Ever remember whose child you are and who is protecting you. Whenever any evil thought comes to the mind, say to yourself: "Can I, being her son, ever do such a thing?" And you will find that a new strength has come to you and you will be filled with peace.

The Importance of Commercial Intelligence to National Economic Progress

Mr. St. Nihal Singh observes in *Welfare*:

In view of the importance of commercial intelligence to India's economic well-being, the organization of a special agency to secure and to

disseminate such information should receive careful attention from our people.

The industrially advanced countries in Europe and America awoke to such a realization a long time ago. They have during the last generation, expended much thought and money upon the organization of a service which would zealously gather, in other countries, information that would foster foreign trade, and by assisting manufacturers and merchants to form new connections, lead to the expansion of industries at home and provide profitable work for traders, brokers, banks, insurance companies and shippers.

Britain, Germany and the United States have found such a service so valuable that they have extended its operations to comprehend the whole world. Some of the nations have seen the unwisdom of making this agency a substratum of the diplomatic service abroad, and have placed it under the direct control of their commerce and industry departments.

The attitude which a nation displays towards spending money upon maintaining such agencies in foreign countries for the stimulation of trade, furnishes a correct index to its efficiency and progressiveness.

Judged by that criterion, the Government of India can neither be regarded as efficient nor progressive. Until recently it did not possess any organization of its own charged with the duty of collecting in any country outside India, information which would stimulate our manufactures or otherwise contribute to our economic betterment. Even when it finally realized what the wide-awake nations within and without the British Commonwealth were doing in this respect, it considered that it had discharged its duty when it appointed a civil servant to act as India's Trade Commissioner in London.

The permanent officials who hold our destiny in the hollow of their hands show a pathetic faith in the members of their caste—the I. C. S. If an enquiry into the fisheries of a distant country is to be made, they pick out some person belonging to their guild irrespective of whether or not he possesses specialized knowledge of fisheries. The mere fact that in some cases the permanent officials who have been placed upon special duty for which they did not possess the requisite scientific qualifications have done well, especially in view of their limitations, puff up the pride of our rulers and intensifies their passion for perpetuating that practice.

Units of the Empire which no longer are controlled from Downing Street do not show such perversity. If need arises for making a scientific survey, the work is entrusted to a scientist specially qualified in that particular subject, and not to an official bound up with red tape. If an organization for stimulating trade is to be started, they staff it with men possessing special gifts for discharging such duties, instead of uprooting official beings from their routine duty and despatching them abroad on a sort of glorified joyride.

If we are to create a really efficient commercial intelligence service we cannot do better than follow the example that Canada, the oldest self-governing Dominion in the British Commonwealth, has set us in that respect.

Cottage and Small Industries of Bengal

Mr. A. C. Mitter, B.Sc. (Engin.), London writes in *Welfare* :—

In this age of the advent of industrialism in India and the springing up of a large number of mills and factories equipped with gigantic power-driven machinery in the different parts of the country, people are apt to overlook the economic value of our home industries. There are some, who have been so vitiated in their out-look, by the glaring influence of Western industrialism, that they think, that cottage industries in Bengal, have no right to exist in these days of large scale production, and the sooner they die out, and are replaced by up-to-date large factories, the better for the country. Such opinion only betrays hopeless ignorance of the condition of rural Bengal and requires no comment. We have so many mills and factories on the bank of the Hooghly but have they helped to improve the economic condition of the masses in the country, who are mainly agriculturists? Some people have, of course, got employment as wage-earners in the mill areas but Bengali labourers are seldom found there; and is it desirable in the best interest of the country to draw them out of the restraining and educative influence of communal and domestic life and place them as day labourers in the industrial centres where they are likely to degenerate soon, into moral wrecks and develop a spirit of turbulence, which is an inevitable fruit of industrialism? Why should we blindly copy the Western economic organisation when the Western thinkers themselves are condemning it in no uncertain terms? Mr. Joseph Chamberlain speaking of the modern economic problem of the West stated that "Never before in our history was the misery of the very poor more intense or the conditions of their daily life more hopeless, and degraded; the vast wealth which the modern progress has created has run into pockets; individual and classes have grown rich beyond the reach of avarice but the great majority of toilers and spinners have derived no proportionate advantage from the prosperity which they helped to create."

Agricultural Holdings in Japan and Bengal

Mr. S. A. Latif says in the *Calcutta Review* :—

In the matter of size of the holding the Japanese and the Bengali are almost similarly circumstanced. But the Japanese cultivator is far more prosperous than his Bengali compeer, and this is due to his superior methods of agriculture and better organisation. In Japan there are diverse forms of co-operative organisations and brotherhoods. There are societies for the improvement of seeds and manures, for killing insects and destroying weeds, for breeding cattle and the like. The evil of fragmentation is dealt with in that country by the adoption of methods of communalism which prevailed in the days of yore in India. The Japanese law permits a certain majority of farmers

in a village to apply for forcible allotment and "restripping" of the land, each man receiving a consolidated block in one or two places. In the Punjab Co-operative consolidation by consent has been effected in a number of villages. There should be some sort of legislation to enforce the consolidation of holdings where a majority of cultivators in any area for adequate reasons apply for it. In any case co-operation is the main thing needful and truly did His Royal Majesty on the occasion of his coronation in India observe :

"If the system of co-operation can be introduced and utilised to the full I foresee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country."

Railway Sleepers

According to the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* :—

Of the greatest interest to permanent way engineers should be the valuable research work which has been carried out for years by the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun on the subject of Sleeper Supply. The object of the detailed and continuous investigations that have been taking place in connection with this subject has been to ascertain to what extent, as to quality, the various indigenous woods of India are available to replace sal, teak, and deodar and imported woods for use as railway sleeper material. Investigation of this subject, although it has been proceeding from as far back as 1911, is by no means complete and is still continuing; nevertheless, there has already been gathered a great mass of information on the subject of various Indian woods which goes far to prove that there is no necessity for Indian Railways to depend upon imported timbers when there are practically inexhaustible supplies of wood which can be made suitable, if not already so, growing within the bounds of the Indian Empire.

Tests of the actual life of sleepers have shown that this is much greater than was hitherto thought and this holds good of timbers which can be used untreated like teak, sal and deodar, or those that need treatment. In 1922 it was held that the life of five Indian woods named chir, kail, in, kanyin and sain varied from 10 to 12 years when treated with preservative, but it has already been found out that 14 to 16 years is nearer the correct figure while it is quite within possibility that even this life will be exceeded.

Besides the suitability of Indian woods for sleeper work, the Institute is also examining the suitability of Indian timbers, other than teak, for railway carriage building. The difficulty is one principally of seasoning, and experiments are being made in artificial seasoning with the use of drying kilns. This, it is expected, will secure the desired results in quite a short space of time compared with the twelve to eighteen months in which timber may have to be stored while undergoing air seasoning. The saving in interest on capital due to any appreciable saving in time is obvious.

Women Drivers

We read in *Indian and Eastern Motors* :

The woman driver is not quite as common in India, as in Europe. The last few years, however, have seen a large increase in her numbers. In big towns, such as Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta, women show skill and coolness in threading their way through traffic conditions calculated to make the stoutest heart quail.

The Basis of Success in Speaking

Leila M. Hutcherson writes in *The Kalpaka* :—

Success in speaking depends upon the ability of the speaker to present so clear, so precise, so complete and true a picture or thought form to the mind of the persons addressed that they may view the subject in as clear a light as the speaker. Even though a speaker have a truly worthwhile message and be fully conversant with the matter from beginning to end, it by no means follows that when he mounts a public platform the attention he has momentarily secured will be retained throughout the discourse, or that the words he utters will leave any affective impression. Other and most important factors must be taken into consideration, notably psychology, the science of the mind. There are certain definite rules governing the transmission of thought which must be observed to achieve success. Ignorance of these laws may bring to nought the noblest message ever spoken. This then is a requisite for successful speaking, that the speaker learn the gentle art of 'tuning in', of bridging the gap which lies between himself and his audience.

How is he to do this? By establishing a feeling of fellowship, warming up his atmosphere, so to speak. Some jovial, Jupiterian remark helps to relax any existing tenseness and attract the interest of the indifferent, thus clearing the way for an introduction of the subject. The bigger the subject, the more important the details of approach. When the attention of the audience is gained it must not be allowed to wander, but by every imaginative, descriptive, appealing, convincing art of psychology it must be held, and the result will be like unto the successful anchoring of the vessel.

The only course open to one who desires to form a solid basis for effective speaking is this : after he has mastered his subject thoroughly so that he is able to approach it from every known angle, he should practise all the psychological rules of speech-making upon every man, woman, and child within the radius of his environment who will listen to him. He might even try it on his dog, for at times animals show a very fine sense of discrimination. In this way he will learn how to appeal to people's sympathies as well as their reason, how to awaken a desire for knowledge and how best to supply the inner craving of the heart for spiritual food. Thus he will gradually become able to paint so realistic a picture of the benefits that will accrue from the acceptance of the truths he proclaims that his audience will be eager to put them into practice.

Lokamanya Tilak

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu contributes the following poem on Lokamanya Tilaka to *The Volunteer* :—

How shall our mortal love commemorate
Your sovereign grandeur, O heroic heart?
Changeless, austere, your fame is counterpart
Of your high storied hills, inviolate;
Your proud immortal deeds irradiate
The darkness of our land, and star-like dart
The lustre of your wisdom, valour, art,
Transfiguring sorrow and transcending fate.
Hail, dauntless soldier; hail, intrepid sage
Who taught your nation Freedom's *Gayatri*!
Immutable from the redeeming flame,
Your ashes are our children's heritage,
And all the epic rhythms of the sea
Acclaim your pure imperishable name.

Bengalis and the Arya Samaj

Mr. Ramesh Chandra Banerji writes in the *Vedic Magazine* :—

Bengalis have no reason to boast that they are born to be intellectually superior to the people of other provinces. Neither should the people of any other province entertain such pride. Although a look at the ancient and medieval Sanskrit literature—a thing of which India can justly be proud—shows that the number of Bengali philosophers, lexicographers, poets, prose-writers and mathematicians (I mean the original writers) is almost nil, still, this fact, I believe, does not prove the intellectual inferiority of modern Bengalis to Punjabis, Madrasis, Marathis and others. It is very injurious to the cause of India's progress to raise the question, directly or indirectly, of the intellectual superiority of any province.

The fact that the Arya Samaj has not made much headway in Bengal is not, I think, due to the Bengalis refusing to believe in the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas, but, to want of sufficient propaganda. The provincial exclusiveness of Bengalis and non-Bengalis is also partly responsible for it. But, if sincere and zealous preachers carry on propaganda in the towns and villages and if the Arya Samajists shake off their provincial aloofness and join in such work as education of depressed classes, and do their duty of preaching the Vedas earnestly and systematically, Bengal is bound to join the Samaj. We need not despair, seeing that the farthest corners of Southern India are now turning to Arya Samaj as a result of good *prachar* work.

Paragraphs from "Stri-Dharma"

The following paragraphs are taken from *Stri-Dharma* :—

NEW WOMEN MAGISTRATES

Under the title of "Welcome to Eve" the "Times of India" reports a Dinner of the Society

of Honorary Presidency Magistrates which gave a hearty welcome to the "new fair members of the great unpaid." This happened because Bombay has at last wakened up to the fact that many of its women can act as most valuable dispensers of justice in collaboration with their brothers, and Miss Contractor, M. A., Mrs. Gilgaut, Mrs. Mudgaokar were last month nominated to act as Honorary Presidency Magistrates for Bombay City and eleven other ladies for other towns in the Bombay Presidency. Miss Contractor in responding to the welcome on behalf of women magistrates expressed the hope that women by their common-sense and inborn intuition to reach the right conclusions, would more than justify their recruitment to the Bench and that in the merciful administration of justice in general and in the disposal of cases involving the interests of women and children in particular they would provide an element which they alone could furnish. Miss Contractor is the Principal of the largest Girls' High School in Bombay and has made a World Tour. Mrs. Mudgaokar is the wife of one of the High Court Judges and is a great patroness of Music and the Arts. Both are members of the Women's Indian Association. A very popular choice has been made in the appointment of Mrs. K. Alamalungathayamma as Honorary Presidency Magistrate in Madras. She is a fluent and well-informed speaker, and has been a helpful worker for many years in social reform work,

THE INDIAN STATES LEAD

The Kotah State in Ajmere vicinity has promulgated a new Marriage Act with effect from the 1st July, 1927, prohibiting the marriages of girls under 12 and boys under 16, as well as of girls under 18 with men above double their age, and of unmarried girls over 18 with men over 45. The sale of girls in marriage is forbidden. Cases under this Act will be triable by a First Class Magistrate and punishable with fines up to Rs. 1,000 and six months' imprisonment. Well done Kotah!

In the Madura Municipality, South India, reports that 45 dhais have already joined a class for their better training, and a fully equipped Maternity home is also being organised in that city. And again from Poona, that nursery of all sorts of activity for the welfare of women, comes the report of the formation of a new Society for the training of the Village Dhais arising out of the fact that 113 dhais out of 64 villages had attended Midwifery of whom 108 had become thoroughly trained. In addition 11 school mistresses under the same scheme had received maternity training. This "Village Maternity Association" has started under full Government auspices and has received the promise of a Government grant equivalent to one-third the expenditure up to a maximum of Rs. 10,000.

The Royal "Indian" Navy

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer writes in the *Indian Review* :—

The obnoxious features of the Bill are that the control of the proposed navy is vested not in the Government of India but in the Imperial Govern-

ment, that the provision for recruitment for Naval Commissions is wrong in principle in that it imposes no statutory obligation for the manning of the ships by Indians and that it enables the Imperial Government to employ the Indian Navy in any part of the world without legally imposing upon it a liability to pay the expenses incurred during the period of such employment. To all these criticisms the answer of the Under-Secretary of State was as unsatisfactory as might be expected from a Tory Government. As regards the question of control, the answer of Lord Winterton was that the army in India was not under the control of the Indian Legislature and that it would be anomalous and inconvenient from an administrative point of view, if the control of the navy were vested in the Legislature. Indians are far from satisfied with the existing position in regard to the army and the existence of one anomaly is no justification for the introduction of another with regard to a new arm of the defensive force to be hereafter created; nor are anomalies unknown to the English Constitution. With regard to the army, it may be thought that in view of the immense importance of it to the safety of India, it might be harmful to allow any interference by a Legislature wanting in experience of military matters. The new naval force, on the other hand, is one of very small dimensions involving a comparatively small cost of about 68 lakhs of rupees per annum and the risks which may be apprehended from injudicious parsimony or by embarkation upon an extensive policy of Indianisation are comparatively small. On the other hand, it is overlooked that if this arm of defence is transferred to the control of the Government of India and the Indian Legislature, it is likely to receive more consideration and support than those branches of the defence which are excluded from the control of the Legislature.

Child-Marriage and Education

Mrs. Muthulaxmi Reddy writes in the *Social Service Quarterly* :—

I can assure the Government—and there are public leaders like Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya who can assure them—that there is no text in our religion which gives support to this suicidal custom and child sacrifice. The very fact that the ancient Hindus were having "Swayamwara" by which the women were allowed full freedom in the choice of their husbands is proof positive that marriageable age of girls must have been over 16 at any rate, because the ancient Hindus were wise enough to know that girls of 11, 12 or 13 or even 14 do not possess enough judgment or discrimination to choose their helpmates.

Even if "no-change" orthodox people imagine it to be religion, I say "the old order must change yielding place to the new." The world is not stand-still, is ever progressing; if we want to prosper, we must keep pace with the world.

I may note here the resolution passed at the "All-India Conference of Women" held at Poona, the representative conference of women called to

consider questions relating to the education of women in India. The resolution was as under :—

"This conference deeply deplores the effect of early marriage on education and urges the Government of India to pass legislation making marriage under sixteen a penal offence. It demands that the age of consent be raised to 16. It whole-heartedly supports, as a step to this end, Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill which will come before the Assembly this session. It sends a deputation from its delegates to the Legislative Assembly to convey to its members the demand of women on this vital subject."

As women constitute more than half the population, even if the Government desires to be impartial if it wants to do justice and not provoke criticism it ought to take into consideration the unanimous resolution of the "All-India Women's Conference" and give its verdict in favour of Dr. Gour's Bill, especially in the absence of women representatives in the Legislative Assembly, (which cannot be a truly representative one from the woman's point of view) a measure concerning the health and happiness of the womanhood of the country and the future race.

Dairying as an Indian Village Industry

Mr. Wm. Smith, Imperial Dairy Expert, writes in the *Journal of the Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying in India* :—

The need for the establishment of village industries in this country in order to provide employment for the cultivators during the slack seasons of the year, and for the non-agriculturally unemployed throughout the year, has been long recognized by students of rural economics. Mr. Gandhi's advocacy of the *charkha* is prompted by his recognition of this need, and it seems strange that in a country like India where milk and the milk products are so highly valued and so necessary as human food, little or no attention has been paid to the development of dairying as a village industry. Properly organized village dairying would provide a profitable outlet for a variety of energies. It would give all the year employment for the cultivator cow-owner, and his family, and it would create a demand for skilled dairy factory managers and operatives of various kinds.

In all countries where dairying has reached an advanced stage, the rearing and keeping of cows as an integral part of the system of farming is practised, and the village creamery or dairy factory is utilized as the means of manufacturing and marketing the milk which the farmer cow owner produces.

There are many reasons why it is essential that the small-holder-milk-producers should employ a rural factory system for the disposal of his milk. One is the fact that the raw material he produces in the case of milk is of such a perishable nature that it must be dealt with in any process of manufacture within a few hours of its coming from the cow, and the second is the bulky nature of the natural product. Cows' milk contains some 85 per cent. of water and the cost of transport of a bulky product of this kind over any distance must

always be high in proportion to the market value of the food solids it contains. The third reason lies in the fact that the individual milk producer in India in most cases is a smallholder owning only a few not very efficient cows or buffaloes, and the actual quantity of surplus milk he has available for sale or manufacture after feeding his family is not sufficient to enable him to convert it into any marketable commodity of a sufficiently high quality to command a profitable market and even if the quantity available by individual producers was large enough to be profitably manufactured by the producer it is not possible for the ordinary cattle-owner to acquire that expert technical knowledge and marketing experience necessary to manufacture and sell milk products. Then again in the world's markets to-day continuous uniformity of quality and large bulk supplies are demanded if the highest prices are to be paid so that the manufacture of milk into any of the foodstuffs in demand to-day cannot be done by the milk producer; it cannot profitably be done by a factory situated remote from the milk producer and it must be done in the rural dairy factory.

In countries so highly developed agriculturally as Denmark, Holland, Ireland, New Zealand, the United States of America and Canada, the village dairy factory is a feature of the rural landscape, and it will be a good day for India when this can be said of our agricultural areas. Not only will the development of village dairying in India help to solve the problem of rural unemployment, but it will greatly increase the fertility of the soil and the output from the same; it would improve the quality of the cattle of the country and generally improve the physical well-being of the rural population.

Indian village dairy factories might well follow the example of those of Denmark, New Zealand, Ireland and Holland and be organized on a cooperative basis, and they might take the form of milk factories for pasteurizing and cooling milk to enable its being sent by rail to cities for sale as fresh milk. There might be cheese factories, *ghi* factories, milk condenseries, casein works, dried milk industries or combined factories capable of turning out some or all of these products. The present methods of manufacture of *ghi*, Indian cheese or dried curd, the existing bazaar methods of evaporating the water from milk over an open fire, and especially the methods or rather lack of methods of utilizing the by-products of *ghi*—butter milk or skim milk—are crude and wasteful, and the economic scope for the establishment of a village dairying industry is great and the possibilities of development are unlimited. The establishment of a factory of this class in a village calls for the employment of expert factory managers who must also be business men able to buy, manufacture and sell; it requires expert machine-mistries or mechanics to erect, work and repair the plant; it needs accountants and clerks trained in commercial book-keeping; it demands expert butter or cheese makers or condensed milk makers; and it provides an opening for unskilled labour of the best type. Apart from the factory side of the picture the development of village dairy means more employment for the farmer and all his family in the rearing, feeding and milking of his cattle, and for the adult males of his family in the increased cultivation and production which

an increased supply of farmyard manure will give. Volumes more could be written advocating the development of the dairy industry in India, but this short note is penned in the hope that it may

induce Indian rural economists to consider the matter from the point of view of its solving, or partly solving the great question of rural unemployment.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japan's Cotton Industry

According to *Present-day Japan*, the "Asahi" English annual supplement,

Japan's cotton industry was founded in 1867 and has developed to its present status during sixty years. At present there are fifty three companies, all of which are included under The Japan Cotton Spinner's Association of Japan, their aggregate capital reaching Y. 497,087,500 their various reserves amounting, in total, to Y. 229,326,484, and their spindles and looms numbering 5,410,752 and 71,719 respectively. Their total output of cotton yarn, last year, amounted to 2,607,746 bales (one bale contains 400 pounds) and the raw cotton consumed totalled 2,803,027 actual bales. Japan therefore, stands second in the world, America being first, so far as the consumption of raw cotton is concerned. Thus the industry has come to occupy the foremost position among the industries of Japan.

Last year the imports of raw cotton were valued at Y. 725,930,206, while the exports of cotton goods were worth Y. 486,971,010, the former making up 31 p.c. of the total imports and the latter 24 p.c. of the total exports of this country. Naturally the rise and fall of this industry has an important bearing upon the national economy.

Religious Discrimination in Politics

Mr. George Barton writes in *Current History* :—

Theoretically we have no religious test for office in this country yet in this year 1927 we are discussing whether an otherwise available candidate of one of the major parties can be seriously considered as a candidate for President of the United States because he happens to be an adherent of the Catholic religion. There is no constitutional inhibition. The qualifications of a candidate, according to that document, are quite simple. The nominee shall be a natural-born citizen, 35 years of age and a resident of the United States for at least fourteen years. We have had Catholic Mayors, Governors, members of the House and Senate, Cabinet officers and Justices of the United States Supreme Court, but never a Catholic President.

What is true of Catholics in this regard is equally the case with those of the Jewish faith.

They have held nearly all the offices mentioned, but none has ever been suggested for or elected to the Presidency. Some day an outstanding Jew may attain a prominence which will cause him to be considered as a Presidential possibility. He may point to the fact that certain of his coreligionists have served with distinction in the House and the Senate, in the Cabinet and on the Supreme Court bench. But must he feel that because of religious differences or prejudices his progress to the highest office in the land is to be halted?

These are questions that are being debated at this time chiefly because the Presidential claims of Governor Smith cannot be ignored. It is a condition and not a theory which confronts us. The best part of it is that this matter is being talked about with more frankness and less rancor than would have been possible in any previous stage of our national existence. Religious bigotry, like the poor, we have always with us. But the kind we now have is the open variety rather than the secret hostility of previous days. That we have religious liberty in this favored land is a matter of gratification to all reasoning men and women. But there are many who feel that this much-desired tolerance will not be complete until every office in the Nation, from the lowest to the highest, is within the reach of all, regardless of the manner in which the aspirant worships or fails to worship.

Treatment of Indians in a British "Mandate"

Mr. R. J. Udani observes in *The Indus* :—
Writing on Tanganyika, Mr. C. F. Andrews states :—

"It would have been much better probably for Great Britain to have taken by force as war booty German East Africa and to have done with it. Then we should have known exactly where we were and a spade would have been called a spade. All the camouflage of a 'war to end war' a 'war without conquests or annexations,' a 'war for freedom and the rights of weaker nations,' a 'war to establish determination,' would have been abandoned. But to-day Great Britain is unctuously congratulating herself on her own virtue, at the very time that she has been accomplishing exactly the same buccaneering acts of war spoil and was booty which William the Norman and his barons accom-

plished after the Battle of Hastings in the year of grace 1066.

"These thoughts have come to me as I have heard, at first hand the story of the German currency notes by which the Indian merchants of Darressalam and Tanga (practically the only merchants involved) have been robbed overnight of a sum amounting to anything over fifty lakhs by a 'war measure' which has never been made good.

"The facts appear to be these: the Germans called in all the silver coinage when they had conquered the East African coast in order to pay their native askaris, who very rightly would not accept anything but silver coins. The merchants were compelled to give out of their banks and safes all the silver money they had in possession, and they were paid for this in German notes. Gradually in this way the greater part of the German currency notes found their way into the hands of the Indian merchants. Then, when the process was very nearly complete, and the British had come into possession, the military Governor declared at a moment's notice all German currency notes to be of no value for exchange purposes, thus putting them with one stroke of the pen out of circulation. They were saved up by the Indian merchants and remained in their cash boxes and safes unused, with the one hope that when the war was over this arbitrary order would be rescinded and they would get a certain value for them. But year after year has gone by: appeal after appeal has been made; but nothing has come of these. The currency notes still remain so much waste paper and no compensation has been given for them.

"There have been a hundred acts of discrimination appearing to show that in the end—Mandate or no Mandate—the white man is going to get everything possible into his own possession. There are Tanganyika 'highlands' as well as Kenya 'highlands' and in spite of India being one of the original signatories of the League of Nations, and therefore entitled to the same treatment as every other signatory nation, it is evident that these 'highlands' will be reserved for white people only. So the story runs on.

"In the end, after witnessing the treatment of the Druses in the French 'Mandate' of Syria and the treatment of the Indians and other races in the British 'Mandate' of Tanganyika, there will be very little belief left by the weaker nations in the honesty of the contracting Powers. The only belief will be that they will always contract for themselves."

From an Unpublished Wilson Conversation

The London *Morning Post* publishes extracts from an unpublished Wilson conversation, from which we take the following:—

Speaking of closer relations between Great Britain and the United States, the President said:—

"You must not speak of us who come over here as cousins; still less as brothers. We are neither. Neither must you think of us as Anglo-Saxons, for that term can no longer be rightly applied to the

people of the United States. Nor must too much importance in this connection be attached to the fact that English is our common language.

"The English language is a disadvantage to us as well as an advantage, because we can read in your books and newspapers what you say about us. For instance, it should not be said of us that we are building ship for ship against you. With French and German it is different, because much of what the French and Germans write does not reach the people, so less harm is done.

"No, there are only two things which can establish and maintain closer relations between your country and mine. They are community of ideals and of interests.

"If I know anything of people, it is of the people of the United States. They cannot be said to be anti-British, but they are certainly not pro-British. If they are pro-anything, it is pro-France....

"I will not say that future wars are improbable, but what I have said is that if before the present war the situation had been freely discussed in public for even a week this war would never have broken out.

"I have promised to make public everything discussed at the Peace Conference. If I find anything going on in an underhand way I will publish it. This is the first time the people have ever had an opportunity of taking any share in a settlement of this sort, and they shall not be balked....

"I have come to Europe to do the little I can, but I am under no delusion. Without the assistance of Divine Providence no man can effect anything which is lasting, anything which is great; no man of intelligence can deny the existence of a Divine Providence.

The East India Company's Indian Spies

The Indian of London states:—

ENGLAND'S SPIES IN INDIA

The Indian Historical Research Association of Poona has published in its latest quarterly journal three old letters of the early days of the East India Company from Clive to Canning. It shows how the Company has spread its network of spies through Indian and other banking and business concerns, not only in India itself, but throughout the Far and Near-East as well. One big firm of Jain merchants, Kutch Batcha Guptas, was acting on their behalf in Western India, Kabul, Kandahar, Hirat, Persia, Northern India, Bengal, and even South India.

One letter quoted is from Lieut. (after Sir) Alexander Burns, who says: "Mukut Chand...Balcha, sends us information from Kabul, Kandahar, Samarkand, Hirat and other places, watching with oil in their eyes the movements of the Asiatic peoples. All wars, peace treaties, military arrangements, etc., being absolutely dependent on their information, the British Government is very deeply indebted to them. This firm is very loyal and reliable to the British. Its information is always found reliable, and we can safely act on it. The only way we can repay it is by protecting this family and the religion to which it belongs."

HOW GWALIOR FORT WAS CAPTURED

How Popham captured the almost impregnable hillfort of Gwalior has been chronicled by him in a letter, which says: "We would never have captured the fort without the whole-hearted devotion of Maharajadhiraj Sawami Shikandra Rup-Chand Gupta. There was a secret door to the fort, which was discovered by Gupta after prolonged and secret inquiry and we were informed of it. We were able to get in and capture the fort without losing a soul."

"Asahi" of Japan

The "Asahi" of Tokyo and Osaka is the foremost newspaper of Japan. *The Japan Magazine* writes:—

We quote below the impressions voiced by three distinguished foreign guests invited to inspect the building:

The British Ambassador, Sir John Tilley:

"What struck me above everything else is that the Tokyo Asahi is provided with every sort of equipment of modern and most progressive type, efficiency first, in every department."

The German Ambassador, Dr. Solf:

"When I entered the Asahi building, which is magnificent and entirely of a new type, and saw its complete arrangements and up-to-date plant, I felt as if I were in a most advanced European or American country, and I was only awakened by the sight of the papers printed in Japanese characters. The Tokyo Asahi, which is situated at the most important geographical point in Tokyo and is ready to enter upon a new period of activity is a symbol of Japan, which grasped the civilization of the past two centuries at one leap."

The Spanish Minister:

"The grandness of the building, the fineness and completeness of its construction and the perfection of its system, provided with every necessary department, are really admirable. Once, at home, I visited a leading newspaper office, but it cannot be spoken of in the same breath, regarding scale and equipment, with the Tokyo Asahi."

Tokyo and Osaka offices are connected by their own special telephone line, laid at a cost to them of about 300,000 yen.

They issue seven periodicals besides their respective dailies. They are the Weekly Asahi, the Asahi Graph (weekly), the Asahi Sports (semi-monthly), the Kinemas and Plays (monthly), the Children's Asahi (monthly), the Asahi Camera (monthly), and the Ladies (monthly).

Borobudur

Mr. Jan Poortenaar writes in *The Asiatic Review*:—

Many legends in the folk-lore of Java also remind us of Animism. The big gun I have just mentioned is one of a pair; its companion lies in the courtyard before the palace of the Susuhunan of Surakarta, and supposed to be inhabited by a ghost, the "sapu jagad" or broom of the world.

which at a certain moment will vindicate that name by sweeping all infidels into the sea. What the venerated Prophet would say when he saw his followers kneeling and praying and offering to an old Dutch gun they do not for a moment consider, but it accounts for their charming and innate naivete. Another example which shows how strongly the native mind is imbued with pre-Muhammedan and pre-Hindu ideas and modes of thought we find in the general belief that the goddess of the South Sea will come and visit the Susuhunan in the top room of a tower in the palace grounds. European visitors are only admitted a few stories high; the top of the building is holy, and must not be visited by anyone, least of all by infidels.

Near by are numerous ruins of Hindu temples and monuments, restored and carefully kept. The most famous is the large Borobudur, of which India furnished the prototype, but the style of which baffles comparison. The only building it can be likened to is the Taj Mahal at Agra, but it surpasses this monument in delicate decoration. Intended as a reliquary, the building should be regarded as a shrine, most likely one of the 84,000 stupas consecrated to hold a portion of Buddha's remains after King Asoka had decided that no longer eight towns, but the whole world, should share in their blessed possession. The structure is erected on the top of a hill, of the shape of which full advantage was taken, so as to form the angular terraces which constitute the main part of the monument. Three circular terraces are adorned with seventy-two bell-shaped chaityas, each holding a life-size Buddha image, the lower parts showing in magnificent reliefs the story of his life. These galleries are, moreover, ornamented with hundreds of niches, in which also stand, or rather sit, similar statues. Rising light and airy for all its grandeur, the enormous monument expresses more strength than a mere massing together of ponderous material, huge walls and towers could have done. The sense of massive power is enhanced by its strange beauty of contour in perfect harmony with the brilliant landscape in which it is set. It is a crown, equal to the Enlightened One's urna.

And its spirit is still alive in the majestically striding Javanese, whether they be regents, princes, or carriers. But with all the refinement of ages of court life, as a coveted flower, it is seen especially in the delicate gesture of the slender Javanese dancing-girl.

"Building the Soul of a People"

The following passages are taken from an article in *The World To-morrow* by Rufus M. Jones:—

George Eliot in the Spanish Gypsy wrote these fine lines three-quarters of a century ago:

"The greatest gift the hero leaves his race

Is to have been a hero. Say we fail!—

We feed the high tradition of the world

And leave our spirits in our children's breasts."

There are now and then personal lives of the type that raise the whole level of life for those

that come after them—lives whose *spirit* becomes evermore "part of the necessary air men breathe." It does not matter very much whether persons of that type succeed or fail in their own generation, whether they win a crown or a cross—their real service is that of quickening, kindling, fusing their fellows, and so of transmitting their own nobility of purpose and

"Breathing a beauteous order that controls
With growing away the growing life of man."

It seems to me that this is the greatest service that Mahatma Gandhi is rendering to India today. It is possible to count up an impressive list of real achievements which are due to his endeavors but overtopping all his specific contributions is the contribution of his life. The by-product, which came unconsciously, as often happens, is more important than the definite product which he aimed to get. Gandhi's life is such an immense achievement, his spirit is such a tremendous contribution to the world that there will be an imperishable legacy from him, whether his plans succeed or go awry.

The most important question to ask about a leader is to find out how far he has helped to create a nobler spirit in the hearts of his people, how far he has been able to raise and inspire the souls of his contemporaries and successors. Gandhi stands this test in a very high degree. He is slowly building a new soul in India. He is one of those rare persons who are unconscious of personal interests unconcerned about what is coming to them. He comes as near as anyone I ever saw to a complete abolition of the ego-focus, the ego-complex. He is absorbed in a cause; he is "lost" in the movement which he leads and inspires. He calls his method non-violence, but that is a very weak word for it. It is not a nay-method; it is a yea-method. It does not negate; it affirms. It is not the renunciation of the use of force; it is the discovery and the application of one of the greatest forces in the universe—the force of love, of human understanding, of unalloyed good will, of heroic friendship, of sympathetic co-operation; in short the might of *truth*. Gandhi calls his entire life-work "an experiment in truth." There is no better way to name it. And the greatest thing about his "experiment" will be its contribution to the new soul of India.

What we need at the present moment here in America is a massive contribution to the building of a new soul in our nation.

Origin of Indian Civilisation

Professor J. Takakusu writes in *The Young East* :—

Where has Indian civilization originated? Situated in the torrid zone and having the highest mountain range in the world together with a vast expanse of flat land, it is but natural that India derives inspirations from the depths of its mountains and Indian philosophers and thinkers seek the solitude and recess of woods to indulge in meditation. It was thus from mountains and woods that Indian philosophy and civilization, education and religion have sprung up. In a country of high temperature like India, it is unbearable for

men to live in a crowded, noisy and bustling city and though villages abound in the country as men instinctively like to live together, Indians go into mountains for meditation and cultivation of character. In this way, the theory that civilization rises from city life is not applicable to India. On the contrary, in India it was life in woods that gave birth to civilization.

If as many scholars do, Western civilization be called materialistic, how shall we call Indian civilization? It is certainly not materialistic, as in points of materialism it is entirely lacking. It places no importance on form and shows no concrete evidence of itself. Nevertheless no civilization is so rich as Indian in spiritual elements. Accordingly, perhaps it is best to call it spiritual civilization. In this regard, Indian civilization is unique, any other civilization would disappear if deprived of form, or its expressions in tangible objects. Indian civilization, however, retains its vitality, no matter if the country is in ruin, for it is spiritual, untangible and indestructive.

Many Indians are no better than mendicants as far as their personal appearance goes. They are shabbily clad, live from hand to mouth and know nothing about the present world and modern things. But spiritually they are found to be superior men. In conversing with some beggars I met with in an Himalayan mountain, while in my journey in India, I was astonished to find them philosophers and thinkers wellversed in the philosophy of Upanishads and the poetry of Vedas. "Whence have you come?" they asked me, "From Japan." I said in reply, but they had no idea of what my reply meant. "Where is it?" they again asked. I was very much puzzled how to explain, for they did not know of sea. I said: "Behind us, as you know, a great mountain range stands. You cross it and find a country as large as India lying beyond it. You cross that vast country and come to a great river, which is a hundred times bigger than the Ganges. Japan lies on its opposite shore." "Is it a large country?" "No, not so large; it is an island country." Again they had no idea of what an island is, and so they were not much enlightened by my explanation. In such a way, they were as poor as children in regard to the affairs of the world, but when our conversation turned to spiritual subjects they talked freely and fluently, showing they were quite at home with philosophy, metaphysics and religion.

Indians long for such spiritual civilization and live in a world of ideal. From the hoary ages of Vedas and Upanishads, from the remote period of Gautama, up to the present time of Tagore, all through the centuries, this spiritual civilization is found running in a continuous stream, holding sway over the minds of the Indian people. Both Gandhi and Tagore are typical products of this civilization, the former an idealist reformer, who aims at putting his ideals into effect, and the latter a poet of nature, who dreams of idealizing realities. India is under foreign rule and the Indian people can show no dazzling evidence of material civilization but she retains her unique spiritual civilization, which will survive though all other civilizations, such as the civilization of present day Europe and America may decay. Beyond question, India offers to the world a civilization which no thinker, no philosopher, no

religionist, no sociologist can do without trying to probe into and unlock its mysteries.

The Buddha's Transcendental Experience

Archbishop M. T. Kirby observes in *The Young East* :—

It is impossible for us to regard the Buddha as a mere teacher of the ethics. Had he been but a simple-hearted moralist. He would not have attracted the disciples and lay followers that crowned around Him. The teaching of simple morality would not have appealed to them.

What, then, emanated from Him that drew all men to Him?

Mere ethics? Mere morality? Most certainly not.

In analysing the circumstances which finally led to the preaching of the Dharma, we find the one-time Gotama enjoying a Great Bliss. He had discovered the source of pain and rebirth and the karma that led to rebirth, and through that discovery. He had freed Himself for ever from their chains.

Briefly, we may say, He had entered into a Transcendental Consciousness, and in its contact He had realised His True Nature, His Essence.

Thus the secret of His magnetism and His Dharma lies in the fact that They were founded upon a transcendental experience. That They bear the hallmark of One who had identified Himself with the Truth He had realised. Truly did He say of Himself: "He that sees Me sees the Truth"—He was the Truth personified; Gotama was dead the Truth was, "made flesh and dwelt among us."

What It is, cannot be expressed in human terms and Buddhists maintain "the noble silence of the wise" regarding It. That It is, needs no proof, because It is that Something that has stamped the Dharma with Its magnetism, and which in turn is inviting the West and being accepted in the West as *the Way, the Truth and the Life*.

Civilisation and Barbarism

Mr. Sunkar A. Bisey, the Hindu Inventor and Scientist, writes in *East-West* :—

We are inclined to call ourselves civilized, but to my mind the difference between barbarism and civilization lies in the employment of physical force and deadly weapons in attempts to settle disputes. It is the difference between might and right, between physical strength and mental strength.

But there is something to be said for the so-called benighted savage barbarian. He at least fights his enemy face to face and with antiquated weapons according to his lights, whereas modern civilized man fights at long range with weapons of terrible power that slay innocent men, women and children. As long as we resort to organized warfare we have no right to term ourselves civilized.

Ignorance of Buddhism in England

Says the editor of *Buddhism in England* :

Some examples of the prevailing ignorance regarding Buddhism border on the humorous. When Miss Faulkner was endeavouring to find a hall for our Wesak Meeting last year, she made enquiries as to whether a certain hall under the management of one of the Nonconformist Christian bodies would be let for the purpose. In reply to her letter of enquiry she was asked to call and interview the Secretary. She did so. This gentleman explained that the hall could be hired, but he would like to know more about the Buddhists, as he had never heard of them before. When Miss Faulkner went on to explain that Buddhism was a non-Christian religion, he said that that settled the matter, they would not even let their hall to Roman Catholics, and certainly would not to non-Christians.

Another instance brought to our notice recently was that of an image of a Chinese demon exposed for sale in a London curio shop labelled *Buddha, the Chinese God of War*.

"Social Income" of the United Kingdom

The following paragraph and table relating to "social income" in the United Kingdom, taken from *International Labour Review* will be found instructive :—

The most important figure is that of "social income", estimated to amount to £3,803 million, for this is the amount really available for consumption or saving on the part of the residents of this country. The corresponding estimate for 1911 is £1,988 million, or an increase from 1911 to 1924 of 90.5 per cent. In the following table the "social income" in 1911 and 1924 is expressed in relation to the total population, the occupied population, and the family.

Year	SOCIAL INCOME			
	Total (Million £-s)	Per head of population (£)	Per occupied person (£)	Per family (£)
1911	1,988	45 + 2 ¹	101	200
1924	3,803	84 + 2 ¹	185	365

What are the corresponding figures of "social income" in India?

The Economic Condition of China and India

Berliner Tageblatt, a German Journal observes :—

No one can predict China's political future in the midst of her present uncertainty and chaos, but we can forecast her economic future with considerable assurance. Her independence move-

1 These figures assign a margin within which there is good reason to hold that the true value must fall.

ment, which in one form or another is sure eventually to succeed, has definite economic objects. The first of these is to liberate the nation from foreign financial and commercial control, to win complete tariff autonomy, and to place the economic direction of the country entirely in the hands of its own people.

In India the course of events has been entirely different. The English have exported to India not only their manufactures but also their capital. The Railways of that country are not owned by natives they were built with British loans, by British contractors, from British materials. India's heavy indebtedness to Great Britain reveals itself to-day in her balance of trade. While Japan's exports and imports over a long period of years—abnormal conditions have upset the equilibrium since the war—are about the same, India has always exported much more than she has imported. She has been forced to do so in order to pay her annual interest bill to England. The English, as the political and financial masters of the country have directed its development to their own advantage. They have, indeed, tried to organize the country on a capitalistic basis, but without local manufactures. In fact, they have discouraged such manufactures by every means in their power. After destroying the native textile industry, they did not for many years erect spinning mills in India itself, but supplied that country with goods from Lancashire. It was not until shortly before the outbreak of the war that this situation began slowly to change, and local factories were erected here and there. Naturally they grew rapidly during the war. Lancashire spinners are now feeling the result. They have not only lost many of their former customers in India, but they realize that with her cheaper labour, her favorable geographical situation, and her local raw materials, India may eventually drive them out of other Asiatic markets.

China is very rich in industrial raw materials. Many geologists believe that her coal resources are equal to those of all the rest of the world. After a period of transition, therefore, she will have brought her iron and steel industries to a point where she can supply her own machinery of production. When that is accomplished, her trade with the United States, England, Japan, and Germany will come to resemble closely the existing commerce between those four nations. But in view of China's vast territorial extent and enormous population, the transitional period will doubtless be a long one. When it is ended the world will be the richer by a great new centre of production, though the older industrial countries may have lost certain of their present markets.

"Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences"

The New Republic states :—

An interesting enterprise, which now seems to be at last on the road to successful completion, is the

"Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences," which is being prepared under the editorship of Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia. It is to appear, we learn, a volume at a time, until within about a decade the whole work, comprising about 8,000,000 words, has been published. It will cover history, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, biology, ethics, education, esthetics, religion and jurisprudence, and is supported by a group of the leading learned societies in these fields. There has long been a demand for one comprehensive work which would not only discuss these topics, but show their relationships. It is expected that this encyclopaedia will set a landmark in the history of the social sciences.

As there are some Indian scholars and authors who can speak with authority on some of the above mentioned subjects so far as they relate to India, we hope, they will be requested to contribute articles to this Encyclopaedia.

"Biblos"

Biblos is a learned Portuguese review published by the University of Coimbra. It contains many learned papers. In the section called "Revistadas Revistas" (review of reviews), the contents of reviews in many languages have been given. Among Indian Magazines, the contents of *The Modern Review* (November 1926, to April, 1927) are mentioned in detail.

War Fables Taught in American Schools

Current History for August gives the place of honour to an article with the above caption by Lient-col. Thomas J. Dickson, who served in the War in different important capacities. Says he :—

There are 107 American school histories on file in the Congressional Library and National Bureau of Education. Not one has a correct account of the great troop movements and momentous situations of the World War. I know of no mitigating circumstances to plead in defense of those who have been guilty of making false, absurd and stupid statements in print and circulating them as American school histories. Space does not permit me to cite all the errors and comment on all these 107 school books. Ten have the virtue of practically not mentioning the World War. Silence is more precious than falsehood.

"MOTHER INDIA"

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE, B.A. (Cantab.),
Editor, "Welfare"

IT is my intention to contradict in this article some gross falsehoods that an American woman, Miss Katherine Mayo, has published in the form of a book, entitled "Mother India." She pretends that her book is a dispassionate study of India and Indians, but few have accepted this pretension at its face value. Most likely the book has been written under "stimulus" of which the source is to be found among some sections of Americans and Britons who do not like to see Hindus given American citizenship in America and self-government in their own country. It is a low thing written with a low purpose. Strictly speaking, therefore, one should no more exert to contradict such insulting lies about one's own country as the above book contains, than enter into a street brawl with one whose offensive armoury is entirely the tongue. But in this case one has to come down and soil one's fingers with the foul stuff served by Miss Mayo, for she is being given a lot of publicity by interested Anglo-Saxons and Yankees (which supports our contention that Miss Mayo is not after all an unworldly one hundred percent academician) which may serve to turn neutral nations against India at a period in her history when she needs all the sympathy of other nations that she can command.

A difficulty, however, has to be faced right at the beginning. Although a previous volume by Miss Mayo ("the Isles of Fear" which was written with a view to lowering the Filipinos in the eyes of the world) was sent to many Indian papers for review, the present pack of lies has not been so liberally distributed in India. It cannot even be purchased here at the present moment. The result is that one has to launch one's counter-attack on the book entirely with the help of the reviews of the book that have appeared in the foreign Press. This may doubtless lead to some shooting off the mark and delivery of one or two unintentionally unfair blows. But considering Miss Mayo's vocation, one need not fear to be uncharitable to her, nor will it melt people's hearts to

see her prostrated under an onslaught not fully and solely guided by the principles of justice and fairplay.

I have read carefully a fair collection of Press cuttings in which Miss Mayo's book has been reviewed, appreciated, condemned or judged. A fair amount of public opinion in the shape of letters from various "pro bono publico's", "observers", "Hindus" and "one who knows" has also received my attention. Having gone through all the above, I have come to believe that it is Miss Mayo's thesis that the Indians, the Hindus specially, belong to a very low level of culture and civilization, so low that they are almost sub-human, and that their continued existence on the face of the earth constitutes a real menace to humanity, i. e., in the language of Mr. Gokhale, "whitemanity." Miss Mayo, like a true-born American Co-ed, hangs on to her contention with that ruthless persistence which the normal mother-woman exercises in hanging on to her husband. She loves her thesis and she must stick to it, come what may to truth, facts and figures.

A certain type of American is by nature a discoverer—not of ordinary puny trifles but of things gigantic and unthought of : mothers who eat their babies for breakfast, trees that delight in doing the cake walk, whole nations gone mad, whole races given over to sexual perversion, etc. To make their discoveries, they would take the greatest trouble, even cross the slender borderland, that separates discovery from invention. Human frailties, limitations of science or logic or lack of what lesser men call evidence, would present no barriers to their far-reaching intellect. Thus would a member of this species write a six volume treatise on the flora and fauna of a country by flying across it in an aeroplane or analyse people's virtues and vices by studying their "reaction" to vaccination or some such important psychological test. Some years ago I had occasion to go through a book written by an eminent member of this clan. He was

writing about the Germans (a leisurely and post-war production). He said in his book

"Scrutinized historically and presented baldly, the German cannot be recognized as other than a pathological type. His mentality is not moral in the sense that the English or the American mentality may be moral. If we Anglo-Saxons are normal, then something—it does not appear where or how or what—has caused a psychological flaw in the evolution of this people; or else there was a slip in the making of the German—something left out in his creation. Whichever it is, whether accidental or genetical, something is inherently amiss in his mental constitution."*

Here is a discoverer who makes a sweeping "historical" generalisation without lowering himself to the task of studying history, a master of group psychology who has probably passed not even a fortnight among Germans in Germany. He does not trouble to enquire what renders innocuous this terrible congenital and inherent abnormality of the German as soon as he takes American papers and swears by the Stars and Stripes. A very large number of Americans are of German extraction and one should naturally look for traces of German deficiencies among Americans also. But the author of the above book does not care to do so. He makes a hash of history, biology and what not and retires to collect the proceeds of the sale of his book with a truly American sagacity. In America we find a good example of what mere literacy without education leads to. It injures the Americans directly by investing a majority of that nation with an appalling mediocrity and shallowness unsurpassed by any thing in the whole history of human psychosis, and, others indirectly as victims of these intellectual sorties. I beg humbly the pardon of those exceptional souls in the U. S. A. who write books on only such subjects as they have made a special study of. For them I have the greatest respect.

The above digression has been found necessary in order to put Miss Mayo in her proper place among American writers. One can readily see that she and similar American phenomena usually make a hurdle race of what they so humbly call studies in the social sciences, wilfully or due to lack of scientific training and detachment, and end up by making science a mockery and manufacturing arguments to suit their preformed convictions. It will not at all be difficult to show up Miss

Mayo's ignorance and fallacies where she dabbles with matter that belong to the domain of scientific study; but where she discusses such subjects as Hindu impotency one has to surrender to her superior knowledge and experience and keep silent.

I have already said that I suspect Miss Mayo of collusion with British (and American) enemies of India and consider this book to be a fraud in so far as it assumes the robes of a dispassionate study of Indian society. My suspicions are strengthened by the fact that this philanthropic social hygiene monger devotes the major portion of her book to what would undoubtedly be recognised as refuting the arguments put forward by Indians in support of their claims to Political Freedom. Nobody can say that social reform or hygiene can be fostered by foreign domination. Far from it. It is just as much an accepted fact that slavery makes men lose their initiative and enthusiasm for self-improvement as it is that slave-owners are far more interested in the profit-yielding capacity of their slaves than in their cultural and moral attributes. When imperialists break their hearts over the moral backwardness of the victims of their greed and proclaim to the four winds their deepest concern for the cultural advancement of their slaves; the average intellect receives the whole thing with a wink. So that when Miss Mayo pesters the attention of the world by her nauseating tales of sex, filth and excreta in order to drive home her contention which reads, "Indians must not get Political Freedom," every school boy guesses her true motive without the help of his teacher. Nevertheless let us weigh her accusations and see what they are worth. Her book has been described by *The New Statesman* as "one of the most powerful defences of British *raj* that has ever been written." Powerful fiddlesticks! It should be described as inductive reasoning flying to the moon on the wings of a blue bottle. Miss Mayo holds.

1. Indians lead a sub-grade of existence.
2. India is a menace to the world as a breeding ground for disease.
3. It is due to British protection that Indians live on the face of the earth or else they would have been wiped out.

The first charge is both true and false. Most Indians have been reduced to such economic degradation through "British protection" that they live a life of compulsory

* George D. Herron, *The Defeat in Victory*, pp. 110-111.

starvation without even the barest necessities in the way of housing and clothing. Let us force Miss Mayo and her compatriots to live on 30 or 50 rupees a year and see how much culture they exude after six months. I have seen some Anglo-Saxon slum dwellers. They would give the lowest of Indians any handicap and beat them in filthiness by a wide margin. No Indian will live in an unwashed shirt for a decade or so, nor take a bath only when shipwrecked. As to finer feelings, religion or anything like that, some of the Anglo-Saxon poor can well compete with the animals at the Zoo. I am forced to say these rude things, for Miss Mayo drives us to comparison. I do not say our people lead a very high life ;—poor men, they are not in a position to do so ; but why say *they* lead a sub-grade of existence when what really happens is that they are *made* to lead a life of suffering and wants. Those Indians who can afford it lead a high enough life. May be their idea of a bath is not wading in a few gallons of tepid water, but washing the whole body in running water. May be their wine bill is nil, their luxuries few, their food more natural than that consumed by Nero's Court or their habits a bit fastidious but that does not make it a sub-grade of existence. That is a sub-grade of existence which renders a man progressively degenerate in body and mind. What do we find in India to-day ? Millions of forward-looking and hopeful men and women who are fast improving in body and mind, staking their all on their life's major speculation : Political Freedom. These progressive men and women are the people on whom we should concentrate, not the hospital cases of Miss Mayo nor the criminals encountered by her Anglo-Indian, Parsee or other friends who are jailors, lawyer's or liars. If we had been leading a sub-grade of existence, the British would not spend so much money and energy in counter-acting our efforts to attain *Swaraj*, (including recourse to detention without trial). If we had all been degenerate, the British would not find so many healthy and energetic workers to run their government. Those Hindus who went and fought in France when some Anglo-Saxons were pleading conscientious objection to being courageous, were not degenerates either. Those who did pioneer work in Africa so that "white" men may later on swindle them were also fair samples of manhood. There are thousands of Hindu workers in America who are earning

the love and respect of their American competitors and employers* for efficiency, integrity and high morals. Miss Mayo could have interviewed some of them instead of going to the India Office for instruction. This so-called sub-grade of existence vanishes as soon as Indians find sufficient means to improve the "grade" of their existence. Poverty and ignorance are its causes and in so far as poverty is removable it is also open to improvement. And it has no more to do with raciality or civilization than poverty or ignorance has. The ideals of a better life are there, it only requires means to realise it in the life of the masses of India.

What is responsible for our poverty ? What has destroyed the balance of our economic life by destroying our industries by foul means ? What again has made ever-bleeding wounds on our social body by exploitation, miscalculated development and trade ? Hindu Religion or Anglo-Saxon Irreligion. We have not been poor and starving always. Our traditions, our ideas of good living, our wealth of temples, tombs and treasures : marvels of the architect's, the sculptor's, the lapidarist's, the weaver's and the painter's arts, testify to our past prosperity. It was the lure of our gold, and not the urge of Christianity that brought the Anglo-Saxons here. And our present poverty is the result of their "protection". This poverty will not be removed or even lessened so long as our present rulers get a free hand to squander our national wealth in the name of Military, Railway or Home charges, to pay interest on money that was seldom spent for our benefit and probably was not borrowed at the lowest available rate. What does this woman, who knows so much of venereal ailments and sexual perversion know of the economic history and structure of the nation she has been commissioned (by God ?) to slander ? Coming from a nation of cold-blooded and deeply analytical economists as she does, what is the consideration for which, she wages this semi-sentimental war against India's just claims ? Instead of looking for the real causes of India's present degeneration in certain spheres, causes that will stand the test of science and logic, why does she ascribe it to our culture, civilisation, race, religion or philosophy (without

* Read Dr. Rajani K. Das's book "*Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*."

knowing anything about them, 'of course')? She might just as well have explained our poverty, high death-rate and low percentage of educated persons by saying that these were due to a curse laid on our nation by an angry witch or an offended christian god. That would have caused even more sensation in New York.

India is accused of being a breeding ground for diseases, and, as such a menace to the world. Well, it is not true. Most of our countrymen die of diseases that cannot be communicated to well-fed Americans. Our Malaria, the greatest killer, is really malnutrition. Our infant mortality is really due to poverty. There is a direct relation between infant mortality and poverty. The same is true of respiratory diseases, also of Plague. Small-pox and Cholera are directly fostered by over-crowding, bad and insufficient food and dirt. These are the natural manifestations of poverty.

And what has made India so poor? Anglo-Saxon unscrupulousness, treachery, greed and exploitation or Hindu social customs and speculative philosophy? History will answer the question. It was that race of supermen, the progeny of the murderous marauders of the sea, who today worship Jesus as they worshiped Odin and Thor yesterday, that have stricken the fairest lands of the southern seas with the curse of their soulless greed. Hindu philosophy and Hindu speculative thought are things too high and complex for the *banias* and *gladiators* of the West to comprehend. They are hazy and meaningless to the shopkeepers who criticise things beyond the reach of their shop-walking intellect in the columns of the *New Statesman*. Thus might a London Coster find fault with Wagner's orchestration. The Hindus were comprehensive thinkers and all-round men. Alongside of their speculative philosophy would be found their positive sciences or *shastras*. The achievement of the Hindus in the fields of Astronomy, Mathematics, Logic and Grammar, in Economics, Medicine, Chemistry and the Physical Sciences, in Navigation, Ship-building, Architecture, Sculpture, Weaving, Painting, Decoration, the Lapidarist's Art, Town-planning, Banking and Finance and the Military Arts, has been marvellous for the times. The downfall of the Mahammadan Empire in India was the work of Hindus and not of the covetous tradesmen of the West who later on occupied India by a prolonged practice of duplicity, treachery and by

employing the lowest of means. Talk of higher culture or ideas, purer instincts or finer sentiments from Miss Mayo's kindred sounds like a Ghoul reciting the Psalms of David. Let us quote a few verses from the Epic of Anglo-Saxon expansion with special reference to India and the East. I have said that our greatest sin is our poverty which is a gift from the Anglo-Saxon saviours of the world. From the following quotation we get an idea of how the British have driven the Indians to the farthest point of misery by ruthless taxation.

"Lord Mayo says plainly in his minutes and despatches, that the burthen of Imperial taxation has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished. In 1859 the total expenditure amounted to £38,378,026, and that for 1870 was £50782,412 or an increase of more than seventeen million sterling. Meanwhile, what is the condition of the mass of the people? By the confession of the latest authority, *they are reduced to the lowest point at which existence can be maintained*..... Not five years ago, six hundred thousand persons perished of starvation within three hundred miles of Anglo-India.*

Today the expenditure of the central government alone exceeds 130 crores of rupees (about £100,000,000). Add to it the proceeds of the Land revenue, the Excise, Forests, Stamps and miscellaneous duties which comprise provincial receipts and the immensity of the burden becomes fully manifest.

Herbert Spencer says:—

The Anglo-Indians of the last century 'birds of prey and passage,' as they were styled by Burke showed themselves only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico. Imagine how black must have been their deeds, when even the Directors of the Company admitted that, the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country.' Conceive the atrocious state of society described by Vansittart, who tells us that the English compelled the natives to buy or sell at just what rates they pleased on pain of flogging or confinement.....A cold-blooded treachery was the established policy of the authorities. Princes were betrayed into war with each other; and one of them having been helped to overcome his antagonist, was then himself dethroned for some alleged misdemeanour. Always some muddled stream was at hand as a pretext for the official wolves.....Down to our own day are continued the grievous salt monopoly, and the pitiless taxation that wring from the poor ryots nearly half the produce of the soil.†

* Torrens—*Empire in Asia*, p. 376, Reprint

† *Social Statistics*, pp. 567-8.

Then comes Burke with his tribute to the great people who "protect" India from disappearing from the face of the globe. He said,

"Young magistrates who undertake the Government and Spoilation of India, animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetite renewing for a food that is continually wasting."

Sir Charles Dilke wrote :—

"There is too much fear that the English, unless held in check, exhibit a singularly strong disposition towards cruelty, wherever they have a weak enemy to meet.....In Madras roads, for instance, I saw a fruit-seller hand up some limes to a lower deck port, just as we were weighing anchor. Three Anglo-Indians asked in chorus, 'How much?' 'One quarter rupee.' 'Too much.' And without more ado, paying nothing, they pelted the man with his own limes, of which he lost more than half.....It is in India, when listening to a mess-table conversation on the subject of looting that we begin to remember our descent from Scandinavian sea-king robbers. Centuries of education has not purified the blood, our men in India can hardly set eyes upon a native prince or a Hindoo palace before they cry, 'What a place to break up?' 'What a fellow to loot.' When I said to an officer who had been stationed at Secrole in the early days of the Mutiny, 'I suppose you were afraid that the Benares people would have attacked you' his answer was, 'Well, for my part, I rather hoped they would, because then we should have thrashed them and looted the city. It hadn't been looted for two hundred years!'"*

Thus began the process of impoverishing the Indians whose cumulative effect to-day enables the uncharitable and ignorant tools of India's enemies to refer to Indian life as a sub-grade of existence and to India as a breeding ground for disease. About twenty years ago the Rev. Dr. Aked said in the course of a lecture delivered in England.

"Famine in India was chronic and things were going from bad to worse. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were five famines with a million deaths; in the second quarter, two famines, with half a million deaths; and in the third quarter, six famines, with five million deaths. The average income told the same tale. India had *retrograded*, materially, and the simple fact was that the longer our rule continued, the worse the condition of things became."

In the ten years ending in 1905 nearly four million people had died of Plague in India. In the nineteenth century over 32 million people had died in India of famine.

* *Greater Britain* 5th edition, pp. 445-7.

† Quoted in the *Prabasi* 1313 B. E. P.

These are striking tributes to the "British Protection" of India which began with such deeds of inhuman cruelty and plunder. Will Miss Mayo recommend its continuation as a means to attain health, strength and prosperity? But of course, we are expected by Miss Mayo and her friends to be exterminated by invaders if and as soon as the British leave us. India has experienced many invasions, some by worse barbarians than the modern European imperialists, yet the Indian people have come through alive every time. Just before the British came to India the Hindus were reasserting political power in India. That they were enslaved again was not due to their deficient social system, child-marriage or sexual appetite. It was partly due to their lack of any national sense, partly to the fact that the British came at a time when the Empire of the Moguls was breaking up into numerous disunited small kingdoms which the British could easily play off against one another, and largely to the superior weapons and devilry of the invading people, who came in the guise of friends. The History of British occupation of India is a long catalogue of traitorous and shameful deeds and there are many authoritative books by eminent 'white' men which if studied, may serve as a revelation to open-minded people.* When the British got into power, "then", in the words of Lord Macaulay (*Hist. Essays*, Vol. III), "was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilisation without its mercy." Tyranny of the most blood-curdling sort, frightfulness that would quail the heart of an Assyrian, hypocrisy reeking with the stench of a wellnigh pathological greed crowd the pages of this history. Let all dispassionate persons study the true story of European domination of India and judge Katherine Mayo's pointless attack on India's socio-religious life as the cause of her present degradation, and evaluate her stage tears over suffering Indian womanhood thereafter. As to fears of extermination—we hope to defend ourselves without British bayonets; for British bayonets do not defend us now, any more than the Turks were kept back at Mesopotamia by the Americans. One of the supporters of Miss Mayo writes in

* "*The Rise of the Christian Power in India*" by Major B. D. Basu is a five volume treatise which can be considered to be a good compendium of books, essays, reports etc., relating to this period of Indian History.

The New Statesman to the effect that if the British withdrew their army from the N.-W. frontier "all the 'failed B. A. s.' of the nationalist agitation would have their throats cut within a week or so." So would also all the conservative and so-called liberal M. Ps. if they tried to fight their own battle against the French, the Germans or even the Portuguese. Just as they hire stalwart fools to fight for them, so could the B. A. s. also keep an Army of intelligent Jats, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Maharrattas, Moplahs, Namasudras, Pathans, Purabiyas. etc., to present arms to any number of cross-belted map-readers. It should, however, be noted that there are a good number of B. As. in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta or Lahore who are well able to become officers in naval, air or field forces and manipulate the machines which are now-a-days used for the destruction of human life. In this I am certain they would not be beaten by the average Englishman or American provided their machinery, instruments and explosives are of good quality. The latter too could be manufactured with a little effort in this country. So that Miss Mayo as well as C. S. (A reviewer in the *New Statesman* who out-Heroded Herod in the course of her appreciative comments on Miss Mayo's book. Is the reviewer Miss Cornelia Sorabji by any chance? I may be wrong for I see that the reviewer has attempted to suggest to the readers many times that he or she is English) may well assure themselves that even if we got Swaraj we would still continue to provoke their "righteous" indignation by our frailties so long as they last us.

The next series of charges against us comprise lack of culture, sexual perversity, violation of babies, venereal diseases, cruelty to animals, drinking filthy water, hyper-sexuality, impotency, eating cow-dung, using the same as the mainstay of a system of medicine, etc., etc.

While admitting that such things can be found in India if searched for with assiduity, I must point out that such abnormalities are not by any means representative and essential facts of Indian life and civilisation. India is a vast country with a very long history. Numerous institutions have originated, flourished and decayed in the soil of this ancient country. Whereas a *pervenu* can easily acquire only such manners and habits from books of etiquette as would find him a place in society; the man who has a little

"ancestry" is often burdened with a lot of tradition, fads, mannerisms and idiosyncrasies, all of which may not prove to be "assets" of life. Similarly an ancient nation will necessarily carry along with its tradition, idealism, glory of past achievement and culture, a lot of wreckage, dead and dying institutions, thought perverted into superstition and conduct based on thoughtless habit. India is such a country and if one looks for evil here, one will find it. But there is more of good in this country, the evil is on the wane, inspite of British Protection, known as the "policy of non-intervention. We are not supporters of caste distinctions, child-marriage, enforced widowhood or unhygienic habits. These have done a lot of harm to India in the past and are still doing much harm, although they are doomed institutions. But there had been social reformers in India before William the Conqueror taught the British to speak in French and to think coherently and there had been more of them afterwards. The Present reform movement began before Waterloo and to-day there are millions and millions of Indians who are well on the way to realise their ideals of social purity and excellence. The Indians have achieved this without the help of those greedy hypocrites who come here hiding their low nature behind pious pretensions, shedding crocodile tears over their own misdeeds. For them we have only one advice "NO HAWKERS." No more thieves must sneak into our country pretending to peddle either religiosity or social hygiene. Our further advice is "physician heal thyself." There are millions of well-clad savages in Europe whom a little culture will do no end of good. There are more of them in America. A study of Havelock Ellis or Von Krafft-Ebing will reveal how for sheer variety sexual perversion in the West has a world of its own, where we can show only a few common garden species. The profusion of pornographic literature and indecent places of amusement in Euro-America rouse in us a natural suspicion that the demand for such things is probably commensurate with the supply. The statistics relating to the prevalence of venereal diseases in Western countries are also illuminating. Pigeon-shooting, fox-hunting, vivisection, etc., are not organised by the S. P. C. A. Nor are the poor girl-workers in the big cities of the West, who are forced to supplement their starvation wages by selling their bodies nightly to the idle debauches, volunteers to the Feminist

cause. There are people in the West who drink no water, filthy or clean, but fuddle themselves with drink and drugs, men who embrace vice not because of ignorance or poverty, but consciously in order to drag their hectic existence to its logical and evil extreme. Western girls seldom bear children at an immature age through marriage; but, judging by the crowded foundling homes, statistics of hospital cases and confessions here and there, one cannot say that none of them ever get into trouble at an early age. So that there are "baby-violators" also in the West. Not violators of baby-wives, but of baby-mistresses. The statistics showing the age of venentially affected persons also point the same way. My question is, if Miss Mayo had so much to do at home, why did she then go out of her way to emancipate the poor Hindus? What was her attraction?

Now let us go through some facts and figures in order to put to the test the contentions of this sanctimonious woman. The contentions must be tested from both an absolute and a relative standpoint. Are we guilty at all? Are we so guilty as we are painted? Are we more guilty than is due to the average frailties of man? I may not be able to find perfect answers to the above; but my hope is that others will do so later on.

Are we devoid of all culture? It is no doubt true that compared to the teeming millions that live on the soil of India the number of really cultured men and women is rather small. But true culture in all countries is found only in the few. As a matter of fact culture is merely a name given to the thoughts, feelings and conduct of the best element in a nation. With proper arrangements for education and provision of necessary material means, culture or at least a semblance of it can be imbibed by a larger proportion of a nation. All men are born uncultured and their nurture determines their future mental and physical development. How much the quality of this nurture depends on economic means need hardly be explained to intelligent people. Men who are provided with no education, have not even sufficient means for one square meal a day, who seldom get an opportunity to see or experience the beautiful and good things of life and never go beyond the narrow limits of a cramped existence, in which there are only suffering,

slavery, insults and tyranny, can hardly be expected to cultivate cultured ways of living and thinking. The fact that inspite of what they have been reduced to by nearly two hundred years of organised exploitation, the Indians even now think of God, religion, duty, good and evil, charity, chastity, loyalty, hospitality and other virtues, are thrilled by the religious dramas and attracted by classical literature and music, shows that they possess a basic and deep-rooted culture which needs no outward trappings to prove its existence. Ability to read printed signs, to put on complex clothing or to travel by underground or elevated railways do not constitute culture. If culture has anything to do with man's mind, the Indian masses are cultured inspite of their lack of ideas of hygiene, sanitation and dietetics. What is more, they are nearer the highest thought of humanity than the American workingmen are to the thought of Emerson or William James. So that where we are beaten by the West are only in those aspects of culture in which the backing of material wealth is an essential. There are also deficiencies caused by lack of education, discipline, and hopefulness. These are closely related to wealth and liberty. What we have however prove at least that we are not inherently vicious or incapable of further cultural development. If only the literate were counted in India even then we could show well over *twenty-five million* of such people. Those who know English can also be counted in millions. Miss Mayo has pounced upon a few persons here and there who have unclean habits to condemn a whole nation. It may also be pointed out that many of these cases merely show a temporary want of ability to fit in with new conditions of life and the younger generations are already getting used to city life and are rapidly mastering the tricks of modern civilisation.

It is not my intention to belittle the material achievements of the Western people; but I only request our Western friends to remember that sanitary fittings alone cannot make a civilisation; science alone cannot give man his perfection. It is all very easy for ignorant and misinformed people to rave against Hindu thought, but those that have taken the trouble to study it, have seldom thrown it overboard. The world has yet a long way to go. It is foolish for those who are an inch or two in advance here and

there to turn up their noses at those who are a couple of inches behind. The little mechanical tricks, the knowledge of which make our Western friends feel so superior, have been learnt in a few decades by the Japanese. It will be the same in other countries though some may be hampered for a time by political dependence.

Indians have been charged with sexual perversity and been called baby-violators. The Indian masses, as everybody is aware, generally marry soon after attaining maturity and sometimes before that. Married life seldom fosters sexual perversity and, if early marriage in itself is not a perversity, Indians can be considered to be eminently free from such vice. The lower one goes in the social strata the more true will one find the above statement. As a matter of fact, some of the primitive races of the East never knew any perversion, till they were contaminated by "more civilised" people. As Mr. E. H. Man, F.R.G.S., C.I.E., Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar islands wrote nearly half a century ago :*

"Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it must be confessed, unhappily opened their (the Andamanese) eyes to the existence of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge : notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offence etc., which appear never to have been committed among them."

The Indian masses lead a more or less quiet and colourless life, perversity is the product of high nervous tension, idleness and unearned wealth. Few Indians live a hectic life or have money or leisure enough to indulge in sexual perversity. Most of them are also forced by custom to live away from their wives eighteen hours out of the twenty-four ; so that all Miss Mayo's talk of sexual excesses are nothing short of of unmitigated lies concocted either by herself or by her Anglo-Indian, Parsee or other friends. Cases of some amount of perversion and excess are normal to all human races. For instance let us see what America herself can show in this respect. Lajpat Rai tells us in his admirable book "The United States of America."

"The double standard of morals' as applied to men and women, in one of the most hotly debated

questions of the day. The tremendous prevalence of venereal disease among men : the 'Privilege of men' who insist that their present and future wives should be blameless in their moral character while they reserve for themselves almost unrestrained freedom and never hesitate to stain the lives and bodies of their wives and children with disease ; the ruthless economic exploitation in industries, which forces so many women down into a life of shame : all these questions agitate deeply the woman of America to-day, organised womanhood and single workers are trying their best to stem the tide of degeneration and to ameliorate or eradicate the outer and preventible causes which in the ultimate lead fellow-women into the under-world.....America does not publish its deepest shame in tangible numbers and it is not possible to know how many women lead degenerate lives. But the reports of the Vice Commission, which has extensively investigated the conditions of prostitution in Chicago, give ample proof of the crying need for immediate attention to this problem.....*Chicago alone is reported to require yearly 5000 new girls to satisfy the demands of prostitution in refilling the places of such as dropped out through death and disease. About 50 p. c. of these girls are under seventeen hardly more than children.*"

so that even in a country which produces such paragons of virtue as virgin Mayo herself, there are millions of people with abnormal sexual appetite. What is more there are a sufficient number of baby-violators in Chicago alone to violate 2500 new babies every year. Baby-violators who do not sin ignorantly or thinking that their vile conduct is part of their religion ; but filthy-minded perverts who plunge into the mire with all their burden of Anglo-Saxon morality and culture.

But are there too many child-wives in India ? Those that are, make us to hang our heads in shame ; but should we therefore let Miss Mayo's sweeping generalisations go unchallenged ? Let us enquire into the facts. We take the following figures from the Census of India, 1921 vol. I, part I, page 159.

Year	Number unmarried Per mille. Males aged		Number unmarried Per mille. Females aged	
	10-15	15-20	5-10	10-15
1921	879	687	907	601
1911	866	665	891	555
1901	860	650	893	559
1891	841	621	874	491
1881	813	617		481

Commenting on the above the Report says, "the figures clearly show an increase in numbers of those in the early age-categories who are still unmarried. The movement is most marked in the Hindu Commu-

* "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands" by E. H. Man F. R. G. S. C. I. E. : Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland vol. XII, part 1, p. 112 : London, 1883.

nity but is shared by other religions." This means several things to Miss Mayo and her clan. (1) That nearly 70 p. c. of Indian males remain unmarried till they are out of the 15-20 age group, (2) That over 60 p. c. of girls cross the age-period 10-15 in an unmarried state, (3) That since 1881 there has been marked progress towards better conditions in this respect and (4) that the Hindus, Katherine Mayo's *betes noires* are the most progressive in this field. Where Miss Mayo found whole hospitalfuls of suffering girl-wives whom their student husbands had mutilated and infected wholesale, God only knows ! This woman seems to have been suffering, when she wrote her book, from some kind of complex which might have made her see sexual perversion even in the *Kutub Minar*. A Freud alone could explain why a virtuous American spinster should be so obsessed with ideas of sexual and sadistic excesses as to suspect (expect ?) a whole nation of such guilt.

The above figures showing number of unmarried girls per thousand need a further explanation. In India marrying off a girl before she attains puberty is supposed to be a virtue. Marrying off does not, however, signify giving over to wifehood. Girls seldom go to their husbands' homes before two, three or more years after marriage. But this idea of marrying off girls at an early age has led to the almost universal practice of under-stating a girl's age when she is unmarried and in her teens. What is stated to be thirteen is generally fifteen and fourteen is often seventeen. Hence the real state of affairs is, if anything, better than what appears in the above table of figures. I do not suggest that things are in an ideal state in India ; but, my point is that where Miss. Mayo charges us with criminality and demands our extermination, we are generally speaking guilty mainly of violating the principles of eugenics, not babies. In the latter respect we are no worse than the Americans.

A few words about the relative rationality of Indians and Anglo-Saxons are here necessary to complete my contradiction of the inferior-culture charge. Indians believe in caste-distinctions, untouchability, drinking filthy 'holy' water, ghosts and spirits and in many other stupid things. This is true of not all Indians ; for rationalistic 'heresy' has always occupied a prominent place in Indian thought

since time immemorial. One can see this, to begin with, in the *Vratyas* who are almost mythical, and then in the great pioneers of liberal and free thinking : Buddha and Mahabir in ancient times, Ramananda, Kabir, Nanaka and Chaitanya in later times, and Rammohun Roy and Dayananda Saraswati in modern times. These men had and still have millions of followers and admirers in whom they inspired ideals of democracy, equality, virtue, justice and fraternity never realised in practical life by any Western nation. Miss Mayo should have studied the lives and achievements of Mother India's greatest sons, before setting up a howl over the few black sheep of the family she had seen or heard of. Some Indians are superstitious and prejudice-ridden, so are most Westerners. If Indian *khansamas* fear the attack of ghosts or Hindu *Brahmans* refuse to dine with *sudras* or prefer the impure water of the holy Ganges to distilled water : in the West ; many a Sir Arthur Conan Doyle infects the popular mind with talk of *poltergeist*, tree spirits and ectoplasm, Americans refuse to dine at the same table with Negroes and Mulattoes or even to worship at the same church or travel in the same car with them. Upper class, lower class, blue blood and county blood are also terms invented by Anglo-Saxons to signify imaginary superiority of one kind or another. There are also marriages of convenience (with dowries) *mesalliances* and left-handed marriages in Europe and America, in which latter country the mouths of oil, tar or toilet-paper kings water at the sight of a prospective son-in-law in the shape of an European duke, marquis or count. In St. Peters church in Rome, one can see whole queues of irrational devotees kissing the foot of a marble god one after another while an attendant wipes the foot of the image every time *with the same rag*. Horrors of pyorrhoea and soft chancre ! Those poor fools should have kissed a sterilised operation table instead and every kiss should have been followed by a shower of permanganet of potash.

Next we face venereal disease. Venereal disease was originally introduced into the East by Europeans. Says Frederick Tice, M.D.,*

"The researches of Okamura and Sasuki for Japan and China and of Jolly and others for India showed that syphilis did not exist in these countries until it was introduced from Europe."

* *Practice of Medicine Vol. III., p. 442.*

In the Indian system of medicine this disease is known as *Pheranga Roga* or *Feringhee disease*, which means European disease. Where Miss Mayo discovered that Indians were simply rotting away in their millions with syphilis and other venereal diseases we do not know. The fact is that in many cantonment towns and ports this disease is widely prevalent among some classes, but there are no grounds to say that such diseases are very wide-spread in India or that they are spreading more and more.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica** says,

"The figures collected by the British Royal Commission, (on V. D.) indeed, indicate that the higher in the social strata one goes the more venereally stricken do the people become."

Which means that wealth begets these diseases. The reason is obvious. So that, Miss Mayo's charge of venereal affection made against a nation which is composed 95% of poor and simple-souled people is *prima facie* absurd and false. Wealth and idleness have stricken the West with these diseases to a degree impossible of thought in India. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*† also tells us that syphilitics compose nearly 20% of the United States' population and that about 30% of Western men and women had suffered from venereal diseases before the War. Conditions have gone far more to the worse since the war. The war has probably also increased the number of

Indians who have suffered similarly, but exact figures cannot be obtained. There are however two ways in which we can come to some sort of an estimate indirectly. We find in Nelson's *Living Medicine** about sterility in women:

In a considerable proportion (some authorities place the figures very high) the condition (sterility) is a direct result of gonorrheal infection.

So that as gonorrhea is the most wide-spread of venereal diseases, a population of which a large number are infected with venereal diseases must show a large proportion of sterile women. As Miss Mayo herself and her supporters have been raging against the Indian habit of breeding and dying like flies and against all or most young women getting half a dozen offspring before passing their 'teens, their further accusation of Indians being largely diseased venereally breaks down on their own statements. Moreover, I have consulted an eminent physician and learnt from him that syphilis in a group of men and women always increases the number of the blind, the deaf-mute and the insane among their progeny. So that if India is being progressively "syphilised" like Europe or America, then the figure of blind, deaf-mute and insane persons should show, accordingly, progressive increment. What is it we find in fact. The following table from the Census of India† will show us how we stand:—

INFIRMITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED, WITH RATIO PER HUNDRED-THOUSAND OF THE POPULATION.				
	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
Insane	88,305 28	81,006 26	66,205 23	74,279 27	81,132 35
Deaf-Mutes	189,644 60	199,891 64	153,168 52	196,861 75	197,215 86
Blinds	479,637 152	443,653 142	354,104 121	458,868 167	526,748 229
Lepers	102,513 32	109,094 35	97,340 33	126,244 46	131,968 57
TOTAL	860,099 272	833,644 267	670,817 229	856,252 315	937,063 407

* Vol. 32, p. 300.
† Vol. 32, p. 300.

* Vol. VII, p. 297.
† Vol. I, Part I, p. 205.

The above does not show any progressive increase in these afflictions, rather we are led to believe that these figures point the opposite way. A progressive increase of venereal affection is not compatible with a fall in blindness, insanity and deaf-mutism in forty years. In passing I also draw the reader's attention to the progressive fall in the number of lepers in India, I should also draw the attention of people to the valuable figures collected by the Student Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University. This committee have examined thousands of students and their findings controvert finally the base lies of Miss Mayo directed against our students whose wives one of her trusted friends "saw" in a hospital suffering from foul diseases acquired from their husbands.

Our last words shall be about our alleged cruelty to animals and about the place of cow-dung in Hindu Medicine. The latter charge can be dismissed at once; for no one who knows anything about the Ayurvedic system of medicine will waste his time over such idiocy as the accusation displays.

Then cruelty. All cruelty is reprehensible and we own up that we are cruel to our animals in some ways. But very few of us allow our old cows to be slowly eaten up by maggots or starve them to death. Old cattle are usually killed by kind-hearted dealers in cow-hide. And one knows that cows must not die a natural death if they desire to be skinned for leather. Hence, I think that all this talk about starving to death and feeding the maggots with old animals is arrant nonsense. Our flourishing trade in hides proves it. Then compare our cruelty with the western variety. I shall not talk in details about roasting Negroes alive or about gassing whole army corps. Let us talk of animals only at first. Samuel Smiles in his work on *Duty* laments the "enormous amount of cruelty upon dumb animals,—upon birds, upon beasts, upon horses, upon all lives." (as practised in the West) He writes—

"In Italy...birds are used for the amusement of children...The children do not understand that a beast or bird can be a fellow creature. When expostulated with, they answer—'It is not a Christian'."

Let Miss Mayo face Mussolini with a denunciation of Italian culture, if she

dares. When Cashel Byron (Barnard Shaw, *Cashel Byron's Profession*) said in defence of his pugilistic cruelty, to her lady love :

"Who did I see here last Friday the most honoured of your guests? Why, that Frenchman with gold spectacles. What do you think I was told when I asked what his little game was? Baking dogs in ovens to see how long a dog could live red hot!"

Was he referring to a Hindu practice? In the Elk-tooth industry the European dealers used to catch the Elks when they were snowed up, pulled out their teeth and left them to starve slowly to death, surrounded by food which the poor animals could not eat. The history of the fur and feather industries would provide millions of instances of leaving animals to die slowly in traps which would probably be attended to once in many months. Birds were carried with their legs chopped off to prevent their flight. And so on and so forth. So much about cruelty to animals. Let us go a little into cruelty to humans. Lionel Curtis is a leading member of the imperial section of the Anglo-Saxon race. In his book *The Commonwealth of Nations* * he quotes some passages from the life of John Paton, a missionary. We find the following in one place :

One morning, three or four vessels entered our Harbour and cast anchor in Port Resolution. The captains called on me; and one of them, with manifest delight, exclaimed, "We know how to bring down you proud Tannese now! We'll humble them before you!"

I answered, "Surely you don't mean to attack and destroy these poor people?"

He replied, not abashed but rejoicing, "We have sent the measles to humble them! That kills them by the score! Four young men have been landed at different ports, ill with measles, and these will soon thin their ranks....Our watchword is "sweep these creatures away and let white men occupy the soil!"

"Their malice was further illustrated thus: They induced Kapuka, a young chief, to go off to one of their vessels promising him a present...Having got him on board, they confined him in the hold, amongst Natives lying ill with measles..."

Then after twenty-four hours this innocent chief was put back on shore to carry the deadly (to these primitive people) measles to his kinsmen, who died 'by the score!' It chills one's blood to read about such inhuman and fiendish cruelty. The whole history of the "white" races, from the

Sagas down to the history of the Great War is steeped in *human* blood. Then why accuse others of cruelty to *animals*? Western civilisation is tottering and the fear of a plunge back into barbarism

has gripped the heart of all thinking men. At such a time the sight of soft-brained western liars attempting to vilify others has a strange pathos which is three-quarters tragedy and the rest unconscious humour.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMERS AND INDIA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENEMIES

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IN the lives of the saints of all religions, one may find some of the greatest of them, accusing themselves of being the greatest sinners. But it would be wrong to take them at their word for that reason and conclude that they were the wickedest of men, though it would be right to infer that like other human beings they were far from being perfect morally and spiritually.

We do not at all mean to suggest or say that Indian or Hindu society is a brotherhood and sisterhood of saints. What we mean is that when Indian social reformers in their zeal for reform, born of love of their country, denounce some bad customs or some social evils, they are apt to indulge in superlatives and to speak in such an unqualified manner as to lead those who do not know to think that the customs prevail all over the country among all communities and classes, that there are no counteracting causes anywhere among any sections, that the customs in question therefore produce the greatest possible harm of all kinds, and that no improvement has been taking place gradually owing to the efforts made by previous generations of reformers and those that are living.

Take, for example, the custom of the purdah or the seclusion of women. Indians themselves, without the help of their political enemies, perceived its injurious effects, and have been trying to do away with it as much as is necessary for the spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical welfare of society. But while admitting its evil effects, we ought not to give foreigners the impression that it prevails all over India among all classes of the people. All over India, it is far less strict among Hindus than among Muslims,

and even among the latter the women of the poorer classes in rural areas do not generally observe it. Among the Hindus of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, including the Indian States situated therein, which comprise the whole of peninsular India, there is no purdah at all. In the Central Provinces and Central India there is no purdah among the Marathi-speaking Hindus. In Bombay a small advanced section of Muslims does not observe purdah. In the north and north-west, the purdah is not observed so strictly among the Hindus of the Punjab as elsewhere. In the Indian Christian communities, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, purdah is not observed. All over India women of the poorer classes of Hindus do not observe purdah. Women of all classes of Hindus, rich or poor, from the lowest to the highest castes, move about freely in all places of pilgrimage, which are large in number and scattered all over India, visiting and worshipping in the temples and shrines. Similarly in the sacred rivers of India, which are many, Hindu women of all castes and classes bathe without purdah, and they bathe frequently. It should be added that, when not ill, they bathe at home or in the nearest river or tank every day at least once.

Where and when purdah is observed, it is not exactly like imprisonment, though Westerners may disbelieve it. And, though these same superior persons may call us barbarians, we think some seclusion—*not* enforced seclusion, would do good to even occidental women.

Having stated in brief what purdah is like and what the extent of its prevalence is in India, we assert that even as it is, it is an injurious custom. But it is gradually

loosening its hold on orthodox Hindu society. At present in such a big town as Calcutta, where its injurious effects are most marked, there are numerous orthodox Hindu families who do not observe the purdah as they did before. Many orthodox Hindu ladies walk every evening to the Ladies' Park and some other parks in this city.

Other bad Indian customs might similarly be taken as examples, and the extent of their prevalence, the degree and extent of their harmfulness, and the velocity of their gradual disappearance described with as much accuracy as possible. But that would be to indulge in an unjustifiably long digression.

What we want to say is that, owing to the political capital which our enemies may make of what we say and write in condemnation of our injurious customs and habits, some of us may feel inclined to cease to condemn them publicly and even to defend them or minimise their injuriousness. We ought not to do that, whatever use our enemies may make of our speeches and writings. The good of our country is incomparably more important than the opinions of foreigners suffering from a superiority complex or interested in painting us blacker than we are. All that is necessary is that we should try to be exact in what we say and write, measuring praise and blame and weighing our words.

That social abuses and bad customs are partly responsible for our loss of political freedom cannot be denied. But no nation can argue that the existence of bad social customs in a country is a justification for enslaving it or keeping it in servitude. For, no nation, not even the politically freest, is socially perfect. There are great social evils even in the politically freest countries. But that would be no justification for some other nations to attempt to conquer them. Whether they can or cannot be conquered is another matter. When during or after the world war, some countries became or were made free, it was not after an international commission of sociologists, social scientists and philanthropists had pronounced a favorable verdict on their social systems and organizations and hygienic condition that they were allowed to be or remain free. Some countries in the east and south of Europe can compete very well with some countries of Asia in dirt and insanitation and the like. Eye-witnesses can bear witness to the fact.

We do not like the *tu quoque* style of

argument. That others are bad is no justification for us to be so. That others are bad does not prove that we are good. But our political enemies have compelled us to point out the social and other evils that exist among them and among other politically free nations only to show that if the existence of these evils among them has not deprived them of their right to be free, the existence of similar or other evils cannot justify our enslavement. So far as these latter stand in the way of our making a successful effort to be free, we are trying to get rid of them, and our political enemies are trying not to help us to get rid of them.

The abolition of child-marriage and child-mortality and the raising of the age of consent within and outside marital relations would tend to make Indians a physically, intellectually and morally fitter nation. But British bureaucrats have all along been very unwilling to help Indian social reformers in effecting these reforms by direct and indirect legislation. They had no objection to abolish suttee, probably because it was mainly a question of humanity;—the abolition of suttee was not expected to promote the building up of a stalwart nation. But the abolition of child marriage, etc., is indirectly and almost directly a political as well as a social remedy. So in these matters our British bureaucratic friends fall back upon the cant of neutrality and non-interference in religious and socio-religious matters. As if suttee, hook swinging, etc., were not such things, which the British Government have stopped by legislation. British bureaucrats probably have another motive for falling back on the cant of religious neutrality and non-interference. They feel that they have almost completely lost their hold on the minds of the majority of the educated classes. So it would be natural for them to try to be popular with the illiterate and partially educated masses by pandering to, or at least by not interfering with, their superstitions and prejudices.

British bureaucratic mentality finds expression in passages like the following in the Census Report of India for 1911, Vol. I, p. 272 :

"Though the evils of child-marriage are undoubted, the subject is not one with which the British Government can exercise much direct interference.....In two Native States, however, bolder action has been taken."

This mentality continues in spite of the following admission made in the previous decennial Census Report of India (for 1901), Vol. I, p. 434 :—

"Happily there is reason to believe that the leaders of Indian society are fully alive to the disastrous consequences, both to the individual and the race, which arise from premature cohabitation and are anxious to use their influence to defer the commencement of conjugal life until the wife has attained the full measure of physical maturity requisite to fit her for child-bearing."

Twenty-six years have passed since this was written. Yet the late Home Member of the Government of India declared that he would oppose Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's very moderate Hindu child-marriage Bill! It has to be seen whether his successor will carry out that threat.

Here may also be mentioned some of the ways in which the British Government is instrumental in keeping up caste divisions. In deeds to be registered, in plaints before law-courts, and other similar documents, people have to state to what caste they belong. This is an unnecessary require-

ment. Recruitment for the army is encouraged among certain castes and discouraged or practically prohibited among others. In civil Government appointments in many provinces, candidates from certain castes are discriminated against, whilst candidates from other castes are preferred.

We should go on with the work of social reform with unabated, or rather with increased zeal, not caring for what foreigners say. Social abuses and evils in foreign countries should engage our attention only so far as it may be necessary for us to mention them in order to warn our countrymen not to imitate what is bad in foreign countries or in order to refute the arguments of foreigners that, because of bad social customs in our country, we do not deserve to be politically free,—the fact, on the contrary, being that we cannot make adequate social and moral progress without political freedom. Lastly, we should uproot the least traces of any feeling in our minds that the undesirable condition of society in any foreign country in any respect is any justification for a similar state of things in ours, or is a proof of our social excellence and superiority.

INDIANS ABROAD

A Letter from Fiji

We have received the following correspondence from Mr. V. Deo of Lautoka (Post Box No. 17), Fiji

Lautoka, Fiji, 21st June, 1927.

Sir,

Believing that the Mother country is awakened after all to lend its sympathetic ear to the woes and trials of her children and grand-children away from India, I venture to drop the following few lines for your favourable consideration.

The problem confronting the Indians in Fiji are very well-known in India and therefore it is not necessary for me to redescribe it here. Suffice it to say that there are a few salient features that retard the general progress of the Indians in the Colony. The vestige of thralldom of indenture and the inherent slavish rule of the plantations are more or less still existent on the children of even third generation and will probably remain so for the generations to follow. Consequently there is the conspicuous lacking of the spirit of fearlessness and frankness which is the essence of all advocacy of the oppressed classes : hence there are many

wrongs that exist today which could have been non-existent had our fellowmen been such of whom it could not have been said that they think one way, say another, and do a third.

The Colony of Fiji affords opportunity to the social welfare of the Indians here if only they rise to a sense of renaissance from within. All that is required, I say again, is the awakening from within. The crying need of the Indian problem is the necessity of trained, social and political workers free from all tangles. A few Indian youths born in Fiji have endeavoured to do some spasmodic effort at public service but their usefulness is limited by the necessity of funds to carry out social and political service and by the lack of necessary literary qualifications to fit them for such service.

It is here I find that the Motherland can fill the gap by formulating some systematic scheme to enlist and train Fiji-born youths as social volunteers. Will the Mother country act and at least share a little of its vast responsibility to her children abroad? We know that her home problem is imperative, but her liberality shall not go amiss in stretching her motherly hand to her Fijian children. The Mother country will be discharging a sacred duty if it takes up the project at once of

training Fiji Indians as selfless workers of Truth and fearlessness.

There are a few patriotic youths in Fiji who would forsake all for the Indian cause if only given the opportunity to qualify for such service. I pledge myself to find the youths should the Mother land agree to train them and then all shall march side by side in the universal national renaissance. I conclude with the hope that Mother India stretch its helping hand to us.

V. Deo

We hope there will be a response to this touching and earnest appeal.

Report of the Kenya Local Government

The above Report, which has recently come out, has roused in Kenya Indians a deep feeling of resentment due to the iniquitous recommendations which aim at rendering the Indians absolutely powerless in the Nairobi Municipal Council as well as in the Mombasa Municipality. Of the 18 members of the former 9 will be elected Europeans, 5 elected Indians, 1 Goan, 1 Government representative, 1 each from the Railway and the District Council. In Mombasa the story is repeated. On a minimum basis of 19 members, the Mombasa Municipality is to have 3 European officials, 5 nominated Europeans, 5 elected Europeans, 1 nominated Indian, 3 elected Indians, 1 Arab and 1 Goan. One can very well realise what a mockery of representation the above arrangement is. We wish our Kenya friends success in their fight against injustice and tyranny.

National Indian Teachers' Conference

The *Indian Views* is very caustic over the revelations made at the above conference. 73 per cent of the children of Natal Indians, who form a fairly well-to-do community, receive no kind of education. The *Indian Views* advises Natal Indians to stop boasting of the glories of ancient India and to begin to lay the foundation of the glory of future India by providing their children with education. There are plenty of unemployed graduates in India who can be exported to Natal with mutual benefit.

Hindi to be the Language of Fiji Indians

The *Tanganyika Opinion* publishes extracts from the report of the Fiji Education Commission of 1926 giving the reasons which induced the Commission to recommend the teaching of Hindi at all Primary Schools in Fiji. We reproduce a small portion of the extracts below.

Expert Indian opinion agreed that, while it is true that Indians in Fiji come from different provinces in India, and speak different languages, it is also true that life in Fiji during the past forty years has brought the people together and that Hindi has become the commonly understood language. It was, however, pointed out that the Hindi spoken in the Colony was not the Hindi of the educated class and of literature but was a debased form of language developed in the Bazar. Accordingly, it was argued that a debased form of language was unsuitable for a school course. After very full consideration of the practical difficulties in the way of accepting the suggestions for the various Indian representatives, your Commission is of opinion that Hindi should be the Indian Language mainly taught in the Primary schools.

Repatriation of Indians

The *Democrat* of Nairobi gives us the following:—

The Martizburg corresponded of our sixth avenue contemporary reports that over 400 Indians sailed on the s.s. "Umzumbi" from Durban on the 6th instant in pursuance of the Union Government's voluntary repatriation scheme which forms a part of the agreement recently concluded between the two countries.

A New Scheme for South African Indians

The following is taken from the *Indian Views* :—

Mr. Bhawani Dayal (member of Dr. Abdurahams's Deputation to India, who has since remained to that country) has opened a home for Indian emigrants in Bihar, and leaves for South Africa on July 20.

He announces that he has arranged with some influential land-owners of Bihar to purchase 33,000 acres in Kenya, where Indians, who have returned from South Africa, and do not desire to remain there, but are unable, or unwilling, to return to the Union, can be settled.

Though the Round Table Agreement was very satisfactory, especially as regards repatriation, he counsels Indians, wherever possible, to remain in South Africa—Reuter's.

Propaganda against East African Indians

While Catherine Mayo, George Pilcher and Co. are carrying on a malicious campaign of vilification against Indians in general, news have arrived of a similar campaign directed solely against Indians in East Africa. One Sir Sydney Henn, M. P., is reported to have made a speech in London in the course of which he has said:

"The Indians (in East Africa) are the chief traders of the area. They penetrated in any quantity to the interior only after the settlement of the country by the British. They had been made the tool of political agitators in India..... His (Sir Sydney's) one complaint against them was, as to

their low standard of morality, both personal and commercial, especially the latter.....the educative effect of Indian standard of morality upon Natives was deplorable."

The *Democrat*, a Nairobi paper, duly makes mince-meat of Sir Sydney's false accusations

and proves how it was an accepted truth that Indian traders were extremely reliable, honest and fond of straight dealing. Their competition has unnerved the whites, who are making every effort to lower the Indians in the eye of the world.

NOTES

"Mother India"

The world contains much that is ugly, much that is disgusting, much that is destructive of health and life. Many things happen in this world which are cruel, ignoble, wicked, abominable. Yet those who believe in a Supreme Being associate with it all that is good, holy, pure, beautiful, wise and true. They would feel pained beyond expression if any sceptic or atheist were to associate with the name of God all that is ugly, disgusting, cruel, wicked, and ignoble, leaving out all that is pure, beautiful, beneficent and true, though the wise among the lovers of God would not object to sceptics and atheists seriously challenging the believers in God to explain the co-existence of good and evil.

There are thousands of patriots in India who almost deify India and adore their Motherland. It is not that they ignore the existence of the evil and the ugly in their country. They only idealize their Motherland and hope to make the ideal the real by sacrifice, devotion, and strenuous endeavour.

They cannot but feel that Miss Katherine Mayo has been guilty of something approaching blasphemy in associating with India all the disgusting and wicked things she could find in the country or invent about it and then naming her book "Mother India," as if this part of the earth is not and has never been known for anything beneficent, beautiful and sublime, as if the people of India are not and have never been known for doing anything that makes man godlike. Unprovoked malice or loathsome venality could go no farther.

Having done this sort of ghoulish work for (or rather against) the Philippines, she

turned her attention to India. Whose turn will it be next?

Miss Mayo an Anti-Indian Propagandist

We should be prepared to put up with the strongest and even the most uninformed condemnation of our past and present, if it came from genuine friends. But Miss Mayo's book has not been written to do good to India, but to convince the world that we are such a debased people that we do not deserve to be free or even to live and that British rule in India is necessary and beneficent and should be perpetuated. If anybody wishes to do good to India, he should point out the faults of Indians to them alone or at least to them first of all or along with others; in any case, it is not the part of a friend to make arrangements for first of all making non-Indians acquainted with all that can be truly or falsely said against India, leaving the Indians themselves to find out their faults as best they can.

But this is exactly what Miss Mayo and her publishers have done. As far as we have been able to find out from Indian-owned and Indian-edited newspapers, not one of them has received "Mother India" for review, though Anglo-Indian editors have got it and reviewed it. It has been reviewed in America and Great Britain. We have not been able to purchase a copy in Calcutta. So well-known a publicist as Mr. K. Natarajan of Bombay could read the book only by the courtesy of a friend of his. *One of our contributors has sent a review of the book from Germany! An Indian contributor of an Indian weekly has sent it a review of it from Switzerland!* It can scarcely be considered accidental that

the book has become widely known all over the western world before those against whom it is written have been allowed to review it. So the simple plan has been to prejudice the world against us before allowing us to point out the inaccuracies and deliberate falsehoods which the book contains. Of course, even if the book had been sent to Indian editors along with other editors, Indian opinion on it could not have influenced the western world much, for Indian journals have a very small circulation in the West. Still, the simultaneous despatch of the book for review to both Indian and non-Indian journals would have shown that the author and her publishers were prepared to face Indian criticism simultaneously with reaping the advantages of occidental praise and circulation in the West.

It cannot be contended that Miss Mayo and her publishers are not aware of the existence of Indian-owned and Indian-edited papers, for her work on the Philippines was sent to many of them, because, of course, they were not Filipinos!

Another fact which shows that Miss Mayo's book is part of anti-Indian propaganda is the use which British newspapers are making of it to oppose giving Indians political rights. For example, *The Saturday Review* writes in the course of a leading article reviewing the book :—

But the basic fact is that India is not socially fit for self-government. And her social evils are found in their worst forms among precisely those who would be given political power, the Hindus, not among those more virile peoples who would challenge the power of the Brahmin oligarchy. Surely it is incumbent on this country to postpone political concession until social conditions improve, until there is some guarantee that the new powers given to Indians will not be used to perpetuate the gross evils at which we have glanced. We must not betray India under pretext of giving her a political boon.

How absolutely ignorant or wilfully blind *The Saturday Review* is, is evident from its assumption that all Hindus are wanting in virility, as if the Jats, the Rajputs, the Dogras, the Gurkhas, the Garhwalis, the Marathas, etc., were not Hindus. Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* and of *The Indian Daily Mail* has ably exposed the sophistry of "The Saturday Review" in "The Indian Daily Mail" thus :—

The hollow sophistry of this reasoning lies in the fact that British rule itself is a good deal responsible for hardening fluid custom and neglecting, and even resisting, social legislation during

the last fifty years. Social reformers have come to realise that their work must remain unfruitful until a national government takes it courageously in hand confident of the support of the Indian people. Indian States like Mysore and Baroda passed laws long ago against child marriages but the British Government of India has not moved its little finger directly to check the evil. *The Saturday Review* says political reform should not come before social reform. *We say, on the contrary, that no further progress in social reform is possible unless Indians are endowed with a large measure of political initiative.*

(Italics ours, Ed., M. R.)

We write all this, because it has been claimed that the book is not a piece of pro-British and pro-Imperialist and anti-Indian propaganda. None but absolutely blind or dishonest partisans, or fools entirely devoid of intelligence can accept such a claim.

The First Lie in Miss Mayo's Book

Not having seen Miss Mayo's book yet, we cannot say how many lies it contains, nor point them out. But we find the following sentence in a review of it in *The Indian Social Reformer* :—

The very second sentence of the very first chapter of her book speaks of "many little bookstalls where narrow-chested, anaemic, young Indian students, in native dress, brood over piles of fly-blown Russian pamphlets."

The description of young Indian students as narrow-chested and anaemic need not detain us. What we are concerned with are "the piles of fly-blown Russian pamphlets." "Pamphlet" means "Thin paper-covered book usually containing essay on political or other current controversy." Russian pamphlets mean such books written in the Russian language and obtained from Russia, or such books written in English or some Indian language and sent from Russia. Now, as very few, if any, Indian students know Russian, the bookstall-keepers would be egregious fools if they imported and kept for sale piles of pamphlets written in Russian. But supposing they were foolish enough to do so, why should Indian students ignorant of Russian brood over piles of such pamphlets? They may be narrow-chested and anaemic, but they are not absolutely wanting in intelligence.

Let us, however, suppose that Miss Mayo means that the pamphlets are written in English or in some Indian language and imported from Russia. Whatever the language of the pamphlets, Miss Mayo obviously in-

sinuates that they are the work of Bolshevik and communistic propaganda. But the Government of India have, under the Post Office and Sea Customs Acts, proscribed all such literature, and confiscate them wherever found. So, how could there be piles of such pamphlets openly *exposed for sale* in book-stalls? It is true, in spite of the vigilance of the officials concerned, a few proscribed pamphlets and leaflets find their way to some persons, including some who do not want them. But such copies would not make piles, nor would they be publicly kept for sale in bookstalls for flies to promenade and Indian students to brood over.

There are no bookstalls in Calcutta where piles of even non-political and non-socialistic Russian pamphlets are kept for sale.

The reason why this lie has found a prominent place in Miss Mayo's book is that Russia is England's and every other capitalistic country's *bête noire*, and the picture of Indian students poring over Russian pamphlets is calculated to make our young men objects of dislike and hatred to them.

As for Indian students being narrow-chested and anaemic, let us hear what *The Indian Social Reformer*, which is the principal social reform organ in India and is in its 37th year, says :—

"Unkind strangers often call the Bengali Babu oleaginous but not anaemic. In her description of Bengali youth she is merely repeating the Anglo-Indian conception of political enthusiasts as decadents. As a matter of fact, Young Bengal since the days of the Partition has paid particular attention to its physical fitness—an example that is being followed all over the country."

When pitted against British soldiers or civilians in India in manly games, Indian students do not generally come out second best ;—they do sometimes come out with flying colours.

"The Eating of Words."

The Week, a Roman Catholic organ edited by Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias, observes :—

The eating of words is an accomplishment, neither pleasant to perform nor to behold, but freely indulged in all the same: probably under the mistaken idea that it "saves face," to carry on as if one never had spoken nor acted in opposition to the attitude of the moment. Probably also, because it requires real greatness to admit, as Mahatma Gandhi on a memorable occasion did, even a Himalayan mistake.

At the risk of *lese majeste* we would therefore almost conclude that our great contemporary in

Chowringhee really lacks greatness. The reason why we dare thus to speak of *The Statesman* is that, when on the 18th we read a leader therein called "Mother India," we had not yet forgotten a leader therein on the 2nd, called "Mother India". We read :

AUGUST 2ND

"It is a book that must have consequences. It is a terrible book which cannot be ignored. The central figure revealed in this egocentric world is the Hindu husband, and above all the Brahmin. Truly this is a searing, painful book, revealing unimagined glimpses of human suffering and though Miss MAYO has generous words of praise for the record of Englishmen and women in India, we think that the effect upon the British public will be a painful one. The authoress gives reasons why no English official or missionary could or would write such a book. There are few adjectives, no invective, no passion, only a deadly accumulation of photographic and harrowing detail, and she never quotes other Mr. GANDHI or a debate in the Legislative Assembly without a reference."

AUGUST 18TH

"It is plain that the book and its conclusion have not been swallowed wholesale by the more informed critics and that there are distinguished organs of public opinion that plead for a rational consideration of the case against India that is framed by the American writer. If reports from hospitals as to the mutilation of children in marriage that Miss MAYO has cited have to be accepted, we should show that these things are no more typical of general life in India than are hospital reports in any other country of the general life there. They are criminal offences here as elsewhere. In short there is another side to the picture that Miss MAYO gives her readers, and it is not only desirable but essential that that other side should be presented to the world with authority."

The Statesman of the 18th having adequately demolished *The Statesman* of the 2nd, we have no desire to do a work of supererogation in repeating what it has already done (on the 18th), especially as Miss Mayo's book has not yet reached us, although an advice has, that the publishers have forwarded it to us. When we receive it, it will in the ordinary way be reviewed in our columns,...

The reason why *The Statesman* had to eat its words appears to be that it printed some wicked and abominable lies uttered by one Mr. Pilcher against Hindu widows, against which there has been an outcry all over the country. There has been a similar condemnation of Miss Mayo's book also. All this may have made the Chowringhee paper anxious about its sales and advertisements.

Miss Agnes Smedley's Article on Miss Mayo's Book

We have published Miss Smedley's article on Miss Mayo's book to show what impression it has produced on the mind of an unprejudiced foreigner about India. Miss Smedley's conclusions relating to India's social, cultural and spiritual condition might have been entirely correct, if Miss Mayo were capable of telling the *whole* truth and nothing but the truth about this country. She has been misled in some respects by her acceptance of Miss Mayo as an accurate observer and a truthful generalizer. Our remarks do not apply to the political part of the article.

League of Nations Propaganda

Since writing our note in the last issue on lessons in schools on the League of Nations, we have come to learn that such lessons have been ordered to be given in Government and aided schools not only in the Presidency Division, but all over Bengal. Probably similar orders have been passed all over India. We have known for a long time past that the League had passed resolutions in favour of giving instruction to young people in many countries on the work and aims of the League. We need not recapitulate the steps subsequently taken by various other bodies to give effect to these resolutions. *The Leader* says that the suggestion that the desired instruction should be given by connecting 'League teaching' with 'existing studies in schools of all sorts,' selecting history as central among such studies, has given rise to a heated controversy among British teachers and others interested in the education of boys and girls.

Professor J. L. Morison has vehemently opposed the suggestion that, to quote his own words, 'a new compulsory 'propaganda' should be launched on the 'country through our schools' and his criticism is representative of the views of others who are opposed to the proposed 'League teaching' in schools. He says that 'as a first proposition I would lay down that whether good or bad, all forms of propaganda are to be discouraged; and by propaganda I mean any form of intellectual solicitation which attempts to give plain facts more than their due weight and value' and that our business whether as citizens or educators is to base our actions on honest and unemotional appreciation of facts as we see them in our rational moments. But the (League of Nations) Union and its educational supporters, he says, propose to employ the most dangerous and least legitimate of propagandist instruments, our schools--Even if the League of Nations Union had archangels as its missionaries and although its object is the noblest and most Christian motive, I would still protest against the misuse of our educational system in pursuit of something else than truth taught in the spirit of truth. History, he further says, is proposed as a chief instrument in the process; 'when we begin to draw moral lessons, the danger is that we shape our history to suit our moral conclusions'. Professor Morison's criticism of the proposals contained in the teachers' memorandum might have stood if in England or in other countries of the world history had not been taught on nationalist lines; but when for instance an English boy is told of the exploits of Clive and Warren Hastings in this country of 'natives' and has no idea of the high degree of civilization and culture attained by the people, some League teaching should supply a necessary corrective, should impart to young people a sympathetic knowledge of the people of other nations. But this will involve the re-writing of history to serve the larger and higher

end in view. And even if any kind of propagandist teaching is bad, why should League teaching, that is to say, a knowledge of the constitution, aims and works of the League, be any more propagandist than knowledge of the history and constitution of the Empire? And yet those who are opposed to 'League teaching' are not opposed to Empire teaching. Indeed, they fear if 'League teaching' is given a place in the existing studies in schools, Empire teaching will be neglected. People in England may not be knowing what Empire teaching sometimes means to people in the dependencies. Some time ago a committee was appointed by the Government of Burma to enquire how the 'Imperial idea' may be 'inculcated and fostered' in educational institutions. Among the recommendations made by the committee were that 'in all aided 'Anglo-vernacular' high schools the superintendent or head-master should be of 'British nationality...', that 'in all Government Anglo-vernacular high schools the principals should eventually be officers in the Indian educational service,' that the chairs in the Burma University connected with imperial studies, i. e., civics, geography and economics, should for the most part be held by men of British descent...'

We are entirely in favour of lessons inculcating good-will and brotherhood among nations and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. But we are against both Empire teaching and League teaching. We oppose League teaching, because it is an organisation dominated by Imperialistic nations, and cannot therefore consistently give effect to the high principles it professes. We would not have our boys and girls misled into the belief that the principal members of the League are at heart or in practice promoters of the cause of world brotherhood. Not being thought-readers, we cannot say what objects those men had in view who drafted the Covenant of the League. But giving every credit to them for good intentions, we have not been able to discover how the League can or will help subject nations to be free, thus establishing real world democracy and brotherhood.

Teaching School Children to be Hypocrites

The worst of Empire teaching—and League teaching—in India is that it practically makes our children hypocrites. They know that books like "England's Work in India," etc., and their Indian history books contain half truths and lies. Yet for passing examinations they have to repeat what the authors have written. Similarly, about the League lessons, too, they know that much falsehood and partial truth are being taught. But they

cannot protest, nor can they answer questions on them as they would like to.

Miss Mayo's Services to Imperialists

Miss Mayo knows that the time for "re-forming," curtailings, nullifying or ending the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms is drawing nigh. She knows, too, that the vast majority of Britishers do not want that India should have even a modicum of real freedom, and would be glad to discover or invent excuses for keeping India for ever politically and economically enslaved. Just in the nick of time comes out her book! The timeliness of the publication is not one of its negligible merits.

Another fact shows that she knows the game of Imperialists very well. Britishers know how to accentuate and take advantage of Hindu-Moslem differences. So she does not forget to point out that Musalmans are socially better than Hindus. She also knows that the educated classes are the Britishers' *bete noire*. Hence she pours contempt on them and extols the martial races.

We may be permitted to observe here incidentally that Mr. George Bernard Shaw's denunciation of India in the introduction which he has written to his friend Mr. William Archer's three posthumous plays, has also been quite timely.

It may be that neither Miss Mayo nor Mr. George Bernard Shaw should be classed among anti-Indian propagandists. It may only be that accidentally things are so shaping themselves as to favour the anti-Indian imperialists. But there is no harm in pointing out how things are happening quite accidentally.

"No Confidence" in Bengal Ministry

The motion of "no confidence" in the Bengal ministry has been carried by the votes of men all of whom did not vote for the same or similar reasons. Some professed to have voted for the motion because they, as Swarajists, were against dyarchy. Others voted with them because they did not like one minister or the other or both. Others again voted for purely personal reasons. So the vote of "no confidence" is not a vote against dyarchy. Even if it had been a

vote against dyarchy, it could not have ended that system of administration.

The failure of the Bengal National Bank ought to have been a sufficient warning to Mr. B. K. Chakrabarti to lead him to resign. The subsequent revelations connected with the affairs of the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills ought to have hastened his resignation. For though he had given up his connection with these two concerns on accepting a ministership, he had previously been connected with them for a sufficiently long time to justify people in thinking that he was to some extent responsible for what had happened. Of course, nothing criminal has been proved or suggested against him. But so far as actual results go, remissness or incapacity may lead to failure in business as much as dishonesty and breach of trust. For these reasons, Mr. Chakrabarti had become unpopular with his countrymen, apart from his merits or demerits as a minister. Due praise should not, however, be withheld from him for the financial responsibility he undertook in being the guarantor of both the concerns. As a guarantor his liabilities amount to 45 lakhs.

As for Mr. Ghaznavi, he gave great offence to a section of Bengali Musalmans by accepting a ministership after Sir Abdur Rahim had failed to persuade any Hindu M. L. C. to accept office with him. Otherwise, broadly speaking, Mr. Ghaznavi, had not yet proved himself to be a less zealous Muslim communalist or a less competent minister than any other Muslim minister in Bengal.

Another cause of the unpopularity of both the ex-ministers is that on questions on which all parties felt alike, *e. g.*, the release of the *detenus*, they had not taken a bold stand.

Dyarchy is a bad system of government. But in itself it is not worse than autocracy. At the same time, it must be considered worse than autocracy pure and simple if it can be successfully passed off as responsible government or self-government. For lovers of freedom are on guard against undisguised autocracy; but they can be taken in by what is not self-government but only masquerades as such.

If dyarchy could be destroyed, and self-government established in its stead, nothing could be more welcome than such an event. But if dyarchy be only in suspended animation or in abeyance, and autocracy has full sway, then nothing is gained. Dyarchy

with competent, honest and hardworking ministers would be preferable to it, because such men can do a little good work and prevent a little mischief, with the help of the Legislative Councils. And as dyarchy has been seen through, nobody would now mistake it for real responsible government or self-government, or even a half-way house to it.

Among Bengal M. L. C.'s there are men enough who can carry on the work of ministers. But it is doubted whether there are any two men among them who would be able to command a majority of votes for the full term of the present Council or any considerably long period. In constitutionally governed countries like Great Britain, the resignation of ministers is followed by a general election. But India is not such a country.

Bengal National Bank and Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills

The rogues and incompetent men who have brought the affairs of the Bengal National Bank and the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills to such a miserable pass should have their deserts. No pity would be felt for them.

We have no idea of the profits, if any, made by the Bengal National Bank at any time. But the goods produced by the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills have been all along in such great demand, that it has often happened that the supply has fallen short of the demand. And the concern has been in existence for a good many years. It may be assumed, therefore, that enormous profits have been made and misappropriated by scoundrels.

That there is some probability of the Mills being run by a new managing agency gives grounds of hope that the money invested in it by many a poor man and woman, including many poor widows, will not be lost

indefinite period without any trial, open or in camera. And it is still more shameful that the conditions in which many of these men have to live are worse than those existing in jails. Owing to these conditions, many have contracted serious illness, of which some have died, and some are next to death's door.

Earl Winterton's Mendacity.

In the Legislative Assembly, in reply to questions on the statement made by Earl Winterton in relation to the alleged trial of Mr. S. C. Bose and other detenus, Mr. Crerar, the Home Member, had to admit that the Earl had made an inaccurate statement. Mr. Crerar also said that Lord Winterton's false statement that Mr. S. C. Bose had been tried by two Judges was not based on any statement that the Government of India had supplied him with. Indians are, therefore, left to guess what the source of his information was. It is possible that he did not understand or read carefully the information sent to him from the Government of India Secretariat. In that case, his unfitness for his office is quite plain;—a man who is so foolish or so careless ought not to be an Under-Secretary of State. Or he may have derived his information from men like Lord Sydenham or Sir Michael O'Dwyer. If he did so, he acted against all official procedure and rules and was guilty of insulting the Government of India, to boot. Or it may be that he exercised his faculty of imagination and invented his statement. In that case he should be made Poet-Laureate Extraordinary.

Earl Winterton did not frankly acknowledge his mistake in the Commons. He pretended to think that Mr. George Lansbury had not understood him aright. That shows the character of the man.

General Dyer

Detenus and the Bengal Council.

Some Members of the Bengal Council gave Mr. Moberley a very bad hour with their interpellations relating to detenus and supplementary questions arising out of his answers, when he gave any. For to many a question he could give no answer at all. It is a shameful business, this keeping of innocent men deprived of their personal freedom for an

When General Dyer was still in the land of the living, we said all that we had to say of him and his murderous exploit. We had no desire to write anything more. But from the many cuttings from the London *Morning Post* and other Tory papers sent to us by friends, it appears that persistent attempts are being made by the enemies of India to produce the belief that Dyer was a

martyr to duty and a saviour of India ! When it is said that Dyer saved India, it is, of course, meant that he prevented India from being lost to the British Empire. That is not saving India, but saving the British Empire. But even in that sense he did not save India, as there was no actual or projected rebellion. Far from saving India for the British Empire, the Jalianwala Bagh massacre which stands to his discredit roused feelings which would have led to India going out of the British Empire if Indians had a sufficiency of up-to-date arms and ammunition and competent warriors to lead them.

Insult to Religion to be Made Specific Offence

Mr. Crerar, the Home Member, has introduced a Bill to make it a specific offence intentionally to insult or attempt to insult religion or outrage or attempt to outrage the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. That in spite of the conviction of the accused in the *Rasila Vartman* case, such a bill has been introduced, shows that Mr. Justice Dalip Singh was right in his view that the law as it stands cannot be made applicable to offences covered by Mr. Crerar's bill.

We are against insults to any religion and to outraging religious feelings. But we do not like the new bill. The British bureaucracy in India should not as a general rule be armed with additional powers to punish people. They cannot be trusted to use such powers with impartiality and due discretion. All offences against good taste, ethics, etc., ought not to be made penal offences.

Besides, the line of demarcation between serious criticism and justifiable denunciation or satire or sarcasm and insult to religion cannot very often be drawn with unerring precision.

But as we have not learnt to bear and forbear, we must be kept in check by the whip of the foreign slave-driver. The lampoonists and fanatics of different sects must consider that to be a great honour.

As for the administration of the proposed law, it is more likely than not that it would be more often enforced against those who are not turbulent or fanatical or comparatively

less turbulent or fanatical than against those who are more turbulent and fanatical.

The penalty proposed includes imprisonment up to two years with or without fine, which is unnecessarily severe.

In this connection *The Behar Herald* reminds the public that

Exactly eight years ago, there appeared in a missionary paper of Calcutta a letter from a Mahomedan correspondent making the vilest reference to the prophet of Islam. There was considerable feeling among Mahomedans, who moved Government to take action against the paper. It will be remembered that the Press Act was then in full force, and consequently, the public was surprised when the Bengal Government came out with a communique which stated among other things that the publication of the letter would not justify action under the Press Act or under any other legal enactment.

MUCH WATER HAS FLOWED UNDER THE bridges since then. In the Punjab several papers attacking Christianity were suppressed, while missionary publications making the most shocking imputations against personages regarded as sacred by Hindus and Mahomedans were never touched. This immunity was the direct cause of the origin of literature of the type of the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Risala Vartman*. The action now taken should not, however, be supposed to be the outcome of a general campaign against those who wounded the religious susceptibilities of other communities by traducing their prophets and saints. The point was forcibly brought home by the defence counsel in the *Risala Vartman* case who pointed out the inconsistency of proceeding against one particular writing while other writings of a similar nature were condoned.

THE OBSERVATION MADE BY MR. JUSTICE Broadway on this contention of the counsel was extremely significant. His Lordship said : "I can only conclude that action was not taken by Government in connection with the writings referred to by Mr. Puri (counsel for the defence), viz., the 'Journey from Delhi to Admabad' (nowhere) and the 'Uniswin Saddi ka Maha Rishi' because they were not considered by Government to have transgressed the law." This observation of the Judge could only mean that in his Lordship's opinion the only justification for the inaction of Government in the matter was that they thought that the publications had not transgressed the law. The highly offensive character of these publications, however, was so palpable that the Punjab Government realising the awkwardness of the situation in which his lordship's remarks have placed them have come forward with an explanation which is far from convincing. With regard to the publication, 'Journey from Delhi to Admabad,' the explanation says that it was printed in a paper published outside the Punjab and with regard to the other publication it only refers to the reply given by Sir John Maynard in reply to a question in the Punjab Legislative Council which in effect says that the publication of the pamphlet in September 1923 did not appear to have caused any general public feeling and no comment regarding it appeared to have been made in the Press till after the

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institution of the proceedings against the author of the 'Rangila Rasul' in July 1924. There was a time when equity in England used to vary with the Lord Chancellor's foot. According to the Punjab Government, their own apathy or keenness must be the sole test of deciding whether a publication is offensive or not. Thickness of the hide which receives the blow and not the blow itself would be the determining factor.

Skeen Committee's Report

The Government of India appointed a Committee to report on the gradual Indianisation of the army. They chose the personnel of the Committee themselves, the chairman being Sir Andrew Skeen, the Chief of the General Staff, who knows as much about India's military needs and capacity as anybody else. The Committee made some recommendations unanimously. But even these the Government have been trying to shelve on various pretexts and excuses, the hollowness of which has been repeatedly exposed. In the recent debate on the subject in the Legislative Assembly, the Indian members acquitted themselves quite well. The name of Mr. K. C. Roy deserves special mention in this connection, as he, though a nominated member, made an outspoken speech which made the official benches very uncomfortable.

We should be highly pleased if good arguments and considerations of justice alone could avail to give Indians their rights as citizens. But unhappily that is not the case. If we want self-rule, the objection is raised that self-rule cannot be had without self-defence. If we want to have the opportunity of self-defence, we are told in effect that we cannot have it, unless our social system, our educational system (for which England is entirely responsible), etc., become like those of England. Why not go the whole hog and say that the climate of India must be like the climate of England and the people become either thoroughly Anglicised (if possible) or commit suicide wholesale and make room for men of Anglo-Saxon descent, and then the army would be "Indianised"?

India has had a long history, during which she has been subjected to many invasions, like other countries with a long or short history (including Great Britain). History does not record that any invaders could boast of continuous and uninterrupted victories here. India in all periods of her history has pro-

duced brave soldiers and great generals. Even the English had to sustain many defeats at the hands of India's generals. In the early days of the East India Company's rule many Indian commandants led both Indian and British soldiers. Therefore, it is a falsehood to say or suggest that India cannot produce military leaders. If British officers are unwilling to serve with or under Indian officers, that does not prove the unfitness of Indians. It only proves that British officers are guilty of selfishness and unjustifiable and unreasonable racial pride.

One of the so-called arguments of the British monopolists is that the problem of India's defence does not stand alone but that it must be considered and co-ordinated with that of the defence of the whole British Empire. If so, why was the Skeen Committee appointed first, and this argument brought forward after it had reported? The logical course should have been to appoint the Imperial Defence Committee first, and after obtaining their opinion as to what should be done with and for the Indian army, an Indian Army Committee might have been appointed to settle details. Probably the men at the head of the Government of India hoped when they appointed the Skeen Committee that the Committee or at least a majority of its members would report that even partial genuine Indianisation of the army was impossible. But the report has falsified their hopes. Hence the various pretexts and excuses that are being invented to shelve it.

The Siamese, the Chinese, the Persians, the Nepalese, the Afghans, the Japanese—can all produce officers of their own nationality. Only the Indians cannot. Why? Because they are under British rule.

Whether India remains a part of the British Empire or becomes independent, it must be defended by its own men. In deciding how this can or ought to be done Indians cannot take it for granted that the problem should necessarily be approached with the preliminary assumption that India is for ever to remain a part of the British Empire. It has been argued that in any war with a first-class power, India cannot defend itself unaided, it must take the help of Britain. But in the event of any war with a first-class power, neither Persia, nor Siam, nor Afghanistan, nor Nepal can defend itself unaided. Do these countries for that reason consider their problems of self-defence

as parts of the problem of defence of some other and first-class power? No.

But why take hypothetical cases? In the world war, could Belgium defend itself unaided? Could France defend itself unaided? Could Great Britain defend itself unaided? Why, the last-named country had to depend a great deal on the military help given by even poor and despised India. But we have yet to learn that Belgium, France, and Great Britain consider their problems of self-defence with reference to and as parts of the problems of self-defence of their allies.

The real truth is that Great Britain is interested in the problem of the defence of India as an estate of the Britishers. They want to keep it in perpetual subjection. They do not want to enable Indians to defend their country by Indianising the army, because that may enable them to make it free also.

Though we have not entirely lost our faith in the partial reasonableness of human nature, we are afraid Britishers will not agree to even the semi-Indianisation of the army proposed by the Skeen Committee until they are driven to it by another great war in which they may stand in need of the help of India's men (both soldiers and officers) and money. But then it may be too late.

"Another Command Performance?"

Under the above caption *The Indian Daily Mail* writes:—

It is very significant that just as the Legislative Assembly is to discuss the recommendations of the Skeen Committee, a deputation of Army men, holding King's Commissions and the Viceroy's Commissions, should wait on the Commander-in-Chief and put forward suggestions as to how they would like the Committee's recommendations to be carried into effect. The deputation is reported to have impressed on his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the possibility of the 'martial races' that compose the army resenting the introduction of officers drawn from non-martial races. They apprehend that with their nimble brains they (candidates from non-martial races) will find it easy to get selected in any competition and that the consequence of such selection will be disastrous to the Army in India. Before men from non-martial races are selected for officers, the deputation would recommend the formation of regiments from such races, over which the new officers could be placed without in any way interfering with the efficiency of the present army. Just about the time when there was a discussion about the recent despatch of Indian troops to China, his excellency the Commander-in-Chief gave currency to certain 'heart-to-heart talks' which he had had with a number of army men

in which they expressed an amount of eagerness to go out to China. The present deputation also comes in at a very opportune moment and we have no doubt his Excellency will make use of the deputation and their special pleadings in his speech in the Assembly over the discussion on the Skeen Committee recommendations. The martial classes myth has been exploited long enough in the past. It is high time that it be finally exploded during the discussions in the Assembly on this occasion.

Probably with reference to the same deputation (or was it another?) *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* states:

"The representatives of the martial races of India" waited on a deputation to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and aired their views on the Skeen Committee's report. They are "pleased" that the ban which was placed upon certain sections of the Indian community in regard to their admission to military service has been lifted, "but we never expected that there would be a complete and violent break with the past such as the recommendations of the Skeen Committee imply."

The representatives of the martial races have been "pleased" to consider that the system of recruiting advocated by the Skeen Committee would result in the "non-militarization" of the officer ranks of Indian Army, as a "competitive test is not an unerring test of even intellectual brilliance." The "unerring test" of course is that which perpetuates the artificial classification of the people of India into "martial" and "non-martial." We are not surprised that the "wisdom" of the Skeen Committee's recommendations "passes" the "comprehension" of the "representatives of the martial races."

British regiments should be formed by recruiting privates from the families of the cabinet ministers, the peers, the big bankers, the university professors, etc., in England, and officers should be selected from these classes to be placed over only such regiments.

So long as British rule lasts in India, there would be no lack of wily wire-pullers and foolish puppets. But as members of a "non-martial" race, may we make a suggestion? There are at present many Pathan, Gurkha, Sikh, Rajput, Garhwali, Jat, Maratha and other graduates of martial races, and there can be as many more of them as needed. Let the competitive examination for admission to military colleges be limited solely to them, and let them alone have the King's Commissions, and let the whole army be Indianised. Should this suggestion be accepted by the cunning British wire-pullers and the brainless Indian puppets, one could safely undertake to obtain the consent of the representatives of all "non-martial races" to a self-denying ordinance

to the effect that they would give up all military ambitions.

The Indian puppets could have suggested that the army should be officered by Indians alone and they should all belong to the "martial races" That would have safeguarded their monopolistic interests and at the same time done some good to India. But, though physically brave, they had no moral courage to do so. Nor, it may be added, had they sufficient intelligence and love of country to make such a suggestion.

It has been said in effect that army officers should not be drawn from the non martial Indian races, as they belong to the educated and politically-minded classes. Such an observation at once shows the cloven hoof. Are the minds of the privates and officers of France, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Canada, America, Australia, Japan, South Africa, politically blank? Have not British officers and soldiers in India their politics? The fact is, Britishers want that Indian sipahis and Indian officers should simply be as weapons in their hands like their rifles or swords, with no thought or feeling for their country. If they have any such thought or feeling, that is politics and taboo.

Swami Saradananda

By the death of Swami Saradananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, India has lost a great and untiring philanthropic worker. He was a distinguished scholar, too. But he was better and more widely known for the help which he was instrumental in rendering to people in distress, irrespective of caste and creed, whenever in any part of India famine, flood, earthquake, cyclones, fires or epidemics rendered such help necessary. That persons who handle money or other help given by the public should keep and publish detailed and accurate accounts of the same is a proposition which requires to be stated only because some people forget to do this obvious duty.

Swami Saradananda's reports of relief work have always been a model of what they ought to be. Apart from the high character he bore, that is one of the reasons why his appeals for help were responded to.

The external life of the Swami was so beneficent because of his inner life. Of this inner life only his intimate associates can tell, which we hope they will in *Prabuddha Bharata*.



Swami Saradananda

A Novel Military Proposal

Rumours have been published in many Indian papers that the British "Home" Government are considering a proposal to station a part of the Imperial army in India. There are, it is said, to be altogether 120,000 British troops and some 75,000 sipahis in India. The expenses are to be met by Great Britain, India, and the Dominions. It is pointed out that this would result in some reduction of India's military expenditure. That may or may not be. But the proposal, if there is any

such before the authorities, cannot be considered by us merely or chiefly in its financial aspects. Whether India remains within the British Empire or becomes independent, all political parties in India want that India should have an army consisting entirely of Indian privates and Indian officers. This cannot come to pass at once. But Indians cannot agree to any arrangement which places new or more formidable obstacles in the way of reaching the above goal. The proposal under discussion would increase the British garrison in India, by whatever name it may be called, and help to make British rule in India more safely autocratic. The larger the garrison in India, the easier it would be to cow down and break the spirit of Indians. The object of keeping a large garrison in India is not merely to make autocracy safe and profitable here. Another object is the same as that of the Singapore naval base. Now, Britain's possible or actual enemies are not necessarily India's enemies. Britain may have reasons to anticipate the hostility of some nation or nations. Why should India anticipate similar hostility from them and do or allow to be done things which may bring into existence hostile feelings against her which do not at present exist? The Singapore naval base has been taken by Japan to be a part of the preparations against her. A really independent and rejuvenated China would have similar suspicions. A British Imperial garrison stationed in India would also rouse similar suspicions and hostility.

Prof Jadunath Sarkar's Bombay Convocation Address.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's convocation address in Bombay has been very highly spoken of in many Bombay papers. *The Servant of India* is the latest to eulogise it in its issue of August 25. After giving a summary of the speech and driving its lessons home, it observes:—

Brevity is the soul of wit and we think it is also the soul of a good address. Judged in this way Prof. Sarkar's address should be a model to those who tire us out by long harangues. But though brief, it is pitched in a high key and has placed before the alumni as well as the citizens the highest ideal of intellectual development. If we succeed in giving it a concrete shape we shall soon get rid of the intellectual sterility for which our Universities have become bye-words.

One of the passages in Prof. Sarkar's address to which our contemporary draws attention is where he pleaded for "intellectual Swaraj" and which runs as follows:—

The intellectual resurrection of India is the supreme ideal of the Indian nationalist. And in realising this ideal, our Universities must play the leading part. This is a duty which they cannot any longer ignore without failing to justify their existence in the changed world of to-day. They must no longer be glorified schools, mere workshops for turning out clerks and school masters, mechanics and overseers, translators and copyists. They must in future add to the world's stock of knowledge. They must achieve intellectual Swadeshi, instead of clothing our people's minds with garments imported from Europe. Is political Swaraj possible, can Swaraj last if given by others, in a country which eternally looks up to foreign lands for all additions to human knowledge, for all new discoveries in medicine and science, for all new inventions in the mechanical arts and the accessories of civilised life, and for every leap forward of the human mind in its quest of truth?

What Prof. Sarkar said and suggested is certainly true, and our intellectual workers, young and old, should try their utmost to achieve intellectual Swadeshi. At the same time those who are striving to achieve political Swaraj may rightly feel that they are trying to bring about conditions which would make the attainment of intellectual swaraj more feasible. We want, not merely a few towering intellectual peaks, but a high intellectual plateau all round. Political swaraj makes this more practicable than political subjection. Intellectual swaraj and political swaraj are to a great extent interdependent.

Prof. Sarkar's Special Calcutta Convocation Address

A special convocation of the Calcutta University was held on the 27th August to confer degrees on the ten graduates who are proceeding abroad for further study. Addressing them the Vice-Chancellor said:—

You are getting better chances in life than your comrades but at the same time you are undertaking heavier responsibilities than those who are staying at home. In foreign parts you will be rightly regarded as the representatives of this ancient seat of learning. You have not, therefore, the private individual's freedom to live the life that he pleases. Your speech and behaviour, your intellectual progress and moral character will determine in the eyes of the foreigners among whom you will live, the high or low repute in which this University will be held by them. In your persons your country, your race, your former teachers, will be on trial before foreign judges. There will be many

products of other Universities, European and American, among whom you will be thrown and with whom you will inevitably stand comparison day after day. I know that it is a very heavy responsibility for a young man to shoulder. But I am confident, that you will rise to the height of this appeal of your country and will never consent to shame your fatherland in your person. Let the wisdom of the Calcutta University be justified of her children.

But it is not only fresh opportunities of life that you are gaining by being sent abroad for study. It is not merely that you are going to stand forth as our intellectual representatives in foreign lands. Your country has a still greater claim on you. It is your duty to acquire those arts, those processes, and those branches of human knowledge which are not taught in India, or cannot at present be taught here to such a high standard as in Europe or America. You will thus be like the daring explorers and merchant adventurers of 16th century England who opened new trade relations with far-off lands and brought back rich cargoes of hitherto unknown foreign products to their native land. In this way you will have to enrich and invigorate the intellectual life of India and connect her with the ever-moving, ever-progressing outer world of thought and invention. Our young graduates who go to foreign countries inspired by such a spirit and try to live up to this ideal are only paying back to the land of their birth a part of the debt they owe to her. Their foreign travels, when devoted to such an aim, will not only benefit them personally but enrich their country also. It is only by a constant succession of young, ardent, and patriotic scholars sent abroad that we can save India's life and thought from being locked up in the placid backwaters of a stationary civilisation.

If India is to take her rightful place among the creators of human thought she must constantly know what the other great nations are doing and how they are doing it. She must know in what respects she can become a creditor nation in the modern world. Her sons trained abroad will bring this message to her on their return; they will naturally be the chief agents of her intellectual advance on these modern lines.

I pray that your hearts may be supported and strengthened in the midst of the trials and temptations, the hardships and dangers of foreign lands by a reflection on the high mission that is for you in the near future. In that mission you have our hearty wishes for your success.

Not merely the ten graduates to whom these words of noble and wise advice were addressed but all who go abroad for study would do well to follow them.

Inundations in Various Parts of India

Parts of Sindh, Bengal, Orissa, Gujarat, Baroda and Kathiawad have been devastated by floods. In some areas whole villages have been swept away, rendering hundreds of thousands homeless. The loss of cattle and of crops has been immense. Men, too, have died in

considerable numbers. In the Bombay Presidency the task of giving the kind of relief immediately needed has been well tackled. The restoration of all cattle lost, the rebuilding of houses washed away or damaged and the recropping of fields inundated are tasks of greater difficulty requiring the expenditure of more time and money. Government must help liberally.

Bombay has been able to begin the work of relief at once because there is no lack of public-spirited and wealthy persons in that presidency. The lot of Orissa has been different. Ever since the beginnings of British rule, not to go back to an earlier period, this province has not been the sole nor chief care of any provincial government, the result being that it has remained educationally and economically backward. That it was once prosperous and enlightened is evidenced by its architectural remains. This once prosperous land has been again and again hard hit by famine and flood. Both Government and the public should, therefore, pay special and prompt attention to its needs.

The giving of immediate relief is not the only problem to be faced. The example of America shows that it is not beyond the power of engineers to prevent devastation by floods. Neither the British Government nor the Indian States concerned should adopt a *non possumus* attitude. The Bengal Government has published a report on floods in north Bengal with maps, covering a period of half a century, prepared by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, its late meteorologist. We do not know whether any remedial steps based thereupon have been taken. Nor do we know whether such reports have been prepared for other parts of India subject to floods, and preventive measures adopted.

A Useful Maharaja Who Exacts Forced Labour

The following appears in *The Daily Herald* :—

The Maharajah of Alwar is a devotee of sport. Last year he suggested that Indian panthers might be let loose in the highlands, and so provide an easy exit for people who wanted to deprive these beautiful lands of sport. Now he is improving the sporting amenities of Alwar by building a dam at Ajabgard, which will provide an improved water supply, not for agricultural land, but for his hunting grounds in the jungle. Three thousand workmen have been compulsorily recruited for work on the dam. While on the job they receive no pay but free board and lodging.

The Maharajah is famous not only as a sportsman, but as a lavish entertainer of his European guests.

Out of the total revenues of his estate—£337,500—in 1925, he spent £52,000 on the entertainment of guests, £65,000 on the upkeep of his motor-cars and stables, £11,250 on his kitchen. The sum allotted in the Budget to education was £7,500.

The British Government in India has passed a law for the protection of Indian ruling princes for various reasons. Though unintended we are sure, one of its results will be the preservation of the species of princes to which the Maharaja of Alwar belongs. The British Government will shine by contrast.

This Maharaja should be selected next year to lead the Indian delegation to the League of Nations, so that he may be able to declare authoritatively from first-hand knowledge that there is no forced labour in India.

Great Britain's Transformation in Health Matters.

In an editorial note on public health problems in Bengal it has been pointed out in the May number of *The Calcutta Medical Journal* what a transformation Great Britain has undergone in matters of health within the last fifty years. It is stated therein that

Between 1831 and 1854 epidemics of cholera visited this island thrice and people used to offer prayers to check their progress, just as in India now. As early as that, they found the relationship between poverty *cum* ignorance and epidemic diseases. Up till 1870, the sanitary departments were concerned mainly with the passing of negative orders, such as "do not commit nuisance," "do not keep houses unclean," "keep the drains clean," just as here now. It was the Royal Sanitary Commission of 1871 which laid down, for the first time, a comprehensive scheme of securing for the people "a sanitary minimum of what is necessary for civilised social life," and pointed out the incompleteness of legal enactments and put a stress on the correlation and co-ordination of various local sanitary authorities and organisations. This led to the passing of the Public Health Act of 1875. This measure and the Elementary Education Act of 1870 have borne fruit in a single generation. Between 1874 and the close of the 19th century, came in quick succession a series of sanitary and legal enactments of a positive character—on the *prevention of river pollution* and protection of water supplies, provision of housing accommodation and of isolation hospitals and notification and prevention of infectious diseases. The early part of the next century saw the passing of a number of Acts *dealing with midwives*, employment of children, provision of school meals, protection of food, medical inspection and treatment of school children, pensions for the aged, widows and orphans, the insurance of the adolescent and

adult against sickness (over 13 millions of people were thus insured in 1924), accident and unemployment, housing reform, industrial welfare, *maternity nursing*, dentistry, and with the prevention of some important diseases, such as tuberculosis, mental deficiency, lunacy, blindness and venereal diseases. Within this period of 50 years, as a result of persevering work, the longevity of the people has increased from 36 to 56 years, the general mortality has diminished by half, the infantile mortality has come down to 75 per thousand, deaths from tuberculosis have diminished by two-thirds and the sanitary environment (adequate nourishing food, clean houses and clean surroundings) has greatly improved.

In India Great Britain has enjoyed supreme power, including the power of the purse, for more than a century. It was possible for the British rulers and the British rulers alone to do for British-ruled India what has been done for Great Britain during the last fifty years. But they have not done it. Nevertheless, it is the Indians who are held solely responsible for the backward condition of India in sanitary and other matters. The British factories on the banks of the Ganges are partly responsible for river pollution.

Dr. Gour's Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The Legislative Assembly has passed Sir Hari Singh Gour's Criminal Law Amendment Bill by 54 votes to 41 in the teeth of Government opposition. The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, Part II, popularly known as the Samiti Act, empowered Government to deal with associations declared by them to be unlawful. Dr. Gour's Bill does not seek to take away this power; it only seeks to confer on the High Courts jurisdiction, as in all other criminal matters, to revise the action of the executive in declaring an association unlawful, and to give the right of appeal to an aggrieved person. The second part of the Bill extends the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act to all British subjects in India. A similar bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly three years ago, but was thrown out by the Council of State. This, too, may have a similar fate. Supposing, however, that sober and wise body passes it, it will have to receive the assent of the Governor-General. Government's opposition is only a fresh reminder of the bureaucracy's love of irresponsible and unlimited power, to be exercised without due care and circumspection.

Duty on Imported Yarn

In consequence of the representations made by the Bombay Mill-owners' Association the Government of India have revised their decision in regard to the cotton industry and have decided to impose till March 30, 1930 a specific duty of one and a half anna per pound on all imported yarn unless the value of the yarn exceeds Re 1-14 per pound, yarn of higher value being subject to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 percent. The reason given for this step and for the time limit is that the Japanese yarn which competes with the Indian is produced by night work of women in factories working with double shifts, and that the system of night work by double shifts is expected to be stopped by legislation in Japan by March, 1930.

Our mill-owners would do well not to depend solely or chiefly on import duties, bounties and the like. They should depend more on improved machinery, and the increased efficiency of labour produced by education and better conditions of living.

Indian Representation on the East African Commission

In Africa as in every other continent and country the welfare of the indigenous inhabitants, to be secured by their own self-rule, should be the object of all lovers of humanity. But in all subject countries the selfish and hypocritical masters pretend to be eternal trustees and seek to keep the indigenous inhabitants in perpetual servitude. East Africa is no exception to this rule.

The Kenya White Paper of 1923 admitted the "paramount duty of trusteeship" of the natives and laid down that this duty "will continue as in the past to be carried out under the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the agents of the Imperial Government and by them alone." It was added that the British Government were "unable to delegate or share this trust with any one else."

"Kenya is an African territory and his Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."

This policy is going to be changed. The new policy proposed to be adopted was outlined in the course of the recent debate

in the House of Commons on the subject of East Africa. Self-government for East Africa is to be self-government only for the whites. The Africans are to be under their "trusteeship" for ever. This is clear from the following extract from the speech of Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies :

All that is laid down in this White Paper, and all that constitutes any modification of the underlying principle of the White Paper of 1923, is that we there explicitly reject the idea of white and black diarchy and affirm that progress towards self-government on the part of the white community does mean, must mean and ought to mean, an association with the black community in the sense of trusteeship to the weaker and more numerous part of the population.

This means in plain language that the East African natives are to remain serfs in perpetuity to their white masters and that the lot of the Indian settlers, who were the makers of East Africa and who far outnumber the whites, is to be little better.

Under the circumstances, Mr. K. C. Roy did well to impress on the Government on the first day of the current session of the Assembly the urgency of securing proper and adequate representation of Indians on the proposed East African Commission.

"Freedom" for the Calcutta University

There can be no question that so long as Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee lived he on most occasions of conflict with the bureaucracy fought for his own freedom to do what he liked in the Calcutta University with the help of his self-effacing colleagues and followers. It is, therefore, quite proper, of course, to enumerate again and again all the distinguished men who were tools in his hands as sturdy lovers of academic freedom! We do not know whether those who are fond of repeatedly exploiting an enumeration of their names are doing so with their consent. It would be quite easy for us to show up their independence. But we do not like to expose anybody until we are sure that he claims to have been a worshipper of freedom during the regime and life-time of Sir Asutosh Mukherji.

The Swarajist movement professes to be a branch of the Non-co-operation movement. This movement sought to destroy the prevailing system of University and school education. But for a long time past Swarajists have been claiming, in combination with the Mukherjee-Banerji clique, to be the defenders

of the University against Professor Jadunath Sarkar, who has spent his whole life, from youth upwards, in promoting the causes of education, learning and research. It is only fitting that plagiarists should join this unholy alliance. Some plagiarists whom we had thoroughly exposed in *Prabasi* by means of photographic facsimiles and other means implored us not to expose them further. So we did not expose them in *The Modern Review* in the same way, thinking that they were penitent and would behave well in future. But it was misplaced leniency.

The organ of this unholy alliance has stated more than once that Sir Asutosh Mukherji and Mr. G. K. Gokhale acted together in opposing Lord Curzon's Univer-Act. This is not true. Sir Asutosh voted for the measure and Mr. Gokhale against it. Neither is it true that Sir Asutosh did not indulge in adulation of the British Government or the representatives of the British power when it was necessary for him to do so. This has been shown in our last March number. That he was also guilty of carrying out the unjust behests of the Government will appear from the following well-known facts mentioned by *The Bengalee* :—

Now it is given out in all seriousness that from 1906 to 1914 the Government failed to impose its will on the detailed administration of the University.—1906—14—Was not that the period of Swadeshi agitation and was it not the time when the Government was enforcing its will upon the Syndicate? Was this not the period when on the suggestion of the Government Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. Lalit Mohan Das and Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee were removed from the City and the Ripon Colleges under pressure from the Syndicate? That is not perhaps a detail of administration.

It goes against our grain to write against a dead man. But some people would leave us no option.

It is very often assumed that the critics of the Mukherji-Banerji clique are supporters of the Government. Our motto has always been, "Plague on both your houses." The official wire-pulling which Mr. Wordsworth exposed was exactly of the same character as the methods adopted by the aforesaid clique.

Zaghlul Pasha

In Zaghlul Pasha the world has lost one of its foremost fighters for freedom. He had done and suffered much for the freedom of Egypt. His spirit will animate his colleagues and followers, and future genera-



Zaghlul Pasha

tions of Egyptians will not fail to follow his example. Therein lies the hope of Egypt.

Outrages on Women in Bengal

The Bengali weekly *Sanjibani* has now brought its lists and statistics of outrages on women in Bengal during the last five Bengali years to a close and given a summary district by district. It shows that such outrages have gone on steadily increasing year after year. Some figures from this summary are given below. The years (B. S.) are of the Bengali era.

District	Number of Outrages in the year					
	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	Total
Calcutta	...	1	5	12	31	39 88
24-Parganas	...	0	0	19	20	32 71
Nadia	...	0	0	5	11	24 40
Murshidabad	...	0	0	3	3	2 8
Jessore	...	0	1	9	8	6 24
Khulna	...	0	1	2	3	10 16
Howra	...	0	1	5	5	4 15
Hughli	...	0	0	2	3	6 11
Burdwau	...	0	0	5	3	4 12
Midnapore	...	0	0	4	2	4 10
Birbhum	...	0	0	4	0	1 5
Bankura	...	0	0	1	1	2 4
Raishahi	...	0	0	9	4	12 25
Pabna	...	0	0	6	3	7 16
Bogra	...	0	0	6	3	11 20
Rangpur	...	0	9	20	17	16 62
Dinajpur	...	0	0	2	6	5 13

District	Number of Outrages in the year					
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	Total
Jalpaiguri	...	0	0	3	0	0 3
Darjiling	...	0	0	1	2	1 4
Mymensingh	...	0	1	25	24	28 78
Dacca	...	0	2	16	9	15 42
Faridpur	...	0	0	4	6	16 26
Bakhariganj	...	0	0	2	5	16 23
Tippera	...	0	0	4	7	1 12
Noakhali	...	1	0	2	1	3 6
Chittagong	...	0	0	6	5	5 16
Sylhet	...	0	1	8	8	14 31

Only those cases have been enumerated which obtained publicity. These are a small fraction of the whole number. There were numerous other cases which were not published or were hushed up for fear of social obloquy or of reprisals by ruffians.

That outrages on women have been on the increase cannot be doubted. It may be that more cases are at present reported and brought before the law-courts than before owing to increased public vigilance. But this cannot account for all the increase. The men of Bengal are not becoming *increasingly* cowardly and thus indirectly encouraging these outrages. The indifference of the Government to the need of special efforts to cope with the evil has, no doubt, encouraged brutal ruffians to victimise numerous unmarried, married and widowed girls and women. There is reason to believe that there are organised gangs who carry on this sort of diabolical work.

Inland Steamer Companies in Bengal

Among the Bills notice for the introduction of which during the current session of the Legislative Assembly has been duly given, we find the following bill which is to be introduced by Mr. Khatish Chandra Neogy M. L. A. :

TO AMEND THE INLAND STEAM VESSELS ACT 1 OF 1917

1. Whereas it is expedient to amend the Inland Steam Vessels Act, 1917, it is hereby enacted as follows :—

SHORT TITLE AND COMMENCEMENT

(1) This Act may be called the Inland Steam Vessels (Amendment) Act, 1927.

(2) It shall come into force on the first day of January, 1928.

2. In chapter VI after section 54 the following sections shall be inserted, namely :

MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM FREIGHTS AND FARES TO BE FIXED

"54 A. The Governor-General in Council may by notification in the Gazette of India prescribe the maximum and minimum rates of freights and

fares which it shall be lawful for the owner of inland steam vessels to charge for the conveyance of goods and passengers."

ADVISORY COMMITTEES.

"54 B. The local Government may make rules for the appointment of Advisory Committees to advise the owner of an inland steam vessel on questions affecting the interests of passengers and may prescribe by rules the constitution and functions of such committees."

The extreme urgency and necessity of having the above bill enacted can hardly be expressed by its laconic paragraphs. There is more in it than meets the eye of a reader who is more conversant with the history of this bill.

For many years the people of Bengal have been suffering from the extortionate and unsympathetic manner in which the River Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. and the India General Navigation Co. Ltd. have been dealing with their passengers. As late as 1921 Maulvi A. H. M. Wazir Ali raised before the Bengal Legislative Council the question of forcing these companies to reduce fares and provide waiting rooms at all stations. He pointed out how even in some of the most paying stations the Companies had provided no waiting rooms. These Steamer Companies were also charging too high a fare in many cases, pinning their faith on the strength of their monopoly. The Companies were also in the habit of raising their fares every now and then, and that without any reference to justice or fair dealing. E. g. take the following changes :

Fare from	1913	1914	1918	1921
Barisal to Rs. as, p.	Rs. as, p.	Rs. as, p.	Rs. as, p.	Rs. as, p.
Chittagong	1 13 0	1 14 0	2 2 0	2 12 0
Madanipur	0 12 0	0 14 0	2 1 0	2 4 6

The above conclusively proves that the Companies were guided by no principles in fixing fares.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr, the then member in charge of the Department of Commerce, astounded the Council by saying in the course of the discussion :

"We have no more power to compel the Steamer Companies to provide waiting rooms or to reduce their fares, than we have the power to Compel Messrs. Whiteaway Laidlaw and Co. to provide waiting rooms for their Customers or to sell their goods at certain prices.

A hopelessly foolish remark to make in connection with a public utility service affecting a population of several millions. Could the hon'ble member say why Railway Companies felt bound to provide waiting rooms for their passengers ?

Other matters connected with the doings of the monopolist companies show that where they have constructed waiting rooms, the money has mostly come from District Boards and similar public bodies. The construction of the Gabkhan BharaniKhal, a canal excavated at a cost of over 7 lacs, paid from provincial revenues, which reduced the distance between many of the stations served by these Steamer Companies, led to no reduction of fares; rather the Companies forgot even to show the reduced mileages on their tickets. A test case was made to establish the fraud involved in this and the decree went against the Companies. The Steamers run by the Companies are mostly obsolete and constructed in the eighties and nineties of the last century. The result of all this is that the people of Bengal are being made to suffer untold misery so that the Companies may make great profit. And they are making it. The Government of Bengal having expressed their inability to do anything in the matter, Mr. Neogy is taking the appeal to the Assembly. Whether he will succeed in his attempt to redress long-standing public grievances against Companies who have powerful friends, remains to be seen.

Welcome to Mr. C. F. Andrews

Along with the rest of our countrymen we extend a cordial welcome to Mr. C. F. Andrews on his return to the land of his adoption after his most strenuous labours in South Africa on behalf of the Indian settlers of that country. He has done his work all along with great tact and charity and faith in God and in human nature.

Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti

The execution in America of the Italian emigrant labourers Sacco and Vanzetti seven years after their arrest on a charge of murder and after a most protracted trial has created a great sensation all over the world. It is not their fellow-labourers, fellow-socialists, or fellow-communists alone who believe in their innocence or at least doubt if there was sufficient evidence to convict them; numerous other people, entirely unconnected with any kind of labour movement, are not convinced that they were guilty of the crime of which they were accused. In any case, they had been kept

in prison for so many years after conviction, in suspense as to their ultimate fate, that it would not have been cheating justice of her dues if they had not been executed.

Women's Demand for Modification of Hindu Law of Inheritance

At the Dacca Young Men's Conference Miss Sakuntala Chaudhuri moved a resolution urging necessary alteration in the Hindu law of *Dayabhaga*, which denies to Hindu women a legal right to their paternal property. The resolution was lost by a small majority. Miss Chaudhuri was right in her diagnosis that this denial of the right to a share of paternal property was one of the causes of the regrettable dowry or "bride-room-price" system.

Raja Rammohan Roy has shown in his paper on Hindu women's right to property that some ancient codes of Hindu law have assigned to women a share of ancestral property and of the husband's property. Women, and men who are advocates of women's rights, should read this paper, and carry on an agitation until this ancient right is recognised.

Investiture of the Maharaja of Tripura

In our boyhood we used to read of a country called "Svadhin Tripura" or Independent Tripura. Even then, no doubt, if it came to fighting for preserving his independence, the Maharaja would not have been in a position to do so. But in Europe and America, there are a good many independent countries the population of which is less than many of our districts. Yet their powerful neighbours have not deprived them of their independence. It is different in India. Within the life-time of two generations or so, Bhutan and Sikkim and Tripura have lost their independence, not as the result of defeat in war but on account of peaceful pressure. Hence the Indian public have had to read the news of the recent investiture of the Maharaja of Tripura by the Governor of Bengal.

Women Prisoners in Bengal

According to the Bengal Jail Administration Report for 1926, during that year 420 women were directly admitted to jails

from Court. Of these 234 were Hindus, 117 Mahomedans and 11 Christians, and 58 belonged to all other classes. As Musalmans form the majority of the inhabitants of Bengal, the fact that their female convict population is half that of the Hindu female convict population is a matter for satisfaction. It is due in part to the stricter observance of the purdah by Muslims. The Hindu community should seriously inquire into the causes which have sent such a disproportionately large number of their women to jail. It is no consolation that in Western countries the proportion of female convicts is larger.

Male Prisoners in Bengal

Of the male convicts 12126 were Muhammadans and 8646 were Hindus and Sikhs. In proportion to population the Musalmans were found to be more criminally inclined than the Hindus.

Taking both male and female convicts, 56.06 per cent. were Muhammadans and 40.68 Hindus, their percentages in the general population being 53.55 and 43.72 respectively.

Prof. Taraporewala's Reappointment

The question of the re-appointment of Professor Taraporewala as Professor of comparative philology for a period of three years gave rise to a lively discussion at a recent meeting of the Calcutta University Senate. We desire to notice a few points that arose in the course of the discussion. We gather from what various speakers said that the idea of doing without the professor's services, at any rate for one year, arose because there were few or no students in his class, and because the financial condition of the university is unsatisfactory. That the financial condition of the university is unsatisfactory, is indisputable, and therefore in the abstract it has the right to abolish any chair that it thinks necessary and justifiable. But consistency should be observed in doing so. We will not refer to any person who is no longer a Professor. But there are Professors who, from the date of their appointment, have never had a class and have never taught a single student, and, in fact, the subjects they profess do not form parts of university curricula. Why were they appointed and re-appointed? A merely technical answer will not do. An impecunious university cannot

afford to throw away thousands of rupees for such chairs. Professor Taraporewala is, we believe, the only man in our university who knows both Sanskrit and Avestan philology, as well as European philology. If in any year there be no students in his comparative philology class, his services can be utilized in other ways, as he is a versatile scholar. But the other professors we speak of have not been and cannot be made useful in this way.—We should add that Prof. Jadunath Sarkar is not the man responsible for their appointment and re-appointment.

Dr. Howells said: "They should be careful lest it might be interpreted elsewhere that there was no room for a non-Bengali scholar in the Calcutta University." Dr. B. C. Roy rightly repudiated the suggestion on behalf of the University. Thereupon Dr. Howells said: "I never suggested anything of the kind. I only said that we should be careful lest it be misinterpreted." Dr. Howells may not have suggested any such thing, but the mere mention of such a thing was mischievous and unnecessary. The following most important chairs are occupied by non-Bengalis, proving that the Calcutta University does not discriminate against non-Bengalis: Tagore Law Professorship, Dinshaw Fardunji Mulla; George V. Professorship of Philosophy, S. Radhakrishnan; Hardinge Professorship of Higher Mathematics, Ganesh Prasad; Carmichael Professorship of Ancient History and Culture, D. R. Bhandarkar; Sir Taraknath, Professorship of Physics, C. V. Raman; Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professorship of Botany, S. P. Agharkar; Professorship of Comparative Philology, I. J. S. Taraporewala. It is needless to mention the names of non-Bengali lecturers and readers.

Temporary I. M. S. Recruitment in England

British doctors are being appointed temporarily to the I. M. S. on lavish scales of pay and gratuities. Equally qualified and better qualified Indian doctors can be had for more moderate salaries. But their claims are overlooked, obviously on racial grounds. British I. C. S. men want British doctors, and so their racial selfishness and prejudice must be respected! The excuse is that as the Lee Commission's recommendations *re* the I. M. S. have not yet been disposed of, it is necessary to make these

appointments. But why could not the recommendations be disposed of expeditiously, and why could not highly qualified Indian doctors be given these temporary appointments?

Women Degree-holders in Madras

At the annual convocation of the Madras University Professor Dewan Bahadur K. Ramunni Menon said in the course of his address:—

The Madras University had more than 500 women first degree-holders on its rolls, about forty per cent, of whom were further qualified for teaching. He believed Madras was the first province in India in the progress of female education.

Other provinces should emulate the example of Madras.

An Indian Going With An Arctic Expedition

Mr. Sharat Kumar Roy, assistant Curator of Invertebrate Paleontology of the Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago, and formerly a member of the scientific staff of the New York state museum in Albany, has been selected as one of the members of the Rawson-MacMillan Arctic expedition of the Field Museum.

This expedition, which is under the leadership of Commander Donald B. MacMillan, a widely known Arctic explorer, was to leave Wiscasset, Me., U. S. A., on the 25th June last for a fifteen months' trip.

The two ships of the party were to move to Sidney, Nova Scotia, for additional supplies; thence they were to proceed to Battle harbor, Labrador, and up the coast to Kowk. From there one of the ships will go on alone to Baffin Land, entering Frobisher bay and Cumberland gulf, the coasts of which have been but little or never explored.

The party will operate from a base at Nain, an Eskimo village on the coast of Labrador, where it will set up winter headquarters and establish a scientific station. It will collect specimens of plants, fossils, fish, animals and birds of the Arctic and in the winter will penetrate the interior of Labrador and stay several months with the Naskapis, the most northerly of Algonquin Indians.

Mr. Roy, who has the degrees of bachelor of arts and master of science, is a member of Sigma XI Paleontological Society of

America, the American Society for the Advancement of Science, Theta Delta Pi



Mr. Sharat Kumar Ray

and Kappa Epsilon Pi. He is a post-graduate research student at the University of Chicago.

The Proposed Secondary Board of Education

There has been some controversy in the papers on the subject of the proposed secondary Board of Education for Bengal. It should be an independent body. Admittedly it cannot be entirely independent of the Government; but Government should have a voice only as it has a voice, say, in the affairs of the Calcutta Municipality or in those of the Allahabad University. The majority of its members should be elected non-officials, a fraction of them being teachers. The Calcutta University should be represented in it by some elected non-official Fellows. The Bengal Government should be represented by

a small minority of nominated men, most of them preferably non-officials. The rules should be so framed as not to enable the Board to arbitrarily reduce the number of secondary schools and of undergraduates. Its public examinations should be under the control of the Calcutta University, which should be democratised along with the formation of the Secondary Board.

Hindus on the Frontier

That numerous Hindus living in the N.-W. Frontier area have been compelled by their numerically superior fanatical Muslim neighbours by threats to leave their hearths and homes and property and that much, if not most or all, of their property has been *jazia*-ized, is an undoubted fact. Other outrages have also been committed. Under the guidance of fanatical mullahs these frontiersmen have found a short cut to prosperity in this world and salvation in the next. We have no knowledge and experience of the next world; we have some, of the affairs of this world. Savagery and robbery cannot bring enduring prosperity to any community. We are aware that success in predatory exploits on the international scale, though morally reprehensible, pay for some time. But those who adopt such wicked methods against their village, town and district neighbours only write themselves down as both fools and savages.

It was officially declared that the Indian contingent was sent to China for the protection of Indians in that country. No contingent needed to cross the seas to protect cis-Frontier and trans-Frontier Hindus;—the battalions and regiments have been there all along. Did Government mobilise or threaten to mobilise them for the protection of the Hindus? Did it take any other step for the same purpose? If not, why not?

Maulvi Leakat Husain on the Causes of Communal Strife

Maulvi Leakat Husain, an orthodox and sincere Musalman, has been all along a staunch nationalist advocate of friendship between all castes and creeds and of joint endeavour for our common good. Recently he has tried to produce Hindu-Moslem amity by pointing out the causes of conflict and suggesting cures thereof. This attempt

of his, like all his previous endeavours, is entirely praiseworthy.

Our conviction is, and this has been admitted by Muslims who have read the Quran, that music before mosques has not been prohibited therein. It is not at all a religious question. Apart from the fact that in the past music has been played by Hindus before numerous mosques without objection, the Musalmans themselves do so and have always done so. And they do not object to British martial music played before mosques. Maulvi Leakat Husain has pointed out that when on one occasion the prophet Muhammad was engaged in prayer in a mosque with some of his followers, a hawker passed along the road in front making a terrific noise with some sort of music. The prophet did not forbid him to do so, but went on with his devotions. It is not piety, according to Islam or any other religion, to break the heads of people who pass along public highways playing music before houses of worship. Nor is it anything but wickedness to intentionally disturb people in their acts of devotion.

We would not insist on stopping or allowing music before mosques by legislation or executive order. It is not only a religious but a secular civic right to pass in procession with music along public thoroughfares. People should not be deprived of this right. Noise of *all* kinds, not merely the music of Hindus, in front of *all* houses of worship, not merely of mosques, may be prevented or minimised by mutual friendly understanding. If that cannot be done, we deserve to slavishly obey the orders of foreigners, now leaning to this side, now to that.

Some Muslims object to Hindus carrying the images of their gods and goddesses along roads in front of mosques. They should remember, a modern State is not an Islamic theocracy; it must protect all in the exercise of their right to religious observances which are not inhuman, immoral or criminal. They should also remember that the carrying of *taxis* and other things by Muslims is also idolatrous.

As regards cow-killing, Hindus must tolerate it. Musalmans have as much right to sacrifice cattle as Hindus have to sacrifice buffaloes and goats. We would impose on both Hindu and Muslim animal sacrifices only those restrictions which are imposed on the slaughter of animals in civilized countries where pigs, cattle, sheep, goats, etc.,

are slaughtered alike. The slaughter of animals is a gruesome sight. It ought not to be done in public either by Hindus or by Muslims. Humanity, public decency and sanitation make it necessary that it should be done in places screened from the gaze of passers-by. This principle is observed in Europe and America. It should be observed in India, too. For economic reasons the slaughter of prime cattle should be prevented. Hindus and Muslims should co-operate to do so.

Shuddhi and Sangathan stand on the same footing as tabligh and tanzim.

Dr. Ansari's views on the present situation

In the course of an interview to the Associated Press, Dr. Ansari summed up his views on the present political situation as follows :

"I urge that all our energies and resources should be concentrated on fighting the enemy residing inside our own body, viz. communal and political discord. I beseech Hindus and Mussalmans, to cease fratricidal warfare, and settle the communal question without narrowness and bigotry. I appeal to all those who still desire to go to the Councils, to frankly confess that they are Co-operators, to sink their differences, their quarrels and to form one united popular party.

"I cordially invite all communities and all political parties to join the National organisation in a body, in order to strengthen it and make it truly representative and national. I plead the cause of Labour which has been shamefully neglected by us so far; and lastly, I advise the speedy preparation of the future Constitution of India."

Whether the making of this pronouncement after most provincial congress committees had declared themselves in favour of Dr. Ansari's election to the congress presidential chair, was a deliberate stroke of policy, we cannot say. But it is certain that if his views had been known beforehand some of his supporters in the provinces would not have voted for him.

We do not find anything objectionable in his views, though in detail we would not say all that he has said, and in the way he has done so.

He continues to be a believer in Non-co-operation. He says: "We must realise

that we have failed; and that, from being on the crest of the wave as we were during the height of Non-co-operation, we are today in the lowest depths of a trough." But he declares all the same:—

I feel, as certain as ever, that apart from any very extraordinary and unexpected occurrences, we shall win back our freedom only by self-discipline, self-organisation and self-help, and through a movement in which we would be obliged to resort to direct action in some shape or form.

Our feelings are similar.

Sir R. N. Mukherji on Co-operation

When Sir Rajendranath Mukherji speaks on any movement which requires business capacity and solvency to carry to a successful issue, he has the right to be heard. In his recent pronouncement on the Co-operative movement in Bengal, he pointed out that the things from which at present the province is suffering and which make it imperative to push on Co-operation are exactly the things which stand in the way of the spread and consolidation of the movement. Bengal suffers from poverty, indebtedness and illiteracy. These stand in the way of the spread of the movement. But it is mainly co-operation which can pull Bengal out of the slough of despond. Sir Rajendranath pointed out how the peasants of Germany and Ireland have got rid of their indebted condition by recourse to co-operation, and how Italy has fought illiteracy with the same weapon.

He wants our villages to be made centres of the movement. In his opinion all the villagers should become members of the village co-operative societies, which should be autonomous in their own internal affairs, as far as may be practicable.

The co-operative movement is at present under official guidance and control. It should be democratised. But any attempt which may have to be made in that direction must be made by men whose honesty and solvency are unquestionable and whose business capacity has been proved by successful work in other directions.

INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

News and Portraits

MISS SHEILA RAY, daughter of the late Dr. Paresh Ranjan Ray has, as announced before, topped the list of successful candidates (first class first) in the Allahabad M. Sc. (previous) examination in Chemistry. Miss Ray's academic distinction deserves special mention in view of the fact that a very few girl students in this country go in for science degrees.



Miss Sheila Ray

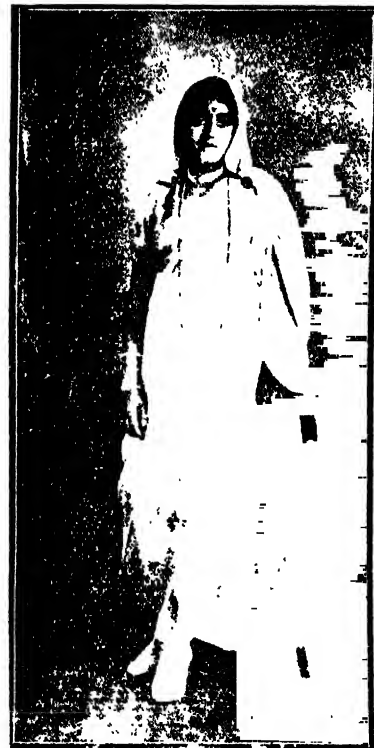
MRS. ASRUKANA DEBI, daughter of the late Prof. Hiralal Sanyal of the Calcutta University Law College has passed the last B. A. examination of the Calcutta University with high second class Honours in English. She did well at the Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations. Much credit is due to her because she has been able to prosecute her studies even after entering married life.

Although the citizens of Calcutta enjoy the privilege of electing women councillors to the Municipal Corporation yet it is regrettable that not a single lady has been elected to that body as yet. At the last election two lady

candidates—SRIMATI MAYA DEBI and SRIMATI URMILA DEBI—sought the suffrage of the male



Mrs. Anna Thomas
Supdt. Maternity Dept., Madura



Mrs. Asrukana Debi



Mrs. Jayalakshmi Kumar



Srimati Maya Debi



Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal



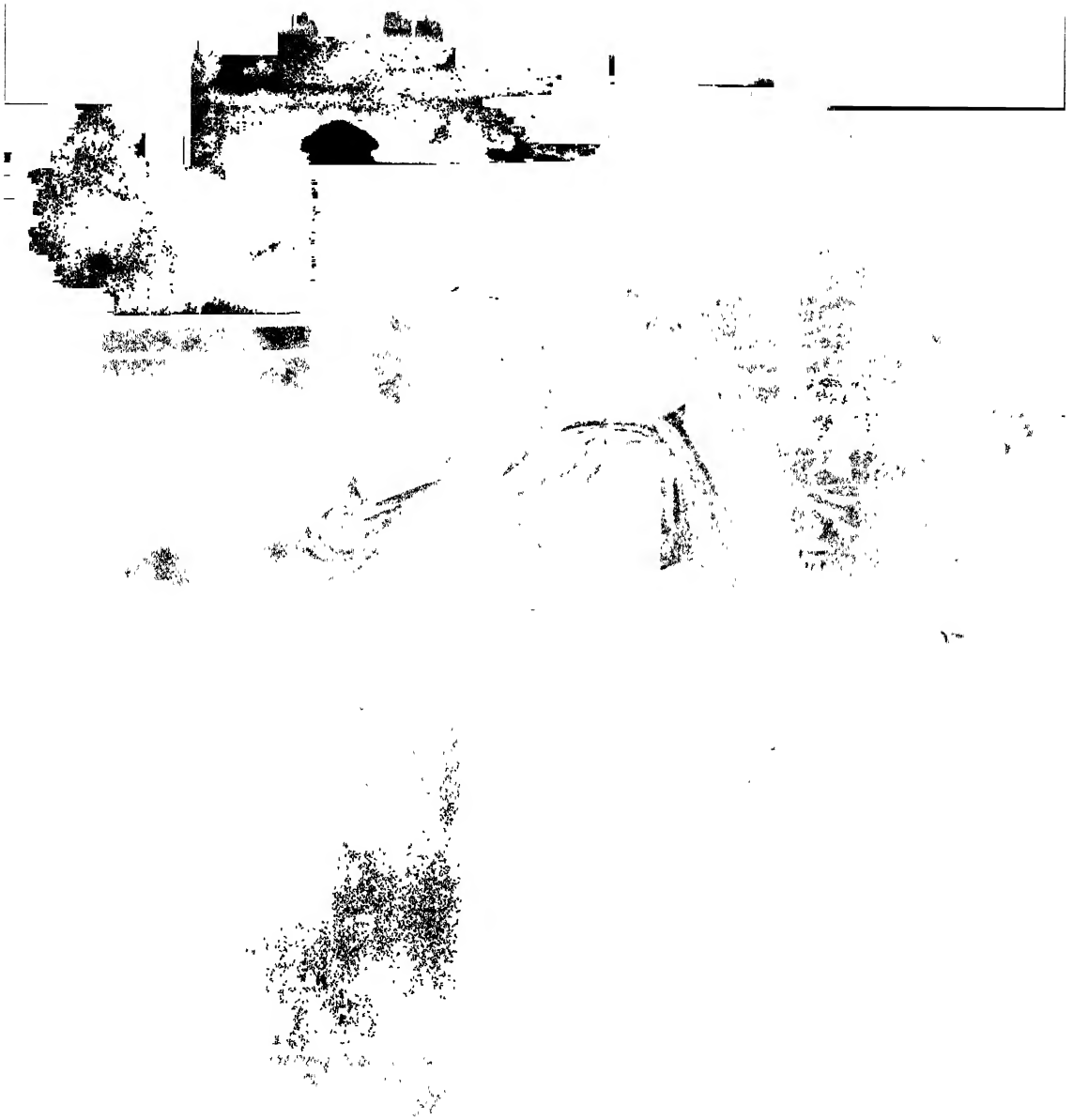
Mr. Ponnuswami

voters. But neither of them has been returned.

In the sphere of civic and educational activities Indian ladies are making much headway. We learn :

MRS. LAKSHMI AMMAL has been nominated as a member of the Vellore Municipal Council. MRS. JAYALAKSHMI KUMAR has been nominated as a member of Chingliput District Educational Council. MRS. H. SARGUR PONNUSWAMI, M.B.E., Secretary of the Red Cross Society, Palamcottah has been nominated as a member of the Tinnevely District Board.

MRS. ANNA THOMAS has been awarded first prize medal for an essay on child-welfare.



MORNING LIGHT

Artist Mr. Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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WHOLE NO.
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TO JAVA

FROM THE PILGRIM FROM INDIA.

(Translated from the Original Bengali)

I

In a dim distant unrecorded age
 we had met, thou and I,—
When my speech became tangled in thine
 and my life in thy life.

The East Wind had carried thy beckoning call
 through an unseen path of the air
to a distant sun-lit shore
 fanned by the coconut leaves.
It blended with the conch-shell sound
 that rose in worship at the shrines
 by the sacred waters of the Ganges.

The great God Vishnu spoke to me,
 and spoke Uma, the ten-armed Goddess :
"Make ready thy boat, carry the rites of our worship
 across the unknown sea".
The Ganges stretched her arm to the eastern ocean
 in a flow of majestic gesture.
From the heavens spoke to me two mighty voices—
 the one that had sung of Rama's glory of sorrow
 and the other of Arjuna's triumphant arm,—
urging me to bear along the waves
 their epic lines to the eastern islands;
and the heart of my land murmured to me its hope
 that it might build its nest of love
 in a far-away land of its dream.

II

The morning came ; my boat danced on the dark blue water,
her white sails proud of the favour of a friendly breeze.
She kissed thy shore, a stir ran athwart thy sky,
and the green veil fluttered on the breast of the Nymph of thy
 woodland.

We met in the shade of the night-fall,
 in the dark hours of the earth ;
 the still evening was touched to its depth
 by the blessings of the Seven Holy Stars of Wisdom.
 The night waned ; and Dawn scattered her prodigal gold
 on the path of our meeting
 along which the two companion souls
 combined their journey through ages
 among a crowd of gigantic visions.

III

The time wore on, the dark night came upon us,
 and we knew not each other.
 The seat we shared was buried under the Dust
 raised by Time's chariot wheels.
 By the receding flood of oblivion I was borne back
 to my own lonely shore—
 my hands bare, my mind langorous with sleep.
 The sea before my house remained dumb
 of the mystery of a meeting it had witnessed,
 and the garrulous Ganges spoke not to me
 of a hidden long track to her other sacred haunt.

IV

Thy call reaches me once again
 across hundreds of speechless years.
 I come to thee, look in thine eyes,
 and seem to see there the light of the wonder
 at our first meeting in thy forest glade,
 of the gladness of a promise
 When we tied golden threads of kinship
 round each other's wrist.

That ancient token, grown pale,
 has not yet slipped off thy right arm,
 and our wayfaring path of old
 lies strewn with the remnants of my speech.
 They help me to retrace my way to the inner chamber of thy life
 where still 'he light is burning that we kindled together
 on the forgotten evening of our union.

Remember me, even as I remember thy face,
 and recognise in me as thine own,
 the old that has been lost, to be regained and made new.

Batavia
 August 21, 1927

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN SHOULD INDIA HAVE SELF-RULE ?

BY THE REV. DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

ONE of the most remarkable groups of men known to modern history was that company of patriots in America in 1776 who threw off the British yoke and launched the United States as a new and free nation in the world. If they had waited for freedom until their British masters had educated them for it and pronounced them fit, they would have waited until doomsday.

England long tried the short-sighted, imperialistic policy of holding Canada under close domination, treating her people like children unable to take care of themselves, just as she is treating India, and withholding from them the self-government that they wanted, while she went on with her exasperating plan of putting them off with promises and pretending to educate them for "freedom" instead of giving freedom. Like any other self-respecting people they chafed, protested and rebelled, and England would have lost them, as she had lost her American colonies at the South, had not Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada to look into matters, returned home with a report which shocked the British Government into sense, and caused it to grant to the Canadian people, practically at once, a very substantial quantum of real self-government.

Japan did not require to be educated for freedom and self-rule by a foreign power. Siam did not. Yet both nations are making fine progress, and are ruling themselves well.

Turkey has at last got for herself a government that gives every evidence of being strong, well organised, and enlightened. Her long delay was caused by foreign dominations and tyrannies. With relief from foreign control, and with freedom to manage her own affairs, she is taking her place by the side of the most progressive nations of the world.

All the South American peoples have created for themselves governments that are reasonably good, some of them very good; and all have done it themselves with no domination or training by foreigners. While they were under Spain and Portugal their governments were abominable. Under self-

rule they are steadily approximating the best.

The woes of China have come almost wholly from foreign nations forcing opium upon her, robbing her of her best sea-ports and large areas of her territory, depriving her of her customs and dominating her in a score of ways. If she had been let alone to adjust herself to the conditions of the modern world in her own way and under her own leadership, as Japan was, there is every reason to believe that today we should have seen a peaceful and prosperous China, not quite so far advanced as Japan, but progressing steadily and on the whole wisely, and occupying a place in the world little less important than those of the great nations of Europe and America.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the modern world is the progress made by the negroes in America since their emancipation in 1863. Suppose that instead of freeing the slaves at once and setting them at once to the task of walking on their own legs, we had said as the British say of the people of India: "No, not now. We must go slow. Some time, after many years, it may do to free them; but we must keep them where they are for a long time and let their masters, overseers and slave-drivers train them for freedom. As soon as we think they are fit to govern themselves we will grant them their liberty;" would they have been free today? Or in a thousand years?

How long would it take a child, kept on crutches, to learn to walk, run and perform with vigor on its legs? How long would it take a person kept out of the water to learn to swim? Of what value is training received from masters who look down upon those being trained as inferiors and virtual serfs because their colour is brown? Instead of the people of India needing more training from the British, the fact is, they have had far too much such training already. What they need is to get on to their own feet, stand up as men and train themselves. The more training they get from lords and masters the weaker they will be, and the

less able to go alone. Is there any reason to believe that the so-called training of the Indian people for self-rule, conducted as that so-called training is now being conducted under virtual slavery and by virtually slave-masters, that is, under the absolute dominance of the British bureaucracy,—is there any reason to believe that if it went on for a hundred years, it would fit them any better than they are fitted now by their own native intelligence, their own natural instincts for law and order, and their experience of three thousand years of actual practice of self-rule?

I repeat, England's whole manner of dealing with India in withholding self-rule from her until she is first "educated" and "trained" and made "fit" for it, is contrary to the best modern psychology and the best modern systems of education. If there is anything that our best psychologists and educators unite on, and declare to be settled and certain, it is that the only way in which individuals or groups of individuals can be effectually trained for anything practical, or made really fit for anything practical, is by the method of actual doing, of experiment, of practice, of "trial and error" or trial under the possibilities of success and possibilities of failure. The child has to learn to walk by walking, to speak by speaking, to write by writing, to think by thinking, to use all his faculties and powers by using them, to do everything he has to do in life by doing. Every step forward in civilization has been attained by experiment, and experiment always involving the possibility of mistakes. It is by their mistakes as well as by their successes that men and nations always have to learn and to advance. There is no other way.

It is a calamity to India, of the first magnitude, that throughout all the dealings of the British with her this principle has been ignored. And it is ignored still. If England herself had been kept by some superior power from self-rule until she could govern herself without any mistakes, or until in the judgment of that dominating power she was "fit", she would today be in political slavery, as India is. The same is true of the United States. The same is true of every nation. Every nation in the world that rules itself has learned to do so by actual experience, and never by being taught by a foreign power. They have all learned to swim by going into the water. India simply demands

the right to go into the water. One year of actually governing themselves, making mistakes and correcting them, would do more to train the Indian people for self-rule than a millenium of the sham training which they are now getting from their British masters. Dare any one deny that Gladstone was right in declaring that "every year and every month that a subject people are kept under the administration of a despotic government, renders them less fit for free institutions?"

Just when should India receive freedom and self-rule? This question has been answered already. But let me cite definite answers from distinguished and trustworthy Englishmen.

No Englishman knows India better than Rev. C. F. Andrews, who came there more than a quarter of a century ago, was for a time missionary of the Church of England and a college professor, and who for some years past has traveled all over India devoting himself to work of social reform. Mr. Andrews tells us unhesitatingly that, in his judgment, the Indian people should have self-rule at once, that is, as soon as proper adjustments for it can be made, and that delay in order to carry on what is mistakenly called "educating them for freedom" is folly, and only makes conditions worse. Here are his own words:

"A few days ago a professor from America asked me the question, whether India would prefer Swaraj (self-government) tomorrow, or wait for twenty years, when it might be had with less danger of confusion and disaster in the process. I said to him that the real danger was not that of the confusion which might take place if Swaraj came to India tomorrow, but rather the *danger of delay*; because every year that Swaraj was not obtained was another year of *foreign institutions, foreign government and foreign trampling upon India's rights*. I asked him, as an American, what he would think if foreign institutions were imposed upon his own country. Would he wish to get rid of them immediately, even if there was some disturbance in the process? Or would he be willing to wait for twenty or any other number of years, during which those very foreign institutions would become *still more hard to get rid of*? He replied immediately, "We would never allow foreign institutions to be imposed upon America *even for a moment*, much less a term of years." I said to him, "Then you see the whole Indian situation at one glance, and you can understand why Indians are impatient, and cannot bear even a single year to be passed under the foreign yoke." He confessed to me, "I have asked Indians from one end of India to the other the same question that I asked you, and they have all given me the same answer. They have all said, 'We want self-government now. We protest against

Britain's utterly unnecessary and exasperating delay."

The following is what Mr. Bernard Houghton, long a distinguished member of the British-Indian Civil Service, says about delay :

"Why should political freedom come to India slowly ? It is ready for freedom today. It is not a barbarous country. It possesses a civilization far older than ours (that of Britain). In some respects, particularly in its village organizations, its civilization is more democratic and better than ours. Indians are peaceable, intelligent, quick to unite in group action. The writings and speeches of their leaders and the tone of their newspapers strike a higher note than in England. Indians really strive after ideals, they really believe in moral principles. Is not such a country ready for self-rule ? It is no argument to say that because Britain has taken 800 years to attain democracy, therefore, India too must advance at tortoise pace. Events and ideas move a hundred times more swiftly now than of old. Look at the United States of America. At a leap they obtained freedom and a constitution which after 150 years is still ahead of Britain. Look at Japan. India aspires to govern herself. For this she is ready. It will be a crime against humanity if she is prevented."

A number of times within the last five years the British Labour Party has declared itself unequivocally in favor of self-rule for India, and not in some far off future but immediately, as soon as proper arrangements can be made. One of its most recent declarations is the following :

"We believe that the time has come when our brothers in all parts of India are capable (not will be sometime but are now) of controlling their own affairs equally along with South Africa and other British Dominions, and we hereby pledge ourselves to assist in every way possible to bring about this much-desired reform."

The Boers were not required to wait twenty years, or ten, or five, or two, for self-government. As soon as a constitution could be framed and proper governmental machinery could be set up, home-rule was given them. And it has worked well. The Indian people see no reason why self-government should not be given to them as promptly as to the Boers.

What the Indian people need and demand is to have the useless crutch, the galling crutch, the weakening and injurious crutch of government by foreigners taken away without further annoying postponement, and to be allowed to use and develop their own legs.

No one has expressed this better than Mrs. Annie Besant, the eminent English-woman who knows India so well :

"Indians are tired of Britain's grandmotherly

legislation which always treats them as babes. If the British think them babes, very well, let the babes crawl by themselves, get up and try to walk and then tumble down until by tumbles they learn equilibrium. If they learn to walk in leading strings they will always develop bowlegs. But as a fact, wherever the Indians have been tried fairly in the matter of self-government, they have always succeeded." *

It is no wonder that many of the Indian people feel themselves stung, insulted, outraged by the insistence of the British that they need to be tutored for self-rule, as if they were *children*, as if they had not ruled themselves for thousands of years,—and tutored by a nation which is a *parvenu in self-rule compared with India*. It seems to them much like the talk of some young American "flappers" about "bringing up father."

As for the question, how long a time is needed to give India self-rule ? it is widely believed that one year is enough. Up to within a recent period the Indian people would have been quite willing to consent to five years, or even ten, if they could have been definitely and positively assured that at the end of that time self-government, real self-government and not a mere semblance, would be granted them. But there have been so many delays and so many disappointments, so many evaded or half-broken promises, that few now are willing to consider a time anywhere near so long.

Today nearly all the most eminent and trusted leaders, and also not a few Englishmen, believe that in a single year, or certainly in two, the British government in India can, if it will, set up as its successor a native government, with every official position in it, from Viceroy to policeman, filled by fully competent Indians (quite as competent as the men who fill the positions now), and do it with no confusion or disorder attending the going out of the old and the coming in of the new, and with no injustice to any interest. The Indian people are more peaceable and more law-abiding and naturally more orderly than the English, and if in England the government of the country can pass from one political party to another, or if one King can die and a successor assume the crown with no disturbance of the peace, surely we have a right to believe that the British masters of India can arrange for proper elections there, national, provincial and local, and after

* The Case for India, p. 45. Theosophical Publishing Co. Madras.

the results of the voting are known can, turn over the government to the Indian officials chosen, and accomplish it all as quietly, in as orderly a manner and with as much safety as one political administration succeeds another in England after an election, or as one King follows another. And why should they not be able to do it all within a single year's time?

Such an Indian Government, while doing no injustice to Britain, would serve India incomparably better than the present Government does, because it would be in the hands of men who know India so much better than the British do (or than any transient foreigners possibly can), who sympathize with India's ideals and civilization as the British do not, and whose supreme interests are in India and not in a foreign land.

Of course, whether India is fit for self-government or not depends upon what kind of a government we have in mind, and what we mean by fitness. If, as many seem to do, we entertain the ignorant and foolish thought that everything Indian is bad and that only things European or Western are good, and therefore that the Indian people will not be fit to rule themselves until they are made over into imitators of Englishmen, turning their back upon their own culture and ideals of thousands of years and adopting the language, customs, fashions, habits, education, religion and all the rest of an alien and far off land; and if the kind of government which we insist that they must be fit for, is a kind not their own, not what they want but what we ignorantly and egotistically want them to have—an entirely European kind, and entirely British kind, a kind strange to India's ways, thoughts, and ideals,—if this is what we mean by fitness for self-government, then unquestionably the Indian people are not fit, and what is more, there seems no reason to believe that they ever will be.

But if India is to be allowed to remain her own true self, instead of trying to become a feeble and foolish imitation of Europe; if she is to be permitted to retain and develop her own unique and important civilization, instead of abandoning it for that of foreign masters; if she is to be permitted to have and develop a kind of government in harmony with her own experience and culture, and answering to her own ideals and needs, instead of a kind that came into existence under other skies and to serve other wants, and which, if it were adopted by her, would

probably answer her needs little better than in the Bible story the cumbrous armor of King Saul answered the needs of young David, then, as already has been urged, she is unquestionably ready for self-government now.

If it is objected that Indians competent to carry on the government cannot be found, the answer is, they can be found if sought for. As a matter of fact, the Government of India, in nearly all its departments, is actually being carried on now mainly by Indians. And for two reasons: first, because there are not enough Englishmen to carry it on; and secondly, because in many respects the English are not competent,—they are so ignorant of the languages of the country, of its history, institutions, customs, ideals, needs, and a thousand things which are necessary to be known to keep the government from making fatal mistakes. A large part of the most difficult, important and vital work of carrying on the Government in all its departments and branches simply *has* to be entrusted to competent Indians, or else everything would break down. The British occupy the high places, do the directing or "bossing," wear the honors and draw the high salaries. But they can all be spared. As has been said, there is no lack of Indians capable of filling and filling well absolutely every place of official responsibility from lowest to highest.

At this point let one thing be clearly understood; and that is, that turning over the Government of India to the Indian people does not necessarily mean any such thing at all as that all Englishmen would be required to leave India, at once or ever. Business men, engaged in business that is legitimate, business not dependent upon unjust concessions to them as Englishmen, would not be disturbed. Beyond question the Indian government would do exactly as the government of Japan has done,—employ, at least for a time, not a few highly qualified foreigners, Germans, Frenchmen, Americans, and especially Englishmen, as professors, in universities and technical schools, as managers and experts in developing the resources of the country and organizing its industries; and naturally this would continue (as in Japan) as long as there was need,—that is, until India felt herself abreast of the best science and other important knowledge of the West.

With regard to this whole matter of the

relation of a self-ruling India to foreigners there seems to be a wide-spread misunderstanding. The impression has been created, and given out to the world, that the Indian people want to drive out "bag and baggage" not only the British Government but all Englishmen, if not all foreigners. No mistake could be greater. India has never demanded that Englishmen or individuals should leave, but only they should no longer remain as rulers and lords of the country. Mahatma Gandhi has more than once taken pains to say, as have many other leaders of the highest influence, that Englishmen would be welcome to stay as citizens, as traders, and business men, as educators, and even as officials in cases where the Indian Government might see fit to appoint them as such. But they cannot stay as self-appointed rulers, masters and privileged exploiters of the land. They must take their places by the side of the Indian people, not above them.

In conclusion, and in a sense summing up all that this article has aimed to say; the whole dream of "educating a nation for freedom" by *outsiders* and *masters*, while at the same time *keeping the nation in bondage*, is a *delusion*. The whole history of mankind

has shown it to be such. The best informed and most authoritative students of the subject condemn it. Modern education and modern psychology declare its folly. It never has been successfully done in the whole history of the world. In the very nature of the case it never can be. "Nations by themselves are made." They cannot be manufactured by foreigners and set up like statues. If the British could teach the Indian people to create a government as like that of England as two peas in a pod, and to carry it on as perfectly as possible after the English model, it would do no good. The whole thing would be artificial, and therefore quickly perishable. British ways are not India's ways, nor British needs India's needs. The Indian people would have to change their government all over, after the British were gone, to suit it to their own ideals and to answer their own wants. Why cannot the British see this, and, without further foolish and hurtful delay, turn over the country to its rightful owners, for them to build up a government suited to their customs, their civilization and their needs, and therefore really permanent and useful?

| This is a chapter from the author's forthcoming book, "India's Case for Freedom."

GREATER INDIA REVISITED

Through the Island of Bali

By KALIDAS NAG

III

TO reach the island of Bali from Surabaya, the eastern port of Java, we had to pass through the straits of Madura. The very name "Madura" brought back to my mind the history of the progressive Hinduisation of Indonesia. I could not somehow believe that I was sailing in unknown waters. Heaps of antiquities belonging to the Hindu civilisation of Madura, Bali and Lombok that I saw in the Museum of Batavia, helped also to dispel the idea of "foreign-ness" from my mind while I travelled in spirit through these "island museums" of Hindu culture reaching to the very confines of the Austra-

lasian continent. Lying on the deck of the small steamship 'Both', I spent the whole day surveying the outline of the southern shore of the island of Madura, while the ship glided past Kamal, Sempar, Sampang and Pamekasan Bunder. The range of low hills in the centre formed a charming dark-green background. On the shore were seen clusters of fishing villages; fishing boats were plying with the help of a peculiar sail woven not of cloth but of palm-leaf matress, like the Indian *chatai*, which shone brilliantly in the midday sun. Then I felt that I was in real Polynesia, the world of leaf-reed-wicker-work,



A view of Bali from the shore. Balinese boat.

surpassing "civilised" handicrafts in an unsophisticated grace and delicacy.

Our boat left Surabaya at 3 a. m. and it touched Soemenep, the eastern port of Madura, at about 5 p. m., thus flanking practically the entire length of the island in eight hours. Here the boat stopped for some time, loading and unloading cargoes. While watching the exports and imports of the island, I noticed a smart young man in a white drill suiting who had been studying me from a distance. I greeted him and he nodded gently and replied in broken English that he was trying to ascertain if I came from India. I assured him that he was right, and we soon became good friends, though the range of our conversation was very limited. I gathered that my friend hailed from the island of Celebes! His name was Mr. J. Walintukan and his home was at Menado in the Sonder District of Celebes. He was full of praise about his native country, where India is known through the Ramayana, the scenes of which are still

depicted by the people of North Celebes on painted cloth. Walintukan urged me to visit Celebes on my way back from Bali. Alas! my mind was willing, but money is ridiculously unwilling to replenish the exhausted purse of a vagabond tourist! Hence I had to postpone my visit to Celebes for some future incarnation.

Early next morning I felt that the steamer had stopped somewhere. I rubbed my eyes and rushed to the deck with a view to ascertain if we were already in Bali. The captain informed me that, while face to face with Bali, we were still in Java. To solve this fine riddle I consulted the map and found that the island of Bali almost touches the extreme eastern port of Java, Banjuwangi, where our boat was lying in anchor for the loading and unloading of cargoes from the farthestmost province of Java, called *Besuki* (Basuki), which shows place-names like Probolinggo, Argapura, and Situbondo! Surely the *setu-bandha*, or

the bridging of the ocean by Rama, did not stop with Ceylon. His worthy descendants must have ventured farther and farther till they reached the very heart of Polynesia and—who knows—probably they or their spiritual progeny of Indonesia, crossed the vast expanse of the Pacific and left the relics of their manners and customs, their cosmogony and mythology, their art and iconography in far off Polynesia, nay further than that, even in the so called *New World* where the symbolical elephant-motif has been recently discovered in the sculptural remains of the Pre-Columbian art of America.



Njoman Kadjeng,
My Guide in Bali

Our ship weighed anchor, leaving the Javanese port Banguwangi and forced me to leave my historical fantasies. What a rare feast for the eyes! The morning sun lit up the sea of Java and the verdure of the Balinese coasts into an extraordinary brilliance. There is an unspeakable fascination in this greenery of the Pacific isles. I drank in the charm the whole morning through, and woke up as it were from a trance when in the mid-day the ship touched Buleleng, the northern port of Bali. A crowd of Balinese boatmen invaded the steamer and tried to

induce me to go on shore. But I was eagerly waiting for my Balinese friend, wired to from Batavia. Suddenly I discerned a young man of about twenty approaching my steamer in a small boat. This was Njoman Kadjeng, the former student of the school of Gunung Sari and at present a clerk in the office of the Resident at Singaradja. He struck me as an ideal guide—a healthy unsophisticated and sympathetic young man speaking just sufficient English to make himself understood. He took charge of my luggage and brought me to the shore in a Balinese boat *tambangan prahoe*. I was informed that there was no regular hotel in the island but that there are rest-houses called *pasangrahan* (corresponding to our Indian *pantha-salas*). So my friend deposited me and my luggage in the rest-house of Singaradja, some two miles from the landing place.

IN SINGARADJA—THE CAPITAL OF BALI

The Balinese are born artists. The clean and charming roads with trees on either side supplying natural sunshade, the picturesque houses with thatched towers and rich wood-carvings, the variegated dress and dignified bearing of the womenfolk, the exquisite designs of temple architecture and decorations—all combined to evoke in me the memories of an ideal village community which is so persistently aspired after in our Indian texts, which once must have been the very basis of our Indian civilisation, yet which is so rarely to be seen and enjoyed in India! How strange it is that, in this far-away Hindu colony, so long forgotten by the Hindus, I felt the inspiring touch of the bygone rural civilisation of India.

I spent the whole afternoon strolling along the village roads haunted as it were by this bewitching scenery. I was suddenly attracted by the loud music of drums and cymbals in a neighbouring house and on enquiry was informed by my "friend, philosopher and guide", Njoman Kadjeng, that a folk festival was being celebrated there, as is customary on the full-moon day. So our Balinese brethren observe the *tithi* celebrations like us! When I reached the house the ceremony was over and amusements were going on. It was really a funny spectacle: in the spacious court-yard had assembled a huge crowd and in the centre there was a gigantic lion with white mane! To reassure my nervous readers let me say at



Balinese ladies
Going to temple

the very outset that it was not a real lion, but a dummy made to jump about by a clever man, a specialist in animal acting! The lion is not to be found in the list of Balinese fauna. Tigers, as I heard, are found in west Bali, but lions are neither seen nor known to the people. So this must be a ceremonial lion imported from India along with the Indian cults. And it jumped and danced quite unceremoniously, while the boys and girls were shrieking with merriment. Two men were dancing some rustic dance while the village orchestra was playing. Suddenly another actor appeared on the scene and, approaching the terrible beast with rhythmic gestures, laid it low, not with the stroke of any weapon but simply with magic *mantras* duly uttered. On the dead body of the lion (probably a symbol of Evil) was

sprinkled water and flowers by an attending priest, from whom I came to know that the flowers strewn were of four different colours to propitiate the four gods : Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Indra.

While I was trying to disentangle the Indian element from this queer ceremony, I was asked by my friend to watch a black chicken which was tied all the while in an obscure corner and which was liberated now that the power of Evil had been killed by sacred mantras. This little detail made me alert at once in detecting the strain of Malay-Polynesian magic in this Indo-Javanese culture.

IN THE LIBRARY OF A BALINESE PANDIT

Ever since my larding I was in search of a real Balinese scholar who might enlighten me with regard to the extant texts and traditions of Indian origin. I had the good fortune to meet just a man of that type in Pandit Djilantik who had a splendid collection of books and manuscripts. He received me very cordially and asked me numerous questions on India and the state of indigenous learning there. I felt how in spite of centuries of separation, these descendants of



The thatched towers of Bali :
picturesque houses ; hills on the background.

Aryan pandits were vitally interested in Indian religion and culture. We were sitting in the outhouse on a long wooden seat, so similar to the Indian model, and this Balinese

Pandit was showing me one by one, the manuscripts of the Mahabharata, the Brahmanda and Vishnu puranas, the Dharmashastra of Manu and Bhrigu, the Rajaniti or royal science of Kamandaka, etc., till I almost forgot that I was thousands of miles away from India, the original home of these Shastras which I saw in their Balinese garb. What a vast field for research and how our Indian learned societies, and universities should take immediate steps to send experts in Indian palaeography and Sanskrit learning in order to collaborate with our brother pundits of Bali and Java.



A Temple of Bali

Pandit Djilantik informed me that his collection had been catalogued by a Dutch Indologist. The ancient Indo-Javanese literature written in "Kawi" dialect formed part also of the old literature of Bali. At a later epoch, when Islam inundated Java with the fall of the Majhapahit empire in 1475, the important Hinduised families left their possessions in Java and crossed over to the island of Bali, which down to this day is free from Islamic domination. Those who consider themselves as descendants of the early Hindu immigrants are named *Wong Madjapahit*, who are the *Kulns*, infinitely superior to the *Bali-aga* or the indigenous Balinese. It is very easy to discern the two types: one flat and featureless, the other fine and handsome,

among the Balinese of to-day. The *Padanda* or Pandit class resembles very much the Hindu Brahmins and I gathered that the Balinese Brahmins claim *Padanda Vahu Ravuh* (the "newly arrived") as their ancestor. Thus Bali began to offer me from day to day, sociological and cultural problems, at once fascinating and baffling.

A VISIT TO THE RESIDENCY

Thanks to Dr. Bosch, Director of the Archaeological Department, my arrival at Singaradja was intimated to the Governor or Resident of the islands of Bali and Lombok, P. E. Moolenburgh. He very kindly invited me to his house, situated in a lovely spacious garden. He was somewhat surprised to find an Indian scholar coming so far in search of archeological adventure. Very soon I discovered that the Resident was a well-read man. I mentioned incidentally that we appreciate keenly in India the profound studies on Buddhism by the Dutch *savant* Henrick Kern. Mr. Moolenburgh at once told me joyously that he had had the privilege to sit at the feet of Prof. Kern in order to learn Sanskrit years ago. So he would help to the best of his abilities an Indian admirer of his learned master. I had some favour to ask

and I took that opportunity to seek his aid. I knew that Njoman Kadjem was a clerk in the office of the Residency and I knew equally well that it would be very difficult for me to secure the services of another Balinese of his type, during my short stay in the island. So I requested the Resident kindly to lend me the services of Njoman Kadjem during my trip through Bali. The Resident not only granted my request but generously offered to place me under the care of Dr. Schrieke, the Director of the Ethnographic Survey, who was then staying in Gianjar (South Bali) in order to study the elaborate Cremation ritual there. That was just the thing which I wanted to witness before anything else and that was why I postponed my Java trip. By a stroke of good luck or by a propitious

smile of Lord Ganesha I gained my object completely. Thanking the Resident, I began to get ready for my historic tour from Singaradja on the north to Gianjar, the stronghold of Hindu culture in South Bali.

The Resident's library contains all the important books and reports on Bali, Lombok and other islands. I offer some facts that may prove interesting to my Indian friends.

Bali and Lombok were first visited by Houtman as early as 1597, and he found the people "extremely warlike" in nature, quite in keeping with the proud tradition of the native chronicle—*Usana Bali*, which names the island *Bali-anka*, the lap of the strong and valiant—thus fitly expressing the bold warlike spirit of the Balinese (Vide B. R. Chatterjee's *Indian Culture in Java and Sumatra*, pp. 12; Greater India Society Bulletin No. 3.)

The Balinese could not be made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Dutch Government before 1841, although the *Susuhunan* (or chief) of Surakarta (a central Javanese State) who had theoretical rights over Bali, ceded them to the Dutch settlers as early as 1743. The grip of political control was tightened in 1841 with the consequence that there were dangerous uprisings throughout the island between 1846-1849, causing considerable drain of men and money to the Dutch Government. The nationalist opposition was so determined and organised that "as late as 1891 the Dutch power had under their direct control only two provinces of Bali: Djembrana in the west and Buleleng or Singaradja in the North. All the other provinces were governed by Rajahs who were absolute monarchs, the Dutch having little more than nominal influence."

The island of Lombok was subdued in 1849, the year which also witnessed the subjugation of Karangasem (South Bali), though at the cost of the life of the Dutch general Michiels who was killed at Kusambe (? Kausambi). "But even then the spirit of resistance was not subdued." The inevitable, however, happened. The Dutch Government took decisive steps between 1906-1908, during which nearly all the chiefs surrendered except a few striking cases of uncompromising patriotism. The Rajah of Badung (present Den Passar) preferred death to servitude. He laid down his life with his devoted followers rushing out in the field dying to a man like heroes. This is the exact

counterpart of the Rajput practice of plunging in mortal fight, exchanging betels for the last time. In Bali this heroic custom was known as "Puputan", which means "a sortie *en masse* of the ruler and his entire court, advancing not so much with the idea to fight but to die honourably in order to avoid a dishonourable prolongation of life"

The Raja of Tabanan committed suicide in order to avoid the above humiliation. The Deva Agung (chief) of Kusambe (present Klung-kung) also followed the example of the Raja of Badung in 1908, which year witnessed the final extinction of the flame of Balinese liberty.



A romantic Grotto

The whole of this chapter of history reads like the memorable pages of our Rajput history. It shows that not only Brahmanical wisdom but the heroic courage of the Kshatriyas of India were also manifest in the life of the people of Bali. With the same feeling of awe that possesses us while we visit Chitor, I started my pilgrimage through this land of the Rajputs of Indonesia.

FROM NORTH TO SOUTH BALI

The island of Bali is about 75 miles long and 50 miles broad, covering an area of

2300 square miles. From the general outline Bali seems to be a big tortoise heaving out of the sea of Java. North-Bali is separated from the South by a chain of mountains crossing the island from East to West. The highest peak in the range is the volcanic peak of Gunung Agung (12,379 ft.).



Architectural decorations
in a Balinese temple.

The total population of Bali is about 960,000. The neighbouring island of Lombok, which is almost of the same size, contains almost an equal number of souls, the two islands showing the total population of 1,541,931. According to the latest census (31 Dec. 1925) of the various foreign peoples distributed in Bali and Lombok, there were 7213 Chinese, 1031 Arabs, 332 Europeans and

277 natives from British India, as we find in the official census of 1920.

Before starting my itinerary I had to study the map of Bali, which I reproduce herewith, and I add a few details for the benefit of future tourists from India. I have said before that Bali resembles a tortoise in

its outline; now the western projection of the island, the neck of the tortoise, is like the extreme west of Java, least interesting from our point of view. The number of the Hindu temples or *Poera* are very few and there are only two Brahmin chiefs or *Punggawa*: that of Djembrana and of Mendjo. A controleur of the Dutch government is posted in Negara (? nagara), which only shows a few miles of roads, the rest being hilly and difficult of access. We notice a few peaks: Grogak 1414 feet), Merbuk (1350 feet) and Malaya.

Similarly the extreme east of Bali is hilly and uninviting to tourists. Here we find the highest peak of Bali, Gunung Agung (3142 feet). Here we also find the biggest lake or *danau* of Bali, the lake Batur between Mt. Batur (1717 feet) and Mt. Abang (2152 feet). The place of the controleur is at Karangasam.

There are three other *danau* or lakes in the hill ranges of central Bali: Bratan, Bujan, and Tamlingan.

There we find that the middle portion of the island, both to the north and to the south of the volcano range in the centre, is

most interesting from archæological and other points of view. I proceeded forthwith to study the ways and means of visiting this area. I was in Singaradja, the capital of Bali and Lombok, and the Resident and his staff gave me their expert advice. So I was enabled to see more than I ever expected.

In the north central part (the back of the tortoise), we find several centres of native



Hindu pantheon of Bali.
Vishnu on Garuda at the centre.

Punggawas : at Pengastulan Bubunan, Bandjar, Pandji, Kubutambahan, Sawan Bondalem, Tedjakula (? Teja-kula), Kintamani (? Chintamani) and others.

But for the most interesting relics of Hindu religion and art we must make a thorough survey of South Bali, a veritable museum of Indo-Balinese culture. I cannot resist the temptation of giving a few place names, the centres of the *Punggawa* of south Bali : Kesiman, Sukawati, Satria, Babitra, Kediri, Kapal, Antasari, Badjri, Marga, Pajangan, Madargan, Susut and Bangli. I had already an introduction from Mr. Kunt, on Tjokarda Gde Raka, the chief of Ubud near Sukawati. Now I had the invitation to the rare cremation ceremony of the princely house of Gianjar, considered to be the leader of Balinese orthodoxy, a sort of a Rana of Udaypur amongst these Balinese Rajputs. Consequently in the *sradlha* ritual of Gianjer, not only all the *Punggawas* of Bali but many chiefs of Java as well (some

of them Muhammadan) assembled in that function, affording me the unique opportunity to observe and study the life of Bali in that concentrated aspect.

My friend Njoman Kadjen was quite happy to get a few days' leave from his office and the chance to witness the grand celebration at Gianjar. He made all arrangements about our trip, the most important item being the hiring of an automobile. He brought an Arab dealer, *Ali-bi-bin-Segaf*, who struck me as a shrewd man, a typical descendant of the race which by their maritime and commercial venture as much as by their adaptability to new environments deprived the Hindus of their predominant position in Indonesia. After some inevitable discussions on the difficulty of the roads, the cost of living and so forth the Arab agreed to place one of his cars at my disposal for a journey to and from Gianjar for seventy guilders.

We followed the north-western coast

road and came to *Buhnman*, where we found a beautiful Balinese temple. It is built mainly of bricks with stone-carvings added here and there to add to the beauty of the edifice. These temples of Bali resemble the shrines of the Hindu colony of Champa (modern Annam) which I had visited a few weeks before. The ornamental parts are more elaborate in the temples of Bali, while those of Champa are more soberly designed and decorated. In fact, most of the work of Bali shows a tendency to over-decoration. Somehow these specimens of plastic art of Bali strongly remind one of its superb goldsmith's art; we appreciate the minutiae of details from close quarters, but they seem from a distance to be a sort of over-growth obstructing the view in ensemble. On the walls are seen carved figures of the Indian *Garuda* and *Naga*. Symbols are quite numerous; a curious piece of iconography appeared in a niche: a figure with human face but with the tusks of a boar, riding a tortoise and a tree growing above! What a long and forgotten history of tree, serpent and animal worship of primitive man is peeping through this iconic incarnation!

The next stage where we stopped was the village *Ringdikit* which had a Shaiva temple, with a pair of gigantic *Naga* figures guarding the gates and a terrific female (? *Dakini*) with hanging breasts, and flames shooting from her mouth. Inside the shrine I found a small wooden seat for the priest, a *Kalasa* full of water, and a few wooden ladles, probably for ceremonial use. On the walls I was surprised to find a painted wooden board depicting some mythological subjects, just like the *Pat* drawings of Bengal.

The gate of entrance is made as it were of a superb piece of tower sawed into two-halves, leaving a narrow space between. The lotus motif appears very often and the temple contains numerous thatched towers in five or seven stories.

We motored down the picturesque village

road, with neat thatched houses on either side and bright innocent faces of boys and girls peering at us from a distance. In the village, *Desa Busunghise*, we had the good fortune to witness a regular village assembly (*Panchayat*) in full session. I enquired through my Balinese friend and came to know that there would be a celebration and to discuss the ways and means the village folk, as well as the members of the various village guilds, had assembled in the courtyard of the temple. I wondered if the village community of ancient India had been brought over to these Pacific isles by the Indian colonists. The orderly way in which the meeting was conducted impressed me deeply and I felt how fruitful it would be for our students of rural economics in our Indian universities to come over here and make a comparative study of the cottage industries and agriculture in India and Indonesia.

Thus skirting the hill range of *Batukan* (Central Bali) along its western side, we reached the *Pasanggrahan* (*Pantha-sala*) or rest-house of *Tabanan*, the first important centre of South Bali. While approaching *Tabanan* I got a glimpse of the Indian ocean and felt that I was still in familiar waters. The *Poonggawa* of *Tabanan* committed suicide when the last attempt to preserve his independence failed between 1906-1908.

Viewing the bazaar of *Tabanan* we came to *Den Passer*. Its ancient name was *Badung*, and the Raja of this place with his whole court sacrificed his life fighting like an Indian Rajput prince of yore. This happened in 1906 and his example was followed by several Rajas of South Bali, e.g., the prince of *Kesiman* and the *Deva Agung* of *Klungkung* (or *Kusambe*). The history of this splendid though futile heroism is still alive in the heart of the local people, who showed me with deep feeling and reverence the sites of this heroic fight for liberty.

ISHWARCHANDRA VIDYASAGAR AS AN EDUCATIONIST

(Based on Unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE

II

THE Sanskrit College was originally founded with the avowed intention of fulfilling two functions—"the cultivation of Hindu literature and the gradual diffusion of European knowledge."* In May 1827 the General Committee of Public Instruction introduced an English class into the college for teaching European science to the students and enabling them to translate occidental ideas into the vernacular literature of Bengal. This arrangement, however, proved a failure, and the English class was abolished on 31st December 1835. In October 1842 the Council of Education restored the English class with two masters, but with no better success. Vidyasagar saw the defect in the principle on which the English studies had been hitherto conducted, and he felt the necessity of strengthening the Department. It was his intention that the students of the Sanskrit College should be well-versed in both Sanskrit and English, in order that they might prove most efficient vernacular teachers, as well as create a new and enlightened Bengali literature. In the following letter to the Council of Education dated 16th July 1853 he represented the need of recasting and strengthening the staff of the English Department and, to attain his object, he claimed the benefit of the orders of the Home Directors in their Despatch No. 1 of 1841 regarding the continuance of the original assignment for the improvement of Oriental colleges :

"I have the honour to state for the information of the Council, that the last Junior Class now contains 58 pupils and that further admission into it has become quite impracticable. Applications for admission are constantly received. To meet this demand it is necessary to form an additional Junior Sanskrit Class which will require an outlay of not less than Rs. 30 per mensem, for the services of a competent teacher. Should this proposition be sanctioned, the Sanskrit instructive establishment will be complete and there will be no necessity of any further extension in this department.

I beg leave to embrace this opportunity of again bringing to the notice of the Council the

necessity of strengthening the English Department of this college. Under present circumstances, five teachers are absolutely required for the efficiency of this department, which will require an outlay of Rs. 360 per month, as noted in the margin.

1 Professor of Literature	...	Rs. 100
1 Professor of Mathematics	...	" 100
1 First Junior Master	...	" 80
1 Second do	...	" 50
1 Third do	...	" 30
		Rs. 360

The salary of the three present English teachers; together with that of the Professor of Sanskrit Mathematics whose services will be dispensed with, amounts to Rs. 282 per mensem; so that, on this account, Rs. 78 a month are required to be paid from the funds assigned to the institution.

This amount, added to the Rs. 30 required for the services of a Junior Sanskrit teacher, will entail an additional expenditure of Company's Rs. 108 per month, or Company's Rs. 1,296 per annum. The total disbursements of the year 1852-53 have been Rs. 19,496-1-6 and the proposed additional charge will bring up the annual expenditure to Company's Rs. 20,792-1-6, being Rs. 3,207-11-6 under the annual assignment of Company's Rs. 24,000.

There appears to be some misapprehension in regard to this annual grant of Company's Rs. 24,000, and I am anxious therefore to enter an explanation on the subject.

It would appear, from your letter No. 526 dated the 22nd March 1850 to the late Secretary of this institution that the Council were under the impression that the sum of only Company's Rs. 17,694 per annum had been appropriated to the maintenance of the Sanskrit College. On this point I beg most respectfully to draw the attention of the Council to the following facts.

In 1821 when the college was founded the Government made a separate grant of Rs. 24,000 per annum for the maintenance of the institution.

The Resolution of the Government of India, dated the 7th March 1835, ordered the abolition of the stipendiary system, the discontinuance of the printing of Oriental works and the employment of the savings therefrom in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language. It must be confessed that by this resolution all funds came to be considered as one and there ceased to be for a time any separate fund for any particular institution.

When in 1839 the question relating to the appropriation of funds assigned to particular institutions came before Lord Auckland, the then

* Resolution dated 21 Aug. 1821. See Sharp's *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 79.

Governor-General of India, in his celebrated Minute on Native Education dated Delhi the 24th of November 1839, His Lordship, after taking a review of money estimates and of local wants, arrived at the conclusion that the funds assigned to each Oriental seminary should be restored to, and employed exclusively for the purposes of that seminary. His Lordship observes: 'I see no advantage to be gained in this case by a close contest for strict constructions, and having taken a review of money estimates and of local wants, I am satisfied that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects, while I see at the same time nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connection with, that seminary. I would also give a decided preference within these institutions, to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction, and only after that object shall have been properly secured in proportion to the demand for it would I assign the funds to the creation or support of English classes. At the same time, I would supply to the General Committee of Public Instruction from the revenues of the State any deficiency that this resolution might cause in the general income at their disposal. And if they should already have partially used for other objects, the savings arising from the seminaries supported by special funds, I would in recalling such savings, protect the General Committee from loss on that account' (see Appendix page vi of the Report of the General Committee for the year 1839-40).

On receipt of Lord Auckland's Minute, the late General Committee of Public Instruction, in their monetary statement concerning the Sanskrit College, noted in the margin, distinctly stated that the allowance of the Sanskrit College was Rs. 2,000 per mensem, when they reported to Government on the state of colleges and schools under their control and on the measures which they considered requisite and expedient for the promotion of efficient education by means of these institutions in accordance with the principles and sentiments recorded in Lord Auckland's Minute (see the letter of the General Committee No. 1035, dated the 30th October 1840 in the Appendix No. II to the above Report).

	Present	Proposed
Allowance Rs. 2,000		
Secretary	100	100
Asst. Secretary	50	50
9 Pandits	637-5-4	720
Natural Philosophy teacher	80	90
Establishment	142-10-8	154
Stipends	290-10-8	0
Prizes	100	12
Books and Contingencies	20	20
Scholarships	0	328

The Honourable the Court of Directors, in their Despatch No. 1 of 1841 dated the 20th January 1841, confirmed the views of Lord Auckland regarding the restoration and appropriation of funds assigned to each Oriental seminary. The Hon'ble Court observe: '3. In reference not only to the desire which has been manifested by numerous and respectable bodies of both Muhammadans and

Hindus, but also to more general considerations, it is our firm conviction that the funds assigned to each native college or Oriental seminary, should be employed exclusively on instruction in, or in connection with that college or seminary, giving a decided preference within those institutions to the promotion, in the first instance, of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction.'

'5. We are aware that the opinions which we have now expressed, favourable on the one hand to the application of the funds belonging to the native colleges or seminaries, for Oriental instruction in the first instance, and on the other hand to the diffusion of European instruction, involve an increase of expense to the State. To this we are prepared to submit, concurring as we must do, in the opinion which our Governor-General has expressed of the insufficiency of the funds hitherto allotted to the purposes of public instruction in India. You have, therefore, our authority to make up any deficiency in the income now at the disposal of the General Committee which may be occasioned by restoring the allowances of several Oriental colleges to the purposes for which they were originally made.' (See pages cli & cliii of the Appendix No. IV to the above Report).

That the assigned allowance of the Sanskrit College amounting to Rs. 24,000 per annum has not been subsequently curtailed to a less amount appears from the fact that the Accountant General every year credits Rs. 24,000 on account of the Sanskrit College and after debiting its annual expenditure amounting to Company's Rs. 19,000 and some odd hundreds, credits the surplus in favour of the Council.

With due deference and submission I would beg leave to observe that from the facts stated above, it is clear that the allowance assigned to the Sanskrit College amounts to Rs. 24,000 per annum; that this amount ought to be exclusively employed to the purposes of the Sanskrit College so long as the community may desire to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by this institution; and that after provision shall have been properly made for imparting Sanskrit learning in proportion to the demand for it, the funds ought to be assigned to the creation or support of English classes.

I further beg leave to remark that it nowhere appears that the Rs. 17,694, alluded to in your letter mentioned before, is the only grant apportioned to the maintenance of the Sanskrit College. In 1840, Rs. 17,694 were sanctioned by the Government of India as the then required annual expenditure of the institution. It cannot be inferred from this, that this sanctioned annual expenditure was fixed upon by Government as the maximum allowance of the Sanskrit College. In that same letter of Government which sanctions the annual expenditure of Rs. 17,694 mention is distinctly made that the funds assigned to each Oriental seminary should be exclusively employed to the purposes of that seminary (see pp. cxxxvii & cxlii of the Appendix No. III to the above Report).

In conclusion, I beg leave to observe that under these circumstances the Sanskrit College appears to be fully entitled to have an additional Junior Sanskrit class, there being great demand for Sanskrit learning, as appears from the number of candidates for admission, and as well as to a further outlay for placing its English classes on

an efficient footing as long as the expenditure does not exceed the allowance assigned to the institution.

I further beg leave to observe that if an extended and improved system of vernacular education in Bengal be carried out, and the Sanskrit College be regarded in the light of a Normal School to meet the increased demand for a higher order of Bengali teachers that will arise, it will be unable to meet this demand without a considerable extension of its present classes.*

The Council was satisfied that the outlay proposed by Vidyasagar would be most beneficial in encouraging the combined study of English and Sanskrit and secured the sanction of the Government of Bengal to the pandit's proposal.

A better regulated and a more extended plan of studies was introduced into the English Department in November 1853 with great success. The following members composed its staff:—

Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikari—

Professor of Literature Rs. 100

Srinath Das— Professor of Mathematics „ 100
(Three other masters).

The study of mathematics through the medium of Sanskrit was found less profitable than its study through English, and therefore, an English mathematical class was started. Vidyasagar now made English a compulsory subject in the institution.

After Vidyasagar had introduced the above improvements in the Sanskrit College, and was contemplating the re-organization of the English Department, the Council of Education wanted the celebrated scholar Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, Principal of the Benares Government College, to visit and report upon the Calcutta Sanskrit College. In this connection they wrote to the Bengal Government as follows:—

“The Government is aware that great and important changes have been introduced into this institution, since the appointment of its present able and energetic Principal. These measures have apparently already begun to bear good fruit and as the institution is likely to become extremely useful under its present management, the Council are anxious to have the opinion of the most able Sanskrit scholar in India regarding the measures now in progress, and those contemplated hereafter.”†

The following observations, made by Dr. Ballantyne who paid a visit to the Calcutta

Sanskrit College sometime in July—August 1853, at the invitation of the Council, explain the situation:—

“From my personal intercourse with the accomplished Principal Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, I have derived the gratification I was led to anticipate both by his reputation and by his report on the college, on which the Council sometime ago did me the honour to request my opinion.

With the arrangement of the classes in the Sanskrit College, and with the apparent zeal both of teachers and pupils, I have been much pleased. The course of studies (if the appliances of the institution suffice for its being completely carried out), is very full, especially in the English division of the course. On some points of detail, in regard to the selection of class-books, I may have occasion to offer remarks in the sequel. Leaving out of consideration here various topics on which I shall hope to have opportunities of consulting with Pandit Ishwarchandra by letter, I address myself to the question which I conceive the Council to have proposed to me, viz., is there anything in the working of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, or of the Benares Sanskrit College, which might be advantageously adopted by the one from the other? To reply briefly, I think there is, in both—although in consequence of the difference of local circumstances, the two institutions may still judiciously be left to differ in several respects. The bed of Procrustes is not the type of administrative wisdom, and uniformity is dearly purchased when purchased by the sacrifice of more serious interests.

A noticeable source of distinction between the two institutions is the fact that the Benares Sanskrit College contains no Bengalis, while the Calcutta College contains nothing else.* The Bengalis who are students of Sanskrit College, participating in the general desire for the acquisition of English, which they see in those around them, may advantageously be introduced to the study of English at that point in the course which Pandit Ishwarchandra has fixed upon. It does not follow that the same arrangement would work well at Benares. To supply instruction to him who craves it and to force instruction on him who does not seek it, are very different things. At the same time I quite approve of its being compulsory, as it is now in the Sanskrit College, to begin English at the stated date, whether the pupil feel inclined to it or not, this arrangement being rendered indispensable by the system of class teaching, the introduction of which into the Calcutta Sanskrit College, has been effected by its present Principal. On the advantage of the class system, in enabling the same teacher to take charge of a very much greater number of pupils, it is unnecessary to dwell. Of the difficulties in the way of adopting the system, to the same extent, at Benares, this is not the occasion to speak. It

* To prevent misconception here (a misconception which has been sometimes turned to mischievous account) it may be observed that it is the Sanskrit College of Benares that is spoken of, and not the English school associated with it under the same roof. The English school is indeed mainly recruited by Bengalis, but the application of a Bengali for admission into the Sanskrit College of Benares is a thing scarcely known.

* Education Consultation 22 Sept. 1853, No. 44.

† Letter from F. J. Mouat, Secretary to the Council of Education, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Fort William 21st May 1853.—General Dept. Con. 16 June 1853, No. 43.

may suffice here to remark that the Bengali boys are in general more pliant than those of the Upper Provinces, and that Calcutta is so far inoculated with Anglican feeling, consciously or unconsciously, that an argument from Calcutta to the Upper Provinces is very apt to mislead. This holds also conversely and therefore, I would offer any suggestion, for the imitation of either college by the other, under this express proviso, that regard be had to the different circumstances of the two places.

Holding, then generally, that the Sanskrit course, in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, is a good one and also (with a complete staff of teachers) the English course, I yet desiderate sufficient provision for obviating the danger that the two courses may end in persuading the learner that 'truth is double.' This danger is no chimerical one. To take an example: I am acquainted with Brahmans who, being well-versed in Sanskrit literature and also familiar with English, are aware that the European theory of logic is correct, and also the Hindu theory, while at the same time, they cannot grasp the identity of the two in such a way as to be able to represent the processes of the one in the language of the other. If this be the case with the very best of those who have studied both Sanskrit and English independently, it is not likely that the case will be different with the general run of pupils similarly trained. One reason why this is to be regretted, is that men so educated cannot satisfactorily communicate to their educated fellow-countrymen who are unacquainted with English much of that valuable knowledge which they themselves have gained through the English. They cannot show that our English sciences are really developments and expansions of truths, the germs of which the Sanskrit systems contain, and therefore, to the mind of their hearers those valued germs appear to be ignored by, or opposed to, English science, when they might easily be shown to be involved in it. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this consideration, because the very constitution of the present Sanskrit College, with its English course and its Sanskrit course, implies the understanding that it is desirable to train up a body of men qualified to understand both the learned of India and the learned of Europe, and to interpret between the two, removing unnecessary prejudice by pointing out real agreement where there was seeming discordance and conciliating acceptance for the advancing science of Europe by showing that European science recognizes all those elementary truths that had been reached by Hindu speculation.

With the view of determining what points in the Hindu system corresponded with points in European science, some years ago I took up the system called the *Nyaya*, and (in a work now partly printed in Sanskrit and English, under the title of a *Synopsis of Sciences*) I showed the points, in that comprehensive system, from which our various sciences branch out. Some portions of this work I have read and discussed with Pandit Ishwarchandra, in company with one of my co-adjudutors, Pandit Vethala Shastri of the Benares College. Pandit Ishwarchandra promises to introduce it to the notice of his classes, and to communicate to me by letter any doubts or difficulties that may arise in the course of the study, so that the crudenesses incidental to a first attempt of such a

kind may be gradually eliminated in due time. The next volume will commence with the theory of Inductive Investigation. In dealing with this important branch I hope to enjoy the advantage of Ishwarchandra's co-operation. I observe that he places in his list Mill's great work on the subject. As introductory to the perusal of that work I have prepared an abstract of it, in which I have traced, to some extent, the correspondence between its technical terminology and that of the *Nyaya* system in its treatment of the same topics. This abstract (printed by order of Government N.-W.P.) being from its price etc., more suitable for a class-book than the entire work, I propose its adoption into the course. At the annual examinations, I should be glad to supply questions, on this and other works here suggested, the replies to which might not only furnish evidence as to the progress of the pupils, but might be so contrived as to lead to a still more complete determination of the way in which the mind of the native literate might be best conciliated to Baconian speculations.

Besides the *Nyaya* system, there are two other systems taught in the college, *vi.*, the *Sankhya* and the *Veitanta*. A text-book of each of the three has been printed, with English version and notes, for the use of the Benares College. This might with equal advantage be read in the Sanskrit College here, and the criticism both of the pupils and of the teachers might here also lead to a more complete determination of the precise relation between the philosophical nomenclature of India and of Europe. As there is much in the two systems last-named that finds its counterpart in the speculations of Bishop Berkeley, I have reprinted Berkeley's *Inquiry*, with a commentary indicative of these correspondences. I should like that the acuteness of the Calcutta Sanskrit College should be brought to bear upon this exposition also. Where speculation, in countries so widely separated as India and Europe, has arrived at similar or identical conclusions, the conviction of the fact should naturally tend to beget mutual respect, and mutual respect must naturally tend to facilitate the reception, by the less advanced nation, of the science and philosophy of the more advanced one.

In offering these remarks and suggestions, I have had in view almost exclusively the desirableness of bridging the chasm between the Sanskrit and the English—between the learning of India and the science of England; because the endeavour to bridge the chasm is what peculiarizes the measures introduced, within the last few years, into the Benares College, and it was this peculiarity (if I mistake not) that attracted the attention of the Council. Pandit Ishwarchandra is perfectly competent to work the same system, and to aid me in improving it. As the Sanskrit College at present stands, there is a good Sanskrit course, and a good English course, but the pupil is left to determine for himself whether the principles inculcated in these correspond to one another, or altogether conflict, or correspond partly and if so how far. The pupil, left to determine this for himself, does not, as we have seen, determine it satisfactorily at all, and therefore (not in the way of substitution for any part of the established course, but as an additional feature necessary to the completion of the design) I have suggested the employment of the treatises above-mentioned.

If the general principles of this report obtain the approval of the Council, as I have reason to believe they have the concurrence of the intelligent Ishwarchandra, I shall co-operate with him most gladly in the endeavour to complete the arrangements for such a course of Anglo-Sanskrit education as shall raise up successive bands of men qualified thoroughly to interpret the mind of Europe to that of India: for this is indeed the great end of such an institution as we may hope for in the Sanskrit College."

On 29th August, 1853 the Council passed the above report in the original on to Vidyasagar, requesting him to report upon the same. Vidyasagar materially differed from Dr. Ballantyne's plan of study and sent the following reply to the Council:—

"In reply I beg leave to state that I am very happy to observe that all the measures lately introduced into this institution have met with the entire approbation of a man of Dr. Ballantyne's talents and abilities.

With regard to the adoption of class-books recommended by Dr. Ballantyne, I regret to say I cannot agree with him on all points. He appears to recommend the adoption of his abstract of Mill's Logic in substitution of the original. Under the present state of things the study of Mill's work in the Sanskrit College is, I am of opinion, indispensable. Dr. Ballantyne's principal reason for recommending the abstract seems to be the high price of Mill's work. Our students are now in the habit of purchasing standard works at high prices. So we need not be deterred from the adoption of this great work on that consideration. Dr. Ballantyne's abstract might be read, to quote his own words, 'as introductory to the perusal of that work.' But the great author himself, in his preface, strongly recommends Archbishop Whately's treatise on Logic as the best introduction to his work. I, therefore, leave the matter to the decision of the Council. Dr. Ballantyne also recommends to adopt as class-books three text-books of each of the three systems of philosophy,—Vedānta, Nyāya, and Sāṅkhya—printed with the English versions and notes. Of these the *Vedāntasāra*, text-book on Vedānta, is already a class-book here, and its version in English might be read with advantage. The two other text-books recommended by him, the *Tarkasāgraha*, the text-book on Nyāya, and the *Tattvasamāsa*, that on the Sāṅkhya, are very poor treatises in their own departments. We have better treatises in our curriculum. With regard to Bishop Berkeley's *Inquiry*, I beg to remark that the introduction of it as a class-book would beget more mischief than advantage. For certain reasons, which it is needless to state here, we are obliged to continue the teaching of the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya in the Sanskrit College. That the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya are false systems of philosophy is no more a matter of dispute. These systems, false as they are, command unbound reverence from the Hindus. Whilst teaching these in the Sanskrit course, we should oppose them by sound philosophy in the English course to counteract their influence. Bishop Berkeley's *Inquiry*, which has arrived at similar or identical conclusions with the Vedānta or Sāṅkhya and which is no more considered in

Europe as a sound system of philosophy, will not serve that purpose. On the contrary, when, by the perusal of that book, the Hindu students of Sanskrit will find that the theories advanced by the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta systems are corroborated by a philosopher of Europe, their reverence for these two systems may increase instead of being diminished. Under these circumstances, I regret I cannot agree with Dr. Ballantyne in recommending the adoption of Bishop Berkeley's work as a class-book.

I also beg leave to state that I cannot quite agree with Dr. Ballantyne when he admits that both the Sanskrit and English courses in the Calcutta Sanskrit College are good and yet desiderates 'sufficient provision for obviating the danger that the two courses may end in persuading the learner that 'truth is double.' 'This danger,' says Dr. Ballantyne, 'is no chimerical one.' To take an example, he continues, 'I am acquainted with Brahmans who being well-versed in Sanskrit literature and also familiar with English, are aware that the European theory of logic is correct, and also the Hindu theory, while at the same time they cannot grasp the identity of the two in such a way as to be able to represent the processes of the one in the language of the other.' I believe, the danger that Dr. Ballantyne apprehends is not so inevitable in the case of an individual who has intelligently studied both English and Sanskrit sciences and literatures. Truth is truth if properly perceived. To believe that 'truth is double' is but the effect of an imperfect perception of truth itself—an effect which I am sure to see removed by the improved courses of studies we have adopted at this institution. It must be considered as a singular circumstance if an intelligent student cannot perceive identity of truths where there is real identity. Suppose students read logic or any other department of science or philosophy both in Sanskrit and English. If they be found to assert, 'that the European theory of logic is correct and also the Hindu theory, while at the same time, they cannot grasp the identity of the two in such a way as to be able to represent the processes of the one in the language of the other,' the hearer is naturally led to conclude that either they could not comprehend the subject with sufficient clearness, or that their familiarity with the language, in which they are found unable to express themselves, is not sufficient. It must be confessed, however, that there are many passages in Hindu philosophy which cannot be rendered into English with ease and sufficient intelligibility only because there is nothing substantial in them.

I further beg leave to state that I regret I cannot but differ a little from Dr. Ballantyne when he observes 'that the very constitution of the present Sanskrit College with its English course and its Sanskrit course implies the understanding that it is desirable to train up a body of men qualified to understand both the learned of India and the learned of Europe and to interpret between the two, removing unnecessary prejudice by pointing out real agreement where there was seeming discordance, and conciliating acceptance for the advancing science of Europe by shewing that European science recognizes all those elementary truths that had been reached by Hindu speculation.' It is not possible in all cases, I fear, that we shall be able to shew real agreement between

European science and Hindu shastras. Even if we take it for granted that we shall be able to point out agreement between the two, it appears to me to be a hopeless task to conciliate the learned of India to the acceptance of the advancing science of Europe. They are a body of men whose longstanding prejudices are unshakable. Any idea when brought to their notice either in the form of a new truth or in the form of the expansion of truths, the germs of which their shastras contain, they will not accept. It is but natural they would obstinately adhere to their old prejudices. To characterize them as a class I can do no better than quote the words of Omar. When Amru, the Arab General the conqueror of Alexandria wrote to Omar about the disposal of the Alexandrian library, the Caliph replied 'The contents of those books are in conformity with the Quran or they are not. If they are, the Quran is sufficient without them; if they are not, they are pernicious. Let them, therefore, be destroyed.' The bigotry of the learned of India, I am ashamed to state, is not in the least inferior to that of the Arab. They believe that their shastras have all emanated from omniscient Rishis and, therefore, they cannot but be infallible. When in the way of discussion or in the course of conversation any new truth advanced by European science is presented before them, they laugh and ridicule. Lately a feeling is manifesting among the learned of this part of India, especially in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, that when they hear of a scientific truth, the germs of which may be traced out in their shastras, instead of shewing any regard for that truth, they triumph and the superstitious regard for their own shastras is redoubled. From these considerations, I regret to say that I cannot persuade myself to believe that there is any hope of reconciling the learned of India to the reception of new scientific truths. Dr. Ballantyne's views may be successfully carried out in the North-West Provinces where his experience has made him arrive at his conclusions with regard to the learned of India.

But in Bengal the case is different. His remarks that 'regard be had to the different circumstances of the two places' and that 'the bed of Procrustes is not the type of administrative wisdom' are very judicious. The local circumstances of this part of India compel us to pursue a different course for the dissemination of sound knowledge. I have with care and attention observed the state of things here, and my impression is, that we should not at all interfere with the learned of the country. We do not require to get them reconciled because we do not require their assistance in any shape. We need not fear the opposition of a body declining in their reputation. Their voice is gradually becoming more and more feeble. There is little chance of their regaining their former ascendancy. To whatever part of Bengal is the influence of education extending, there the learned of the country are losing their ground. The natives of Bengal appear to be very eager to receive the benefit of education. The establishment of colleges and schools in different parts of the country has taught us what we can do, without attempting to reconcile the learned of the country. What we require is to extend the benefit of education to the mass of the people. Let us establish a number of vernacular schools, let us prepare a series of

vernacular class-books on useful and instructive subjects, let us raise up a band of men qualified to undertake the responsible duty of teachers and the object is accomplished. The qualification of these teachers should be of this nature. They should be perfect masters of their own language, possess a considerable amount of useful information and be free from the prejudices of their country. To raise up such a useful class of men is the object I have proposed to myself and to the accomplishment of which the whole energy of our Sanskrit College should be directed. That the students of our Sanskrit College, when they shall have finished their college course will prove themselves men of this stamp we have every reason to hope. Nor is this hope an illusive one. That the students of the Sanskrit College will be perfect masters of the Bengali language is beyond any possible doubt. If the contemplated new organization of the English Department be sanctioned, there is every possibility of their being able to attain considerable proficiency in the English language and literature and thereby acquire a considerable amount of useful information. It is very gratifying to observe that they have lately begun to think in such a way as to promise that hereafter every qualified student will be found free from all the prejudices of his countrymen. As a specimen of what may be expected from the Sanskrit College here, I beg leave to enclose herewith an English translation of a Bengali essay of the past session by a senior student [Ramkamal Sharma—student of the Philosophy class] of this institution who has still about three years to finish his collegiate course and has yet made but little progress in the English language and literature.

In conclusion, I beg most respectfully to state that if I may be so fortunate as to be permitted to carry out the system introduced, I can assure the Council with great confidence that the Sanskrit College will become a seat of pure and profound Sanskrit learning and at the same time a nursery of improved vernacular literature, and of teachers thoroughly qualified to disseminate that literature amongst the masses of their fellow-countrymen."

The Council considered the whole matter on 14th September, 1853 and passed the following orders, a copy of which was forwarded to Vidyasagar, for his information, on the 22nd :—

"That the Council are gratified to find that Dr. Ballantyne reports generally so favourably on the present course of instruction and state of progress in the Sanskrit College, and that the Principal of the college be informed that he will be expected by the Council to continue that course, the success of which must however obviously depend on the competency of the teachers employed to give instruction in the most advanced works of Mental Philosophy by English as well as by Sanskrit authors; that for the attainment of such success the Council relies mainly on the great zeal and ability of the Principal himself and that they would, at the same time, desire the Principal freely to avail himself of the Abstracts and Treatises compiled by Dr. Ballantyne, the use of which must be in the highest degree valuable

in explanation and illustration of the subjects of his own lectures and of those of the instructors under him. All students of these subjects would indeed in the opinion of the Council derive essential aid from a familiarity with Dr. Ballantyne's works. The Principal will, also, be in frequent communication with Dr. Ballantyne on the progress of his classes, and the Council would wish to see a free interchange of suggestions between the heads of the two important institutions at Benares and in Calcutta with a view to the continuing improvement of their several courses of instruction and to the establishment as far as possible of a common terminology in the rendering from English into Sanskrit or *vice versa* of the original expressions, in use in each language respectively, in the exposition or discussion of philosophical subjects."

This correspondence throws a very interesting light on the attitude of Vidyasagar towards the Hindu shastras. Contrary to what one would expect from Vidyasagar's deep Sanskrit learning, he had not the slightest bias towards shastric teaching. He was a rationalist and an eminently practical man. He grasped the fact very clearly that a blind admiration for the ancient shastras stood in the way of the acquisition of western knowledge. He was intensely eager that the Indian mind should be imbued with western knowledge, and this is the reason why he advocated so strongly the improvement of the English Department of the Sanskrit College. It is to be regretted that in his zeal for practical ends Vidyasagar could not find anything useful in the Indian systems of philosophy. In his letter to the Council he says: "For certain reasons, which it is needless to state here, we are obliged to continue the teaching of the Vedanta and Sankhya. That the Vedanta and Sankhya are false systems of philosophy is no more a matter of dispute." When English education was first introduced into this country, a section of the orthodox pandits vehemently opposed it, declaring that everything useful was to be found in the teachings of the omniscient Rishis, and that English education was not only useless but also subversive of all social order. A reaction, however, soon set in, and a reformed section of the Hindu public went to the opposite extreme and declared that there was nothing useful to be found in the Hindu shastras. Vidyasagar, though a Brahman pandit, showed the bias of the reformed section. Though appealing to the teaching of the Hindu systems of philosophy, which he did only for expediency, he lacked the breadth of vision of Rammohun Roy who understood both the eastern and

the western standpoints. In spite of his orthodox training and heritage, Vidyasagar's outlook was remarkably similar to that of a modern European. In everything he undertook, he took up an essentially practical standpoint and showed the pertinacity and indomitable energy of John Bull.

Vidyasagar had applied himself heart and soul to remodelling the institution under his charge, and the Council's present orders filled him with honest indignation. He could not brook interference with his work and would not deviate an inch from what he thought right, as will be seen from the following demi-official letter which he wrote to Dr. Mouat on 5th October 1853:—

"My dear Sir,—After the most attentive consideration of the orders of the Council in reference to Dr. Ballantyne's report on the Sanskrit College, I feel compelled to inform you, that those orders, if carried out in their integrity, will involve a degree of interference with the scheme of study lately adopted by me with the sanction of the Council, that will not only make my position in the college somewhat unpleasant but will tend, I am convinced, to impair the usefulness of the institution itself.

In the hurry and bustle of closing the college and of preparing to go home I am unable to write officially on the subject. But before I leave Calcutta I am anxious to state to you briefly some of the more important objections to the carrying out of Dr. Ballantyne's plan which have occurred to me.

For the present at least I am unwilling to mix up with the discussion of an important matter any question of a personal character in being forced to adopt a plan of study which I cannot approve of or in being obliged to communicate to a fellow Principal in the same position in the service with myself on the progress of my classes,—conditions which I suspect few educated Englishmen will be found to submit to. Waiving such personal considerations I will come at once to the real question at issue.

Dr. Ballantyne's suggestions seem to me to be based upon the assertion that without their adoption the danger of the Anglo-Sanskrit scholar being a follower of 'double-truth' cannot be avoided. I will not pretend to question the Doctor's experience among his learned friends at Benares. But of this I am certain that not a single instance can be pointed out in Bengal of any sensible man who has studied English as well as Sanskrit being persuaded that 'truth is double.'

Leave me to teach Sanskrit for the leading purpose of thoroughly mastering the vernacular and let me superadd to it the acquisition of sound knowledge through the medium of the English and you may rest assured that before a few years are over I shall be enabled, if supported and encouraged by the Council, to furnish you with a body of young men who will be better qualified by their writings and teaching to disseminate widely among the people sound information than it has hitherto been possible to accomplish through the instrumentality of the educated elites of any of your colleges

whether English or Oriental. To enable me to carry out this great—this darling object of my wishes I *must* (excuse the strong word) to a considerable extent be left unfettered. So far as I can approve of Dr. Ballantyne's abstracts and treatises—such for instance as his excellent edition of the *Notum Organum* in English, I will avail myself of them most readily and cheerfully. But if compelled to adopt all his compilations without any reference to my own humble judgment as to their utility and value or to their adaptation to the peculiar wants of the institution over which I have the honour to preside 'my occupation is gone.' Such a system would break in upon and interrupt my own plan of instruction and in spite of my sense of duty as a servant of the Council the responsibility which I now keenly feel will be assuredly weakened if not destroyed.

I hope these hints, somewhat ramblingly and hastily thrown out, will receive the kind and indulgent consideration of the Council, so as to induce them to modify their Resolution of the 14th ultimo so far as not to make the course of study in the Sanskrit College a compulsory one.

If required I shall be happy to send in an official and consequently a more formal letter on the subject after the termination of the holidays."

This letter, it appears, had the desired effect and Vidyasagar was left to pursue his own plan of teaching.

The Council were satisfied with the working of the new schemes launched by Vidyasagar, and they raised his salary to Rs. 300 a month with effect from January 1854. That his introduction of various reforms in the Sanskrit College had actually done much good, is evident from the following passage in the report of the Director of Public Instruction (who succeeded the Council of Education in Jan'y. 1855) for May 1855 to April 1856 :—

"The course of instruction at the Sanskrit College adapted, as it has of late been, to modern ideas and to purposes of practical utility, is being successfully carried on and administered by its able Principal, Pandit Ishwar-chandra Sharma, and is producing results, the effects of which upon the education of the lowest classes cannot be over-rated."

Vidyasagar possessed the gift of choosing the right type of man for his subordinates which, to a great extent, contributed to his success.

He had won the esteem of the officials, who often approached him for help in educational matters. When the College of Fort William was abolished in January 1854 and a Board of Examiners formed in its place, the pandit was made an ex-officio member of the Board. Frederick Halliday—a member of the Council of Education and the first Lt.-Governor of Bengal, greatly appreciated Vidyasagar's labours. It was in accordance with his directions that the Council wrote to Vidyasagar on 18th July 1854 asking him to visit the vernacular school at Bumunmurah, situated about two miles east of Barasat. Vidyasagar visited it on 23rd July 1854 and submitted his report, dated 22nd August 1854, to the Secretary of the Council.*

To conclude with the fitting words of the late Ramosh Chandra Datta :—

"The fame of the young and enthusiastic educationist spread far and wide. The greatest and most enlightened zamindars of Bengal reckoned him as their friend. Eminent literary men welcomed their new colleague. Englishmen inspired with a sincere desire to help the cause of progress in India found in Vidyasagar a worthy collaborator. For Vidyasagar was versed in the learning of his forefathers, and the traditional knowledge of the past. He had won high distinction by his Sanskrit learning, and had become the Principal of the Sanskrit College. And more than this, his open mind received and assimilated all that was healthy and life-inspiring outside the range of Indian thought; and with a robust physique and a robust heart he ceaselessly endeavoured for reform."

(Concluded)

* For the report, see *Education Con.* 14 Sept. 1854, No. 152.

A DECADE IN THE PUNJAB

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

IN May, 1891, I left Sind to take up the editorship of the *Tribune* at Lahore. That paper used to be published twice a week at that time. The office and press were located in an unpretentious house in Anarkali Bazar. There was a large courtyard in front of the house, where public meetings were held. The only public halls in existence at that time were the Town Hall over the Municipal office in the Gol Bagh and the Montgomery Hall in the Lawrence Gardens. The latter was used by Europeans for dances and other entertainments, and there was a library for the European residents. The Town Hall was used only rarely on important public occasions. The courtyard of the *Tribune* office was close to the walled city and was in frequent requisition for meetings of the Indian Association, political and other meetings. I had for my first assistant Kali Prasanna Chatterji, whose family had settled in the Punjab. Kali Prasanna was a member of the Arya Samaj and a public speaker whose services were in frequent demand. He spoke Punjabi not only with fluency but with remarkable eloquence while his flashes of wit and stock of Punjabi proverbs kept his audiences in hilarious good humour. He died some years ago at Benares.

SARDAR DYAL SINGH MAJITHIA

Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia was the proprietor of the *Tribune* newspaper. He was the only son of Sardar Lena Singh Majithia, Commander-in-chief of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army. Sardar Lena Singh was a remarkable man. In a court in which hardly a single man was free from corruption he was a man of the highest integrity of character, deeply religious and very ingenious in mechanical devices. A clock made by his own hand was shown to people several years after his death. Lena Singh was the owner of the village of Majeeth in the Amritsar district and had a fortified, baronial mansion. At Amritsar he had a large *haveli*, the Zenana being enclosed by a high wall. Lena Singh retired to Benares and died there. In the Golden Temple at Amritsar there are two flagstuffs in

front of the Akal Bunga where the Khala Sikhs are initiated. The taller of the two poles was set up by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the other by Sardar Lena Singh. Dyal Singh lost his father while he was a young boy. As a young man he went to Europe and stayed for some time in England and France. The visit to Europe left a permanent impression upon the young Sikh nobleman. He was an orthodox Khalsa Sikh by birth. In Europe he cut off his long hair and never wore it long again. His religious belief inclined strongly to the theistic creed of the Brahmo Samaj, and he was a consistent and loyal supporter of that movement. When he lost his first wife, negotiations were carried on for his marriage with a young Bengali Brahmo lady, who, however, declared her preference for another suitor. Sardar Dyal Singh was a great admirer of the Bengalis, whether Brahmo or Hindu, and his most trusted advisers at Lahore were Bengalis. He was the foremost representative of the Sikh aristocracy and might have easily become the recipient of many favours from the Punjab Government. But his visit to Europe and his studies had made him a real patriot with genuine notions of self-respect. While the scions of other leading families in the Punjab eagerly sought official favour and humiliated themselves before European officials, Sardar Dyal Singh was never seen at Government House or any official Durbar. He had some European friends, but he never visited any official as such. His independence was all the more remarkable when it is remembered that it is more than fifty years ago that he returned from Europe. The usual effect of a sojourn in the West is an overpowering fondness for everything European. Dyal Singh neither put on European clothes, nor lived in the English style, neither did he show any preference for the company of Europeans. I do not think the Punjab has produced another man like him since that Province passed to the British Government.

THE WARBURTON CASE

Some time before I took charge of the *Tribune* a case for defamation had been

brought against that paper by Colonel Warburton, District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar. Colonel Warburton's father was an Englishman and his mother an Afgan. The *Tribune* had published a number of serious allegations against the Amritsar police. Some leading lawyers of Lahore, including Pratul Chandra Chatterji, afterwards a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, offered to appear for the defence without any fees, but Sardar Dyal Singh would not accept any favour from any one and all the lawyers were paid in full. After a protracted trial heavy fines were imposed upon the Sardar as proprietor of the paper, and Sitala Kanta Chatterji, the Editor. The expenses ran up to several thousand rupees. After my arrival at Lahore Colonel Warburton brought another case against the Sardar arising out of the first case, and on the advice of the lawyers it was compounded by the payment of a solatium of Rs. 10,000 to Colonel Warburton. This was the only case ever brought against the *Tribune*, which was started in 1881 and is still the leading Indian newspaper of the Punjab.

SARDAR DYAL SINGH AND THE TRIBUNE

When I first saw him Sardar Dyal Singh was about forty years of age, fair and of medium height and inclined to corpulence. He was a splendid representative of the Sikh aristocracy, with a full, rounded face, bright eyes and a close cropped beard. Aristocratic in appearance he was thoroughly democratic in his habits of thought and sympathies. The Brahmo Samaj at Lahore was liberally assisted by him and he was always accessible to all visitors. He was well-informed and widely read, was greatly interested in religious and philosophical subjects and was of a serious turn of mind. He had started the *Tribune* at the suggestion of friends without the slightest notion of any personal profit or public kudos. There was a small annual loss even when I went to Lahore but in another year or so the paper began paying its way and gradually became profitable. Sardar Dyal Singh was an ideal newspaper-proprietor. He never interfered either with the editorial work or the management. He was so considerate that on one occasion, having received intelligence of a certain affair, he came over to my house and communicated it to me. The discretion of the Editor was absolute and wholly unfettered. No matter who happened to be criticised

there was no appeal to the Sardar. Any one who complained to him was referred to the Editor, whose influence and position were greatly improved by the correct attitude of the proprietor. He was not in much sympathy with the Arya Samaj movement and held aloof from it. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was once in sudden need of a senior professor of English and I offered my services temporarily. When I asked Sardar Dyal Singh for permission he gave it at once. Later, when I was relieved of the professorship the Sardar asked me why I did not take it up permanently. I explained that there was too much strain and such time as I could spare from the *Tribune* was given to literary work in Bengali. Of the Sardar's readiness to help any good cause I remember an instance when Upadhyaya Brahmabandhava (Bhabani Charan Banerji) once wanted some help for a paper called "Sophia", and on my mentioning the subject to the Sardar he at once gave a cheque. Upadhyaya Brahmabandhava was at that time a Christian and had left the Anglican Church to join the Roman Catholic persuasion.

THE ARYA SAMAJ MOVEMENT

By birth Swami Dayananda Saraswati was a Nagar Brahmin of Gujrat. The fame of his learning had spread over the whole of north India. He had visited Calcutta, Benares and other important centres and had held Sastrie discussions in several places. At first he spoke no other language except Sanscrit and Gujrati, but he learned Hindi after leaving Gujrat and his well known book, the *Satyartha prakasa*, was written in that language. Swami Dayananda wanted to revive and re-establish the Vedic religion as distinguished from the various phases of Puranic religion and the worship of idols. But his propaganda did not meet with much success in the strongholds of orthodox Hinduism. In Calcutta Swami Dayananda met Keshub Chandra Sen, but the leader of the Brahmo Samaj of India, as it was then called, was unable to agree to an alliance with the reformer from Gujrat, and it was not in the nature of the Swami to play second fiddle to any man. At length Swami Dayananda met Lala Mulraj of the Punjab. Lala Mulraj, who has now retired from the public service of the Punjab after working as a Divisional and Sessions Judge,

was a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University and the only Punjabi who succeeded in winning the Premchand Raychand Studentship. The Punjabis are a religiously-minded people but the conditions in that Province are somewhat peculiar. There are about two million Sikhs in the whole Province, but fresh converts are few and there is no regular proselytising propaganda. As a community the Sikhs are educationally backward and the Khalsa College at Amritsar was not established till the nineties of the last century. On the other hand, the hold of orthodox Hinduism is not very strong in the Punjab. There are not many ardent Vaishnavas and Sivaites as are to be found in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The worship of Durga or Kali is not common. There was no seat of Sanskrit learning anywhere in the Punjab. Of the educated Punjabis very few had joined the Brahmo Samaj. At the same time, every one shared the feeling of pride in the knowledge that the Punjab was the ancient Aryavarta, the land of the Vedas. With the practical help and advice of Lala Mulraj, Swami Dayananda established the Arya Samaj at Lahore and in a few years the majority of the educated Punjabis joined the reformed Church and became Arya Samajists. Branches were opened in all towns of any importance in the Punjab and a vigorous propaganda was carried on to enlist fresh adherents to the Arya Samaj. Vedic mantras were recited and chanted, the sacred and solemn Homa was performed and congregational worship was introduced. Enthusiastic preachers of the Arya Samaj went about the country preaching the revival of the Aryan tradition and the Vedic religion.

THE TWO SECTIONS OF THE ARYA SAMAJ

The Arya Samaj was divided into two sections, one of the meat-eaters and the other of the vegetarians. The two sections were somewhat irreverently designated the *mas* (meat) party and the *ghas* (grass) party. The division was something like the Vaishnava and Sakta sects among the Hindus. The bulk of the educated Punjabis belonged to the first party, while the other section was led by Lala Munshi Ram, a pleader of Jullunder, afterwards known as Swami Sraddhananda. The meat-eating section was also known as the D.A.-V. College party, because it had organised and established the

Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore. I was present at some of the anniversaries of the party and was greatly impressed by the enthusiasm and fervour of the gathering. The anniversary used to be held in the grounds of the D. A.-V. College (now used for the school) and was attended by representatives from all parts of the Province. The ladies sat behind *chiks*, though the purdah has now been practically abolished in the Punjab. At these anniversary meetings appeals were made by various speakers for funds for D. A.-V. College and school, and the response was remarkably spontaneous and generous. Large sums of money were collected on the spot and handsome donations were promised, while the ladies took off their ornaments and added them to the heap of coin and currency notes.

The Wachhowli section of the Arya Samaj held its anniversary inside the walled city and the proceedings were led by Lala Munshi Ram. There was no educational institution controlled by that party at that time. The Gurukul, Kangri, near Haridwar, was founded by Lala Munshi Rama some years later and became a famous academy in course of time. The *Suddhi* movement was an offshoot of this section of the Arya Samaj, and the moving spirit was Dr. Jai Chand, whose enthusiasm in reclaiming Hindus who had embraced some other religion was unbounded. Both sections had their organs in the Press and various subjects, not always of any immediate interest, were debated, sometimes with considerable heat. At one time, there was a prolonged discussion about the doctrine of Niyoga as mentioned in the Institutes of Manu. It was not only discussed in the organs of the Arya Samaj but was the subject of constant and excited oral discussion in which even the students took part. Now, the doctrine of Niyoga was introduced at a time when the population was sparse and progeny and sons were considered essential. Society in India has now reached a stage at which no one can dream of the practical application of Niyoga any more than the imposition of the penalties laid down by Manu for various offences. The social organism has outgrown many of the ancient conditions and the revival of the Vedic religion does not impose any obligation for the reversion to customs which can not be defended on ethical and moral grounds. The entire controversy was hypothetical and purely academic, but it was carried on with

great zeal for several months. The love of argument was a marked feature in the Arya Samaj, among the old and the young, while the study of Sanscrit was still neglected. The boarders of the D. A.-V. College were taught the *Sandhya* and *Gayatri* mantras, and later on Sanscrit was taught at the Gurukul. The D. A.-V. College and School have now grown into splendid institutions, with imposing buildings and extensive boarding houses, while the Gurukul has attained world-wide celebrity. The Arya Samaj in the Punjab has good reason to be proud of its achievement.

LALA HANS RAJ

The organised efforts and the spirit of sacrifice to which the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College owed its existence were typified in Lala Hans Raj, the Honorary Principal of the College from its foundation, and who remained at the head of this institution for over a quarter of a century. It was a deliberate but most unostentatious self-sacrifice. Lala Hans Raj never accepted any remuneration for his services. He maintained himself on a small allowance given to him by his elder brother, Lala Mulk Raj Bhalla. As I was associated with the College for a few months I had many opportunities of judging for myself how quietly and efficiently the Honorary Principal administered the affairs of the institution. Lala Hans Raj is a deeply religious man and took

part in the weekly service of the Arya Samaj. There have been zealous and earnest men in both sections of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and not the least remarkable among them is the first Principal of the D. A.-V. College. When Swami Vivekananda was my guest at Lahore, Lala Hans Raj used to come and see him, and they had long heart to heart conversations. Lala Hans Raj invited the Swami to dinner and they spent several hours together. Only a few months ago Lala Hans Raj was telling me at Lahore that Swami Vivekananda used to speak to him without any reserve and there was hardly any question that they did not discuss. Lala Hans Raj retired from the College several years ago and lives very modestly, associating with religious men. I have often wondered what influence the shining example of his devotion and sacrifice has exercised upon the young men who have been passing through the Punjab Colleges during the last forty years. Many of the young students of those days have succeeded in life. Some are lawyers, others judges, medical men, and so on. How many of them appreciate the greatness of Lala Hans Raj, or realise that there are few examples like him in the Punjab? He is now called Mahatma Hans Raj, but the lesson of his noble life should be a living example in the Punjab. Every year that I revisit the Punjab I spend some time with Mahatma Hans Raj and we talk of the old times and the presages of the future.

"THE HISTORY OF THE PRARTHANA SAMAJ"

By V. N. NAIK

"THE History of the Prarthana Samaj" is a book in Marathi written by Mr. D. G. Vaidya, the editor, Subodh Patrika which is the organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. The book was written in connection with the Diamond Jubilee celebration of that religious body on the completion of its sixtieth year in April last. The book is a large comprehensive volume containing in all about 700 pages. It is divided into two parts. The first part, of about 320 pages, sketches for us in full and accurate detail the history of the institution from its early beginning in 1867, as also of the various social, philanthropic and

educational activities conducted by that body. The second part (pp. 372) is devoted to the study of the lives of some of its most prominent founder-workers. This part contains short but vivid character-sketches of eighteen members of the Prarthana Samaj, of whom the names of men like N. M. Parmanand, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Lalshankar Umiva Shankar, Damodar Das Sukhadwala, Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar are or ought to be known all over the country in virtue of their social, religious, political or philanthropic work, as also on account of the eminence of some of them in point of scholarship and

learning. Others like Modak, Bhagwat, Kelkar, Nowrange, Madgaonkar and Dr. Atmaram Pandurang were local celebrities, whose life was characterised by purity and piety and who were known to all here for their zeal and devotion to the new faith they had embraced. Some of these were rapidly growing to be forgotten worthies; and Mr. Vaidya deserves the sincerest thanks of the members of the Prarthana Samaj as well as of all students of the social and religious history of Western India, during the last sixty years, for rescuing the names of these worthies from oblivion and restoring to them their proper place in the pantheon of the new church. Much material that would have remained buried in newspaper files and stray leaflets and brochures, has been utilised in this volume to throw a flood of light on the social movement of this Presidency from the times that date farther back than the establishment of the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay. The second part illustrates in vivid touches what is told us in simple narrative in the first.

The Prarthana Samaj, as we discover from this history written by one of its most earnest, enthusiastic, sincere and devoted workers and members during the last twenty-five years, originated in the combined effort of the first batch of educated men in the city to save themselves and their society from the onrushing tide of religious indifference, atheism and irresponsible living. The old could have no longer any hold on the mind of these men. The new mould in which their character could be cast had not yet been formed. They had realised how Hindu Society of their time—in the forties and fifties of the last century,—was in the grip of superstition and convention, that were eating into its vitals. On the one hand, there was the Christian Missionary eager to make converts out of these centres of indifference. On the other hand, the orthodox party would not listen to reason and mend its own house. What were these young educated men to do under the circumstances? They had felt the degrading influence of superstition around them, they had realised how baneful the institution of caste had proved with its numerous ramifications and its fessiparous influences. They had studied the ancient writings for themselves and they were convinced that many of the customs and traditions that prevailed in their day—such as idol-worship, and caste-distinctions and priestcraft with its attendant and degrading practices—had no sanction in those writings. Conversion to Christianity did not appeal to them. Hinduism in its existing form was equally intolerable. A purified form of religion with its natural sequence, and the reform of our social practices, became the necessity of their lives. Thus came into existence a secret society—known as the *Parama-Hansa Sabha*, the members of which disowned idol-worship, abjured the narrowing sanctions of caste, swore to regard one another with the feeling of real brotherhood, and resolved, when the society had gathered sufficient strength of numbers and had clarified its principles by common discussion, prayer and self-discipline, to make its aims public and to work for the emancipation of their country from the thralldom of old-world ideas. As we gather from the pages of Mr. Vaidya's

book, where, for the first time, the account of that body is given in a connected and clear form, the object of that Sabha was not merely religious, nor had it confined its membership to Hindus alone. During its life of a decade and more, it had enrolled a membership of one thousand followers, and had its branches in several parts of the Presidency. Its aim was social and national. By the abolition of the spurious distinctions of caste, creed and custom, it aimed to unite all in common worship of One God, and under Him to behave towards one another as brothers. Such was, briefly, the *Parama-Hansa Sabha*, the premature disclosure of whose activities by an enemy in the camp and its grossest misrepresentation in the public press, brought about its disruption and end. That the society was started as a secret body was the cause of its dissolution. Many of its members relapsed into orthodoxy, others became converts to Christianity but there were a few, who constituted the salt of the Society. It was out of these that the movement now known as the Prarthana Samaj of Western India came into existence.

That body has, no doubt, drawn its inspiration from the sister church in Bengal. But the pages of its history before us make it clear how the impulse to possess a renovating faith came from within and was racy of the soil itself. The first hundred pages of the volume before us make a very instructive reading in that respect. They serve to clear up many doubts and enable us to know and weigh aright the many factors that precipitated the movement so as to make it a pioneer movement on this side of India of the numerous reforming, educational and social activities such as the Night Schools, the day schools, the Pandharpur and other orphanages, the prayers and public meetings, the *Sangat Sabhas*—meetings for the discussion and exchange of religious views, the *Mahila Samaj*, the free library and reading room movement, numerous other centres of social uplift, moral improvement and national unification, which are now so common in our country. These were conspicuous by their absence at the time the Samaj came into existence. Under its fostering care many of them saw their first light and have grown to vigorous proportions. And almost all of them have now been adopted or emulated by other social workers and Leagues throughout the Presidency. That portion of the book which outlines these activities is also an exceedingly interesting section. One can imagine the labour, the study and patient thought it must have cost the writer to bring the scattered material into one focus and evolve out of it a systematic history of the entire movement such as we have before us in this book. One would have liked the author to devote a few pages, at the conclusion of the book, to the consideration of the place of the Prarthana Samaj in the national life of the country as a whole. The author has done enough in the discussion of its tenets and principles to refute the charge of its foreign origin and inspiration. But it has been the negative aspect of the work. The positive side of it, namely its proper place in and contribution to the reconstruction of India, has not been so well and so methodically developed. We wish the author had done so. The biographical section of the volume throws considerable light on this aspect of the

matter. But the light comes in scattered rays. It is not so systematically handled as we should have liked it to be in a separate chapter at the conclusion of the book. An outsider often asks himself the question how a movement so rational, so true to the best ideals of our ancient culture, so open to new light from every quarter, so much imbued with the true spirit of progress, so entirely free from bigotry and fanaticism, so liberal and with so much in it to appeal to the mind and heart, to the conscience and character of all educated men in the Presidency should not thrive in the soil of Maharastra to the extent to which the Bramho Samaj has thriven in Bengal or the Arya Samaj in the Punjab. Is it the rocky and barren quality of the soil itself? Is it the prevailing indifference in the Indian educated community to deeper matters? Is it the obsessing influence of an exclusive and undue devotion to politics that has thrust aside questions of religious and social reform? If we examine narrowly the lives of the majority of educated Indians around us we do not find them practising any of those things that orthodoxy holds dear. They do not worship idols. They do not obey strictly the sanctions of caste, they are social reformers for all practical purposes and yet the Prarthana Samaj and such other movements that make these matters subject of a solemn pledge do not grow in membership. Wherefore this? What does it point to? whither will it lead us?—Not the movement or the church but the people and the country: Such questions cannot help suggesting themselves to any thoughtful reader of this volume. One wishes the author himself had attempted an answer to the question. But he has not done so. That does not mean that it is not clear to his mind. But he has not raised the issue definitely and tried to grapple with it.

The preface to the book written by the President of the Samaj, Mr. Vasudeo Gopal Bhandarkar, is an illuminating piece in itself and places the whole movement in its proper perspective.

On the whole, the work is, indeed, well-done. It is written in a clear and lucid style, is entirely free from any wrong bias, one way on the other. The author has endeavoured to be fair and just to all and yet the book is a plain-spoken document. He has eminently succeeded in tracing the history of the institution from its early beginning to the present day. The record of the work done is highly creditable to the institution and its founders. And the historian is worthy of the task. It has been a labour of love to him, completed within three months. It is one more indication, if any were needed, of his zeal and devotion to the church of which he is an earnest-minded member. Mr. Vaidya has been the editor of the Subodha Patrika, on its Marathi side, now for the last 25 years. During that time he has brought out several volumes to elucidate and popularise the doctrine and tenets of the church and to explain them to outsiders. Such are his compilations of the sermons of Justice Ranade and Dr. Bhandarkar. The volume before us, in a sense, puts a finishing touch on the task, begun in his editing of those two early volumes. With these three books before him, no outsider need be at a loss to know what the Prarthana Samaj stands for and what work it has accomplished under such leading lights as Ranade, Modak, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar. We commend the volume to the readers of the Modern Review. An English version of the same is such a desideratum. It deserves a place on the shelf of every serious-minded student of social and religious history during the last sixty years.

THE REVOLT OF ASIA

THAT is the gripping title of a timely and excellent book written by Upton Close (Joseph Washington Hall) in which the author gives a penetrating interpretation of Asia's political flux that may mean 'the end of the White Man's World Dominance.'

Mr. Close has been a student of Asiatic Politics for a number of years. For a time he acted as Chief of Foreign Affairs on the staff of General Wu Pei-fu. He acted as a counsellor to Chinese students when they engineered the remarkable "Student Revolution" of 1919. He saw the dynamic forces at work in China and in his recent tour through all the Asiatic countries he found the same forces are at work in Japan, Korea, the Philippines, French Indo-China, Siam, Java, the Malay States, India, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, and Egypt. And the "result is this volcanic book," written in a nervous newspaper style, "but I think," remarks Lewis Gaunett, one of the editors of the brilliant New York weekly, *The Nation*, who had been to the Orient himself, "he is essentially correct."

He accepts the liberation of Asia from Western domination as a foregone conclusion and is very searching and sincere in seeking amicable solutions. He warns the western nations and America and shows the futility of maintaining their supremacy over the Orient by force of arms. Not only are the nations of the East wide awake to their strength but Mr. Close finds them co-operating with each other to bring about the eventual political economic and cultural liberty of Asia. We note the Chinese Minister to America takes his vacation in Turkey; Nationalist China makes treaty with Afghanistan; Japan establishes an embassy in Turkey and opens permanent industrial exhibition at Constantinople. Gandhi plans a lecture tour in China. Tagore is eager to break the cultural isolation of India and travels extensively in the Orient; the Indian National Congress passes resolutions in sympathy with the Nationalist party of China in its triumphant march to Peking; and again Japan lavishly entertains Siamese princes, and shows in all her public schools the Indian-

made film of the Buddha story, 'The Light of Asia'."

Russia, ostracised by Europe and America, now turns her eyes to Asia. Mr. Close finds that the pro-Asiatic policy of Russia is not due so much to vindictiveness. The reasons go deeper. First of all, "Russia's alignment with the Asiatic peoples has been made easy by her cultural background... A feeling strong in the Slav world was expressed by the Croatian present leader M. Raditch before the Zagret at Belgrade. Referring to the rise of China he said that while Great Britain and the United States formed a maritime system supported by Europe, Russia with China formed a continental unit which would be the center of the world and might be joined by India. 'We belong to the West by history and culture' he concluded, 'but to the East by sentiment.'"

Secondly, a keen sense of "Machiavellian practicality" forced Russia to drift toward Asia. Russia discovered, maintains the author, that "England's last great Imperial Scheme" was directed against her. She was to be encircled by Britain. Greece was encouraged to attack Turkey; throughout the Near East British influence again became dominant, and Persia was made a protectorate; she "sponsored" invasions from the Black Sea under Wrangel, Denekin and Udenitch; from the Pacific under Kolchack, Semenoff and Ungren; from Turkistan under various petty adventurers, and also from the North, with fitful support from France, Italy and America." To counteract this scheme Russia boldly introduced a "new game," threw her lot with the Asiatics and joined the "Fraternity of the snubbed." Cast out of Europe "for political and economic reasons and out of America for puritanical reasons as well, (Russians) find a mental kinship with Japanese suffering from snubs to their racial pride administered by the United States and the British Dominions, or Indians openly regarded by their rulers as an inferior race, or Filipinos told that they are not out of their age of tutelage." Ardently following Woodrow Wilson's banner of self-determination, Russia "inspired the young intelligentsia in Turkey, Persia, Afganistan, China and India to make their peoples into nations..." She renounced her special rights in China and Persia and thereby the Soviet statesmen "showed themselves an age in advance of their European Rivals." On May 31, the first "equal and reciprocal" treaty between China and a white power, Russia, was signed. Thus the Soviet "has proceeded steadily with its program to inspire and assist half the members of the human race to the mastery of their own destiny. 'Approve it or not,' continues Mr. Close, "it is the most portentous" piece of enlightened international philanthropy since France helped to make America a Nation."

In Russia, therefore, Great Britain finds a natural enemy to the fruition of her "ambitious imperialism of 1917-1922. Russia's challenge to Britain stiffened the nationalistic demands in Egypt. Afganistan concluded a treaty of mutual neutrality and amity with Russia (1920). "It is maddening to think," viewed Sir Francis Younghusband of Lhasa Expedition fame, "that after all the sacrifices we have made, our whole position in Asia should now be in jeopardy." And India "blazes into Nationalism" in spite of the so-called Reforms of 1919, "Hindus and Moslems are uniting with a hundred other sects and races as

Indians under Swaraj (Home Rule). A Moslem fanatic recently murdered a Hindu saint and patriot in Delhi. The British said: 'See!' But hundreds of contrite Moslems marched in his funeral procession. That was different."

"The Crucial Test of Great Britain's ability to meet the new Asia must come in India, just as America's must come in the Philippines." The rise of western-educated intelligentsia, in Asia, the ruinous effects of economic boycott on commercial nations, the European disorders of the World War, and Russia's determined plan to encourage Asiatic self-assertion: can the British statesmanship save the empire from these disintegrating forces? "God always provides a way for the British Empire," said a whimsical member of the Secretariat in Delhi to Mr. Close. "When we have to leave here (India) we still have Africa left. But Africa will eventually follow Asia into revolt. What then? There is only way out if Great Britain "can make its vassals into nations, grappling them to it with steel hoops of friendship in place of the iron bonds of militarism, if it can quicken its executives and inspire its laborers, it will have assured unto itself the same glorious place in the new era of enlightened imperialism that it enjoyed in the now closing age of political domination."

This means giving up India, and control of all lands from Egypt and Gibraltar to the Strait Settlements and Singapore, and the supremacy of British fleet in the Mediterranean and Asiatic waters. It is a daring idea, though not an impossible one. Mr. Close makes it very clear that if Britain is to survive she must transform her vast empire from an empire of the sword to an empire of commerce. For, according to Mr. Close, Great Britain is today either unable or unwilling to take all the risks and responsibilities of stemming the tide of Asiatic forward movements and keeping the banner of White Supremacy flying on Asiatic soil. Should America help England retain her old prestige in the Orient? "America could and should take the lead," said a British resident in Shanghai to an American journalist. "The speaker was an old China hand." He still believed in a "strong policy ---- Is America to intervene?"

"Uncle Sam is not particularly altruistic from the outsider's point of view, but he is very sentimental. He was persuaded that he ought to save France. He once was almost persuaded that he ought to fight the Turk; that he ought to take charge of Armenia (incidentally protecting Great Britain's grabs in the Caucasus). He was convinced that he ought to stand for civilisation against perverted Russia. Now, he ought to champion the white man's prestige in an awakening Asia. He ought to protect Shanghai. Great Britain should not be expected to do it any longer. It is costing her too much."

So there is the danger. America may join Britain to thwart the progressive march of China at this moment if the latter succeeds in convincing America that the question at issue is a matter of principle. For Uncle Sam is "a stickler for principle," as the above quotation from the author shows. John Bull also is a man of principle. But while the British talk principle and act opportunism and are not afraid to change their minds, America remains true to her principle. As an example, Mr. Close points out: "It must

I have been Great Britain it certainly was the British Reuter's news agency that convinced us Russia was an immoral nation, not to be dealt with. A few months later the British had resumed relations with Russia. We continued to stand by principle."

Mr. Close urges the United States to keep calm and follow an independent, intelligent policy with the Pacific nations. He centers his attentions for a while on China, Japan and Russia. It is impossible to head off the revolt. America has the power to guide it to the benefit of all the Pacific nations. As Great Britain's star is fading, let the United States take a statesmanlike lead:

"Asia is making the Pacific our front door. Omens multiply that the age of the Pacific is upon us. Economically, this is proved by the rise of Shanghai to the third port in tonnage in the world. Politically, amazing evidences confront us...China has taken the lead in the Revolt of Asia away from Turkey, which means that the United States of America, is left as the vanguard nation of the white race and western civilization. The two potentially greatest powers in the world, the United States and China, confront one another as leaders and spokesmen of their respective worlds."

Mr. Close urges America to sympathise with the nationalistic aspirations of awakened Asia. "American idealism continues to be a factor in the editorial sympathy of the overwhelming majority of American newspapers with Asiatic nationalist aims. It expresses itself in a Porter resolution calling on the President to negotiate new treaties with China on a 'basis of reciprocity and equality,' and declaring severance from the 'concert of powers' policy. It exists in the purest form in the utterances of Senator Borah." Mr. Close reminds his countrymen in a brilliant chapter that since the days of Columbus Asia always dominated American destinies and that Americans should recognise the fact that the "Far East" is their "Near East." And located geographically as she is looking both ways to Europe as well as to Asia—she has the power to direct the present high tension in Asia to peaceful channels. Her first gesture in that direction should be the granting of Philippine independence and then cooperate with Japan and China to steady the progressive march of the rest of Asia to her own interest:

"With expansionism abandoned, intensive industrialism is taken up as the method of caring for Japan's large population and improving the standard of living. But this requires three things in addition to the working population: a source of raw materials, a market for finished products, and capital. Asiatic Russia and China can supply raw materials, and China, Malayasia and India the chief markets, America, alone, is able to supply the capital necessary, for she is the world's banker. In this coming Era of the Pacific, America greatly needs a friendly Japan that stands upon its own feet...This is America's God-given opportunity, not to make one of the Asiatic nations its economic vassal or even special friend, but to demonstrate the practical expression which America's enlightened Imperialism is prepared to take toward Asia."

With rare honesty and courage to save the world from a great war, he, therefore, calls upon America to renounce the Philippines, Japan to renounce expansion, Great Britain to renounce India, Russia to renounce her destructive designs, China to renounce anti-foreignism. Thus through mutual sacrifice can world peace be made secure. The "New Era" demands that

1. "Western control of Asia for profit, political or commercial, is discredited and in collapse."

2. "The general and conscious demand of Asian peoples for control of their own destiny nullifies the white man's responsibility for their welfare."

3. Legitimate Western interests and properties and lives of individuals stand a fair chance of protection under the native sovereignties in prospect.....

4. The Asian nations have lost their fear of the white man and are carrying forward their program resolutely.....

5. The Western Powers, with the sole exception of America, frankly lack the ability to resist Asia's revolt.

6. America is the only power that may make resistance of the white race to the ending of its world domination possible.....

7. Attempts to check the haste of the Asian movements by military demonstrations work the opposite results.....

8. Asia's movement thus far is entirely directed against the Westerner on Asian shores. There is not the bud, thus far, of an offensive against the white man in his own countries.

Mr. Close, in his admirable book, discusses also the "the cultural revolt" of Asia. Mr. Gandhi, who was interviewed by Mr. Close, assures him that "Westernism is a more dreaded tyrant than Westerners." "If Mr. Gandhi turns to the past," writes Mr. Close, "it is with a new spirit which is a distinctly western contribution to Hinduism. 'The conviction that I shall always live, and that I can better my condition,' sums his personal philosophy. 'The next life,' he elaborates, 'cannot progress beyond the goal we set for this. I preach salvation through service, worship through action. Interpreted thus, Hindu civilization is the greatest influence in the world for the improvement of the life cycle. I cannot have it destroyed.'

Behind this philosophy of life new social experiments are going on. Young China is following the philosophy of the pragmatic school which holds that only that which is demonstrated to be beneficial can be accepted as a guide. 'We are more modern than you Westerners,' said a Chinese student in Shanghai to Mr. Close. 'We are free from all superstition, while you still have your religious-mindedness, your worship of wealth and your race prejudices.' The Filipinos are afraid of the "ruthless, efficient, gut-tearing civilization" of America which is shadowing their lives and greatly contributing to the strength of the independence campaign among the educated classes." In Siam "pacifist Buddhism drafts all young men into monasteries for at least three months experience as priests, during which they are taught non-resistance and told the taking of life is an unforgivable sin. Then the novices are compelled to turn from the monastery directly to the army for eighteen months military training."

Whether Asia will ever produce a leader who will add to the magnetism of Mahatma Gandhi,

the pragmatism of the Kuomintang to show the way of liberation from the political and economic dominance of the white governments, or whether the freedom of Asiatic nations will be achieved with reasonableness and sanity triumphant depends entirely on what attitude the peoples of Asia and America take toward the political upheaval in the Orient.

Mr. Close in his *Revolt of Asia* shows a way out. The book is a welcome contribution to the study of international relationships. The people of the Orient will be glad to know that the press in America has taken a sympathetic view of the book and did not hesitate to declare that the "book should be in the hands of every Senator and Congressman" of the United States.

GLEANINGS

Filming "The Epic of Everest"

Six Blankets on the Snow, laid out in the form of a cross---it was the signal of death? Printed on the cruel, white crest of the "Goddess Mother of the World," higher than man had ever climbed before, and discerned by telescope a mile or two down the mountain-side, that cross of blankets told a story of mystery and magnificent failure---the requiem of two indomitable climbers, who, within hail of the very climax of their ambition and their incredible labors, had vanished from human ken as completely as if caught up on high like Enoch or Elijah. Such was literally the "high spot"---well-named in this case---of the third Mount Everest Expedition, the cinema record of

suggested. "Maybe," Captain Noel muses, "she had killed them in revenge after they had attained their victory. Who knows? She alone holds the secret. For all my efforts, there was much that my camera had not been able to record."



They called this "the Fairyland of Ice"

which is now being exhibited to motion-picture audiences. The man who made the film, Capt. J. B. L. Noel, confesses to realizing, when he saw the baffled relief party spread that telltale symbol on the snow, "how cruelly this mountain fights." True to her sinister reputation in Tibetan monasteries and native villages, "she had allowed the men to come on, and at the last moment had killed them." But did the victims actually conquer her before they perished? That mysterious possibility is



Dear to Chambers and Cross-Word Puzzlers

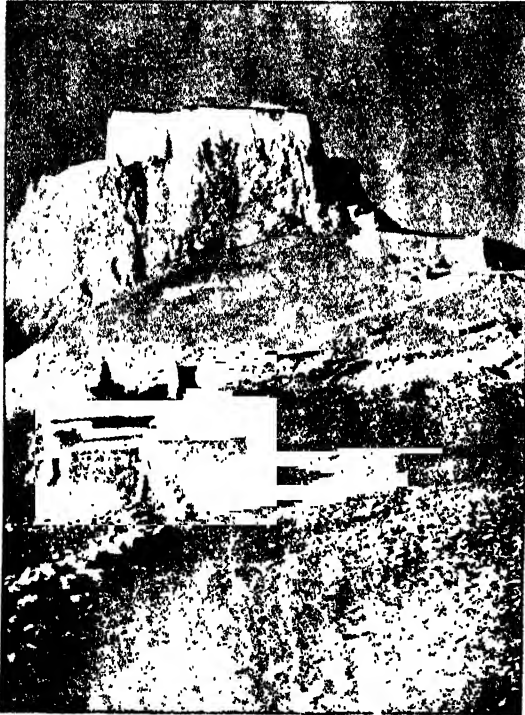


When Evening falls on "the Goddess Mother of the World"

Small wonder that the filming of "The Epic of Everest" lives in the camera-man's memory as the most difficult and absorbing task he has ever undertaken, or is ever likely to undertake.

Says Captain Noel: I had four cameras to insure me against the ever-present possibility of having my work brought to an end if one or more of them should fall and break. With them went tripods, supplies of film and plates and developing-tanks, a developing tent and other paraphernalia. All this equipment was packed in specially made steel cases.

During the first half of the journey, from Darjeeling the approaches of Everest, mules carried the photographic baggage. After that we employed the yak.



Where the Mighty Mountain is feared
and worshipped

In the pictures I made it more than ever my task to convey, as well as I could, the fascination of those secluded, lofty, divinely beautiful mountains of Tibet and the implacable majesty of the supreme mountain herself—a majesty that causes the priests of the Rongbuk to worship her as a sacred living creature and to name her, beautifully, "Goddess of the World." Not to add those impressions to the chronicle of events would be to leave the Everest story half untold. Above all it was my desire to convey a "something" that make the spectator feel the immensity of this struggle of man against nature—make him feel that climax which we ourselves reached among Everest's virgin snow-fields, fighting to the last ounce of our strength against her power, snatching victories, creating records, being hurled back; an unforgettable impression of power, beauty, grandeur, and the insignificance of man. If I could convey this feeling to others and so enable

them to share what we ourselves felt, then I should succeed in my task.

—*The Literary Digest.*

Man Was Never an Ape

Your ancestors were neither apes nor human beings, says Prof. Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and one of the world's foremost paleontologists in an address before the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia a few weeks ago. Professor Osborn expressed the belief that the forerunners of modern men were "dawn man," who developed independently of the apes from some pre-historic animal not yet discovered.

According to Doctor Gregory, the close similarity between the bodies and minds of modern apes and men is strong evidence that the direct ancestor of both was an ape. This, he recalls, was the original idea of Darwin, to which he urges



Above: So-called Java "ape-man," of 500,000 years ago. Right, pre-historic Pittdown man who lived in England

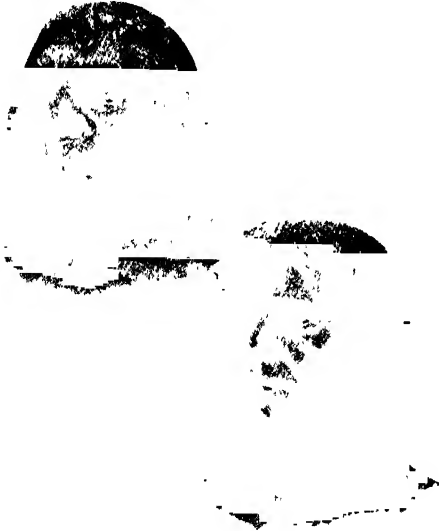
that scientific theory must return. In recent years the most commonly accepted theory has been that men and apes both were descended from a common apelike ancestor.

In support of his "dawn men," Professor Osborn puts man's origin, not thousands of years ago, but sixteen million! Both men and apes first appeared then, he says; therefore man could not have descended from ape ancestry. Traces of man's mysterious ancestor, he suggests, might reward a diligent search in Central Asia, where he believes the "dawn men" first sprang into being.

This "dawn man," the founder of the Mongolian, Negro and Caucasian races, is described by Professor Osborn as ground-living, alert, capable of tool making, and living in the fairly open country of the high plateaus and plains of Asia. The celebrated Neanderthal man, a primitive race of Europe, Professor Osborn believes to be a later offshoot that eventually died out, leaving no descendants. "Pithecanthropus erectus," of Java, usually considered the earliest of our ancestors, may be one of the last of these Neanderthals, he adds; and therefore no direct kin of ours. New geological discoveries have shown much earlier the

Pitdown men of England, perhaps the last of the "dawn men."

Prof. Osborn's belief in "dawn men" and their more mysterious ancestry is supported by a recent



Above: Neanderthal man, primitive European of 25,000 to 50,000 years ago, believed by Professor Osborn to have been a latter offshoot of "dawn-man." Right: Cro-Magnon man, of 20,000 years ago

discovery that apparently shows men existed at least four million years ago—long before previous estimates of man's antiquity. In a Nebraska hill, Professor Osborn discovered more than 300 fossilized bone implements of that estimated age, fashioned by the hands of some primitive man from the bones of extinct animals.

—*Popular Science.*

Locomotive Burns Oil

"Liquid coal," a synthetic oil fuel obtained with the aid of hydrogen gas from the lowest



This queer-looking locomotive, designed for use on German railroads, burns oil as fuel

grades of coal, is used in a remarkable locomotive just completed in Germany. Prof. Lomonosoff, a Russian engineer, designed the new 1200 horsepower engine, which runs by a Diesel motor—a gasoline engine turned oil burner. The photograph, taken during the trial trip near Berlin, shows the curious apparatus at the front with its enormous vent that serves as a radiator to cool the motor. Enough fuel is carried in the engine's tanks for a 1,000-mile run. As the locomotive is smokeless, there are no cinders to blow into passengers' eyes.

—*Popular Science.*

Novel Ear Lorgnette



The back seat of a theatre or auditorium is brought within easy hearing distance of the stage by this novel "ear lorgnette," a novel sound amplifier which magnifies voices just as opera glasses magnify faces

—*The Popular Science.*

The Classic World Come to Life

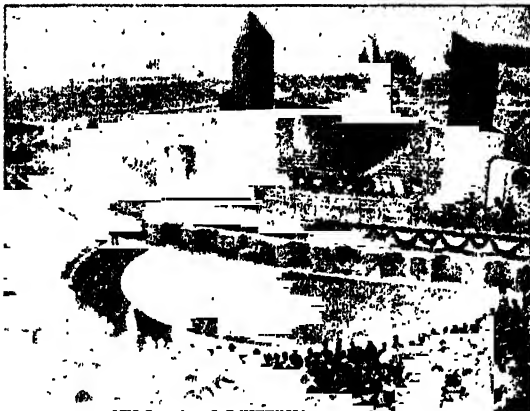
The moving-picture plays shut us up in the dark. We stumble into our places at any time in the course of the show and stumble out when we have had enough. What is lost by these assaults on the attention? One hears it said that the drama will find its salvation in returning to its ancient stronghold, namely, in the open. A return to the Greeks and the Romans would mean a new technique, as modern theatrical programs would hardly lend themselves to the vast prospectum of ancient theaters flooded with sunlight. Elsewhere in the classic world, where Greek or Roman theaters remain even tho in partial ruins companies have revived the ancient tragedies and comedies. Syracuse, in Sicily, is favored with

frequent revivals, Pompeii, Ostia, and Orange, in southern France, are other centers of classical revival.

On May 10, a performance was given of Æschylus's "Prometheus Bound," in the theater at Delphi in Greece, where the sonorous strains of the old tragedies had not been heard for two thousand years. This festival was largely due to the efforts of an American woman, the wife of a Greek poet, Angelos Sikelianos.



By the Shores of the Ionian Sea



Italy also turns to Greek Drama

It is reported in the London *Times* that two thousand visitors, including many foreigners, made the difficult journey to Delphi to relieve the emotion of the crowds that assembled there five hundred years before the Christian era.

The play was acted in modern Greek blank verse, and the dance rhythms of the Chorus of the Ocean Nymphs were accompanied by the music.

The costumes, were exceptionally beautiful. The natural amphitheater overlooking the fine Delphic gorge had remarkably good acoustics. Art and nature combined to produce perfection and the light effects as the sun set behind Parnassus were glorious, while eagles soared over the theatre.

The musical setting enchanted the hearers. It was scored for harps, woodwind, and brass, and was very different from modern Greek music, in

which minors predominate. The Prometheus music had a free harmonic spirit in keeping with the majestic beauty of the surroundings."

Archeologists agree that the production in all its details was archeologically in keeping. Altho the present performance was probably a financial loss, hopes are generally expressed that it will be possible to repeat the Delphic Festival annually.

The Institute of the Antique Drama in Italy, under the direction of Ettore Romagnoli, established before the late war, has had a long and honorable record. Their performances this year in the historic Sicilian town of Syracuse are more fully reported by Silvio D'Amico in *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (Milan), where we read:



Twenty-five Centuries after Æschylus

"If it be true, as it most certainly is, that nine times out of ten the ancient tragedies and comedies, even if staged with the most loving care, assume an inevitably academic, rhetorical and scholastic character, the Institute of Syracuse knows that it has at its disposal the most extraordinary means to eliminate from its spectacles the air of cold erudition, and to bring us back to the spirit of Ancient Hellas, which, it is said, has survived here to a greater extent than anywhere else in the world."

"Here one arrives as on a pilgrimage. Here one can circle for twenty-four, forty-eight, or more hours among the most celebrated ruins of classical times. Here one can enjoy again the same sky, the same sea, and the same countryside as of yore. Here are to be found again among the customs of the people almost the identical rites and beliefs of thousands of years ago. Here finally one can find the same theater, substantially intact, in which Æschylus staged his plays. The location could not be more ideal."

On the first evening in Syracuse was staged Euripides's "Medea" or, the drama of the woman who slays her own children to avenge herself upon her unfaithful husband—all subjects which would prove incompatible to the reason or sentiment of an audience which, for good or evil, is Christian—an audience who knows that without the intent there is no sin, and who looks upon the relations between the mother and her children with the eyes of one who, for two thousand years, has seen the Mother and the Child on the altar (and we do not mention the chefs d'œuvres of that

frantic humor of Aristophanes compared to which the most spirited talk of the humorous writers of our Renaissance becomes as the speech of boarding school girls). Willy-nilly, mankind of to-day admits it is different. Only a minority among us, thanks to a cultural effort, can remake for itself—in some manner and for a short time—a Greek soul, rediscovering the notes of its secret, essential identity with pre-Christian humanity.

—*The Literary Digest.*

After fifteen years of work they have at last completed one of the most remarkable canals in the world—it travels for more than five miles underground!

The subterranean tunnel is seventy-two feet wide and cost sixty million dollars to build. It connects the coast, via the shaft under the mountains, with Lake of Barre.

—*Popular Science.*

A Novel Way of Smuggling Opium



An attempt to smuggle narcotics hidden in a Bible

—*The Literary Digest.*

Canal runs through Five-Mile Tunnel

When French engineers set out to connect the coast port of Marseilles with the inland city of



The photograph shows the first boats entering one portal of the tunnel during recent dedication ceremonies

Berre, about fifteen miles away, by waterway, they found a seemingly insuperable obstacle in their way—a high intervening ridge of mountains.

"Hell Raising Missionaries"

Missionaries have been "raising hell" for more than a generation, says one of them quite frankly, and they are to-day at the bottom of a good deal of the disturbances in China, the Philippines, India,



The White Man's Day in China is done

and South Africa—"the agitation against the imperialism of governments, of race and religion." But it was to be expected that they would rebel against things as they are, for points out the Rev. James M. Yard, in *Unity* (Chicago), Jesus was a revolutionist, and twenty years ago Gilbert K. Chesterton warned us that there was enough dynamite in the social teachings of Jesus to blow all modern society to rags. The missionaries took Jesus to China, says Dr. Yard, a Methodist missionary, in the *Unity*, "a journal of the religion of democracy," liberal in its policy and views under the caption, "What Are the Missionaries Up To?"

"and He (Christ) has destroyed the myth of white superiority. That is one trouble in China. In spite of the bombast of some recent dispatches from newspaper correspondents in Shanghai the day of the white man in China is done."

According to him :

Many of the Universities in China and India have had, not old grandmothers with lace bonnets, but red-blooded liberals, teaching sociology, philosophy, and religion. These teachers have filled Asia with new ideas.

"If Western scientific civilization had been shaken to its foundations by the new discoveries, it is no wonder that people whose lives were governed by conceptions and customs of the middle ages should be absolutely turned upside down by these modern teachings.

"But, of course in the end, that will prove a boomerang. For you cannot teach intelligent students to criticize one religion without teaching them to criticize all religions. That is especially true to-day when we know so much about anthropology, the development of society, and the history of religion. All religion has developed, evolved out of the childhood of the race. In their beginnings, all religions have much in common. The missionaries did not intend it, but when they raised hell with Buddhism, they also raised hell with Christianity. It was their avowed purpose to break up Buddhism and Mohammedanism. They tried to buttress their own orthodoxy while breaking up the other man's orthodoxy. It cannot be done.

"The missionary has been marvelously successful in spreading doubt. He has raised doubts about marriage customs, polygamy and polyandry in China and Tibet. And of course monogamy in America comes in for its share of criticism and questioning. He has raised doubts concerning the righteousness of the fourteen-hour day and the five-cent wage. He has questioned the divine right of kings, and of parliaments and presidents and of capitalists."

Under the leadership of a missionary, in 1922, Dr. Yard tells us the National Christian Council of China set up a threefold standard for industry : one day of rest in seven ; no child labor ; adequate safeguard in factories, both as regards health and safety devices. That started the labor movement. Capitalism was challenged.

Again "in October, 1926, the National Christian Council a body made up of both missionaries and Chinese, passed a long resolution dealing with international relations. One paragraph of which read : 'That the present treaties between China and foreign Powers should be revised on a basis of freedom and equality.' That the missionaries dared to criticize the policies of their own government is exceedingly dangerous.

"Even worse than that, as far back as 1924, before there was much of any agitation on the matter of unequal treaties, some missionaries in North China signed a resolution, a part of which follows :

"We therefore express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, especially no foreign military force, be exerted to protect us or our property ; and that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands no money be paid for our release, no punitive expeditions be sent out and no indemnity be exacted."

"The missionary cannot of course, claim the credit for all the new and 'dangerous thoughts' that have been brought into the 'heathen' world. Businessmen, industrialists, philosophers, teachers, have all played their part. In China, John Dewey and Bertrand Russell and the writings of Ibsen, Tolstoy, Darwin, and a hundred others. Novels, science, history, philosophy, religion.

"The East is awake ! Superstition is dying. Ignorance is passing away. Science is destroying poverty. The 'White Peril' is less dreadful. Don't you wish you were a missionary ?"

—*The Literary Digest.*

TESTIMONIES OF COMPETENT ENGLISHMEN AS TO THE FITNESS OF INDIA FOR SELF-RULE

By THE REV. DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

[It is rather humiliating to have to print certificates like those contained in the following article. But as there is at present much anti-Indian propaganda by Englishmen and others, the testimonies of persons who were not engaged in any propaganda at the time when they expressed these views may be considered valuable by unbiassed people. Editor, *M. R.*]

IT is the claim of the British Government that the people of India are not capable of ruling themselves, that is, do not possess the intellectual and moral qualities

necessary for carrying on the government of their own country, and therefore, require to be ruled by Great Britain.

In answer to this claim, the following testimonials are offered, from eminent Englishmen possessing large knowledge of India, most of them officials long connected with the Indian government. More than four times as many other testimonies of like import, and little if any less weighty gathered within the last ten years, lie before me

as I write ; but space compels me to limit myself to these.

In the light of these testimonies from the highest possible authorities, readers are asked to judge for themselves whether Great Britain has any just ground for her claim that India is not fit for self-rule.

THE TESTIMONIES

What is India's Place in the World's Civilization ?

Max Muller, the eminent Orientalist, in his book "What India Has to Teach Us," says :

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well-deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. If I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal, in fact more truly human, again I should point to India."

MAY WE LOOK DOWN ON INDIA ?

Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, tyrannized over and wronged the Indian people in many shameful ways, but he strongly rebuked all persons who looked down on them as lacking in civilization and in character, and declared that their literature, their writings, "will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources of wealth and power which that dominion once yielded to Britain are lost even to remembrance."

WHAT WAS INDIA'S CIVILIZATION WHEN THE BRITISH CAME ?

When the British first entered India as adventurers and traders, did they find a civilization that was low ? Or one that was high ? This question was answered by Sir Thomas Munro, a distinguished Governor of Madras, in a statement made by him before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1813 ("Hansard's Debates," April 12), as follows :

"If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury : schools established in every village, for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic : the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other ; and above all a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe ; and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo."

BURKE ON INDIA'S CIVILIZATION

In all his speeches in Parliament on India—those made in connection with his impeachment of Warren Hastings and others—Edmund Burke invariably represented the civilization of India as high. In his speech on the East India Bill, he said :

"This multitude of men (the Indian nation) does not consist of an abject and barbarous populace ; much less of gangs of savages ; but of a people for ages civilized and cultivated ; cultured by all the arts of polished life while we (Englishmen) were yet dwelling in the woods. There have been (in India) princes of great dignity, authority, and opulence. There (in India) is to be found an ancient and venerable priesthood, the depository of laws, learning and history, the guides of the people while living and their consolation in death. There is a nobility of great antiquity and renown ; a multitude of cities not exceeded in population and trade by those of the first class in Europe ; merchants, and bankers who vie in capital with the Bank of England ; millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanics ; and millions of the most diligent tillers of the earth."

INDIA'S GREAT PLACE IN THE WORLD

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the eminent British publicist thus describes the important place of India in the world's history and civilization :

"Many hundreds of years before the coming of the English, the nations of India had been a collection of wealthy and highly civilized people, possessed of a great language, with an elaborate code of laws and social regulations, with exquisite artistic taste in architecture and decoration, producing beautiful manufactures of all kinds, and endowed with religious ideas and philosophic and scientific conceptions which have greatly influenced the development of the most progressive races of the West. One of the noblest individual moralists who ever lived, Sakya Muni (Buddha) was a Hindu ; the Code of Manu, dating from before the Christian Era, is still as essential study for the jurist as the Institutes of Justinian. Akbar, the Mohammedan, was the greatest monarch who ever ruled in the East. And there are in India in this later age, worthy descendants of the great

authors of the Vedas, of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, of the architects of the Taj Mahal, and of such soldiers and statesmen as Baber, Hyder Ali and Runjeet Singh.

"And yet, nine-tenths of what has been written by the British about India is so expressed that we are made to believe the shameful falsehood that stable and civilized government in Hindustan began only with the rule of the British." *

ARE INDIANS RACIALLY INFERIOR ?

The Metropolitan (Church of England) Bishop of Calcutta in a sermon preached early in 1921, is reported (in the *Indian Messenger* of April 17, that year) as saying :

"There are persons who conceive that to the white belongs, in virtue of inherent superiority, the inalienable right to rule over races of darker color than themselves. But facts are against them. Indians have achieved the highest distinction in the varied spheres of human activity, and by their success have refuted the charge of racial inferiority. Certain of those qualities which we (British) are apt to think rank highly may be less in evidence among them than among ourselves ; but that is merely to say that they are different from ourselves ; but difference may exist alongside of perfect equality." †

SHOULD INDIANS BE CLASSED AMONG INFERIOR OR AMONG SUPERIOR PEOPLES ?

Mr. J. A. Spender, long Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, says in his recent book, "The Changing East," p. 23 (1927) :

"There is no Eastern country which has so many talented men in so many walks of life as India. Men like Tagore, whose writings are read all through Europe and America; Sir J. C. Bose, whose researches in plant physiology are famous the world over, and whose zeal and originality as a teacher make an indescribable impression on those who see him at work with his students ; Major B. D. Basu, the historian of India ; Dhan Gopal Mukerji, the author of 'My Brother's Face' ;—to name only a few out of scores—would be highly distinguished in any European country, and most of them have followers and students around them who would do credit to any Western seat of learning. All of these should be respected and appreciated by us Englishmen and Europeans as working on a plane of absolute equality with ourselves."

* "Truths About India," Series I, pp. 8, 9. New York (1923).

† In this connection it may be of interest to some to know that in his Encyclical published March 5th, 1927 His Holiness the Pope declares that the belief that the dark-skinned races are inferior to the white is a mistake. He affirms that long experience proves, that these alleged inferior peoples are fully equal in mentality to the white peoples.

In 1911, Mr. Spender went to India to attend the Great Delhi Durbar. On his return, he published in his paper (January 29, 1912) the following interesting statement of the high impression he had received from the Indian people :

"India may impress one as poor, or squalid, as mediaeval, but never for a moment can it strike him as a crude, a barbarous country. Evidences meet him everywhere of art, originality and refinement. He will see more beautiful faces in a morning's walk in an Indian bazaar, than in any European city, and he will be charmed by the grace and courtesy of the common folk. It may surprise Englishmen to hear it, but many Indians seriously express the opinion that the Indian is mentally the superior of the white man."

HAVE INDIANS INTELLECTUAL AND LITERARY ABILITY ?

At the St. Andrews dinner in Calcutta in December, 1901, the English Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University spoke as follows of the Indian people, their intellectual ability and their great literature :

"Masterpieces of thought and language were produced in this country at a time when our ancestors as Englishmen were little better than savages, and though the age of masterpieces may have gone by, none of us who come into contact with educated natives of India to-day can doubt that their intellectual power is worthy of their ancestry."

HAS INDIA GREAT MEN ?

General Smuts, Premier of South Africa, in an address delivered in Johannesburg, August 26, 1919, called attention to the fact that the civilization of India instead of being low as some suppose, is high. He said :

"I do not look down on Indians : I look up to them. Two with whom I have come into particularly close contact of late, Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir, I regard as among the ablest men I have ever known. There have been Indians who have been among the greatest men in the history of the world. There have been Indians who have been among the greatest leaders of the human race, whose shoes I am unworthy to untie. Nor is there any one else here to-night worthy to do that."

On urging that commissions in the army high as well as low, should be granted to Indians exactly as to Englishmen, he was asked if he would like to serve under an Indian. He replied at once, "Why not ? I would be glad to serve under an able Indian."

* *Indian Messenger*, December 27, 1901.

ARE INDIANS TRUTHFUL ?

Colonel Sleeman, an Englishman who lived long in India and mixed intimately with all classes, and who was extraordinarily well qualified to judge, said,

"I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty or life has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it."*

ARE INDIANS HONEST ?

Says Alfred Webb, President of the Tenth Indian National Congress :

"In Madras, in 1891, I conversed with a sewing machine agent, who had travelled and done business over the globe. His principal trade now was with Indian tailors, and seamsters selling machines to be paid for by monthly instalments. I asked the proportion of bad debts in such business. He said he had found them as high as ten per cent. in England. 'How high in India ?' 'But one per cent.' and such chiefly with Europeans. Practically we have no debts with Indian natives. If it comes that they cannot pay instalments, they will give back the machines."

"In open crowded bazaars or market-places on railway platforms in India are money changers. They sit at tables upon which are heaps of coins of various denominations. Could money be thus exposed at similar gatherings in Europe ?" †

ARE INDIANS MORAL ?

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, in December, 1901, Sir Lepel Griffin, the President, is reported as paying the following tribute to Indian morality :

"The Hindu creed is monotheistic and of very high ethical value, and when I took back on my life in India and the thousands of good friends I have left there among all classes of the native community, when I remember those honorable, industrious, orderly, law-abiding, sober, manly men, I look over England and wonder whether there is anything in Christianity which can give a higher ethical creed than that which is now professed by the large majority of the people of India. I do not see it in London society, I do not see it in the slums of the East End, I do not see it on the London Stock Exchange. I think that the morality of India will compare very favorably with the morality of any country in Western Europe."

ARE INDIANS TRUSTWORTHY ?

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, long a distinguished British official in India, pays the following striking tribute to the

* Dutt's "Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. 11 p. 159.

† "The People of India," p. 51.

trustworthiness of the many Indians filling responsible positions under his charge. In a speech made when he was retiring from the office of Finance Member of the Indian Government, in 1913, he is reported as saying :

"I wish to pay a tribute to the Indians whom I know best. The Indian officials, high and low, of my department, through the years of my connection with them, have proved themselves to be unsparing of service and absolutely trustworthy. When need arose, they have done ungrudgingly a double or triple amount of work. When their advice was sought, they have given it to me fully and frankly. As for their trustworthiness, let me give an instance. Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

HAVE INDIANS REFINEMENT, SPIRITUAL INSIGHT AND BRAIN POWER ?

Sir Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the Leeds University, England, and President of the Calcutta (India) University Commission, in a Lecture delivered in Leeds, in 1919, is reported as saying :

"One cannot walk through the streets of any center of population in India without meeting face after face which is eloquent of thought, of fine feeling, and of insight into the profounder things of life. In a very true sense the people of India are nearer to the spiritual heart of things than we in England are. As for brain power, there is that in India which is comparable with the best in our own country."

ARE INDIANS COMPETENT EDUCATORS ?

After his return from three months of study of education and educational institutions in India, Mr. Sidney Webb delivered an address before the Students' Union of the London School of Economics on "What are we to do about India ?" In this address (as reported in the London weekly, *India*, of December 6, 1912), he said that among the many colleges he had visited he could not avoid the conclusion that some of those which had, from the outset, been established by Hindus, managed by Hindus, and staffed by Hindus, without the intervention or co-operation of any European,

were among the very best colleges that he had ever seen—alike for devotion of the professors, ability of the teaching staff, success in examinations, and what was most important of all, in the development of intellect and character in the students. He regretted to have to say that some of the Government colleges that he had seen, which were entirely managed by Englishmen, and nearly wholly staffed by English professors, compared very badly indeed with the exclusively Hindu colleges in various respects; and, unfortunately, often in the devotion and intellectual ability of the professors. He instanced particularly the building up of The Ferguson College at Poona solely by Indian scholars, and its great success; the organization of so great and pervading a movement as the Arva Samaj; the continued growth and development of the D. A. V. College at Lahore, wholly Indian; and the successful working out of the quite novel educational experiment of the Gurukula at Hardwar.

DOES INDIA HOLD A PLACE OF IMPORTANCE IN THE WORLD'S INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS?

In an address delivered in India in March, 1926, Sir Basil Blackett, a high official in the British-Indian Government, said:

"India long ago revolutionized mathematics, and provided the West with the key to the most far-reaching of all the mechanical instruments on which its control of nature has been built, when it presented to Europe through the medium of Arabic the device of the cypher and the decimal notation upon which all modern systems of numeration depend. Even so, India to-day or to-morrow, will, I am confident, revolutionize Western doctrines of progress by demonstrating the insufficiency and lack of finality of much of the West's present system of human values."

DOES INDIA PRODUCE GREAT MEN OF ACTION AS WELL AS GREAT THINKERS?

Sir Valentine Chirol, who is loath to give over-praise to Indians, says in "India," his latest book (1926), page 6:

"At all times in her history India has produced some of the finest and most subtle intellects of which the human race is capable; and great men of action as well as profound thinkers."

HOW DO INDIANS COMPARE WITH ENGLISHMEN?

Mr. A. O. Hume, who served in India nearly forty years, and who held many high

offices, among them that of Secretary of the Government, made the following statement before the Public Service Commission, Calcutta, March 1, 1887:

"The fact is—and this is what I, who claim to have had better opportunities for forming a correct opinion than most men now living, desire to urge there is no such radical difference between Indians and Britons as it generally flatters these latter to suppose.... If both races be judged impartially, and all pros and cons be fairly set down on both sides, there is very little ground for giving the preference to either. If you compare the highest and best of our Indians with the ordinary run of the rabble in England, these latter seem little better than monkeys beside grand men. If you compare the picked Englishmen we often get in India, trained and elevated by prolonged altruistic labors, and sobered and strengthened by weighty responsibility, with the rabble of India, the former shine out like gods among common mortals. But if you fairly compare the best of both, those in each class would exhibit excellencies and defects less noticeable in the other, and neither can as a whole be justly said to be better or worse than the other.... The whole misconception regarding the people of India arises from the habit which Englishmen in India have acquired of regarding only the blackest side of the Indian and the brightest side of the English character, and from their theories as to the capacities of the two races being based on a consideration of the worst specimens of the one and the best specimens of the other."

ARE ENGLISHMEN SUPERIOR TO HINDUS?

In his book, "The Expansion of England" Professor J. R. Seeley denies that the English are superior to the people of India. He says:

"We are not cleverer than the Hindu; our minds are not richer or larger than his."

ARE INDIANS INTELLECTUALLY EQUAL TO THE ENGLISH?

Speaking in London, in May, 1904, at the annual meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, Lord George Hamilton, for some years Secretary for India, was reported as saying that

"There were hundreds of millions of persons in India whose civilization was much older than that of the English," that "they possessed a literature, architecture and philosophy of which any country might be proud," and that at the present time there were other "tens of millions whose intellectual capacity was fully equal if not superior" to that of the English. (Report in *India*, the London weekly, June 3, 1904)

ARE THERE INDIANS EQUAL TO THE BEST ENGLISHMEN?

In an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, of February 1911, Lord Morley.

Secretary of State for India, speaking of the most accomplished and highly trained native officials in India, declares them to be "As good in every way as the best of the men in Whitehall."

ARE INDIANS CAPABLE OF COMPETING WITH ENGLISHMEN ?

Sir Valentine Chirol says in his last book "India," (p. 10.) :

"There is a rapidly increasing class of Indians, not a few of whom are highly gifted, capable of mastering the literature, and, though more rarely the science of the West, and qualified to compete with Englishmen in almost all the higher activities of modern life, in the public services, on the bench, at the bar, in the liberal professions, in school and university teaching, in literature and in the press, and, if more recently, in commerce and industry and finance.

"It is this new class of Indians who have assumed the political leadership of India, and it is they who to-day dominate the new representative assemblies designed to acclimatize in an Indian atmosphere parliamentary institutions and progressive forms of government presumed to be capable of future adjustment, to the newest conceptions of democracy."

Elsewhere Sir Valentine Chirol says

"Indian brains, when given a fair chance, are no whit inferior to European brains."

ARE THERE INDIAN LEADERS IN PRISON WHO ARE EQUAL IN CHARACTER AND CULTURE TO BRITISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ?

In a speech made in the British House of Commons during the India Debate in July, 1922, Mr. Ben Spoor, one of England's best informed men about India, said :

"At the present moment over 20,000 political prisoners are in jail in India. They include men of high character, men whose character has never been questioned. They include men of profound culture—of a culture, I submit, probably greatly in excess of that of the average Member of this House of Commons."

ARE INDIAN JUDGES EQUAL TO ENGLISH JUDGES ?

Sir Henry Cotton, in his book, "New India," (p. 140), says that the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Selborne, testified as follows from his place in Parliament :

"My lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and during those years there were few cases of any imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in

civil cases, the native judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I know this was also the opinion of the judges during that time—that the judgments of the native judges bore most favourable comparison, as a general rule, with the judgments of the English judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty ; but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying that in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the native judgments were quite as good as those of English judges."

ARE INDIANS FIT, MORALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY, TO MANAGE THEIR NATIONAL AFFAIRS ?

Mr. Hodgson Pratt, long a prominent member of the British-Indian Civil Service answers these questions as follows (in *India*, the London weekly, November 10, 1905) :

"As regards the possible qualities which have delayed the admission of Indians to a larger share in the management of their national affairs it cannot be said that there is any evidence of moral or intellectual unfitness. When posts of great responsibility, requiring qualities of no mean order, have been filled by Indians, whether in British or Native States, they have evinced high capacity as well as trustworthiness."

HAVE INDIANS THE QUALITIES NECESSARY FOR RULING ?

Mr. G. F. Abbott, author of "Through India with the Prince of Wales," answers in the London *Nation* of July, 1908 :

"One often hears that the Indian lacks many of the qualities for rule upon which the Englishman prides himself. Among these qualities are a high sense of duty, impartiality, incorruptibility, independence of judgment and moral courage. Now, I submit, no better test for the possession of those qualities could be devised than the placing of the Indian in a position which demands the constant display of those qualities. Such a position he already occupies in the law courts. Every day the Indian Judge is called upon to pass sentence in a variety of cases calculated to test his sense of duty, his impartiality, his integrity, his independence of judgment and his moral courage. How has he stood the test? By the confession of every European in India—including, amusingly enough those who deny to the Indian the possession of those virtues—the Indian judge is not a jot inferior to his English colleague."

ARE INDIANS COMPETENT FOR HIGH EXECUTIVE OFFICE ?

Sir Henry Cotton, who served long in India, holding high offices there, and later

was a prominent Member of Parliament, says in his book, "New India" (pp. 141-142):

'The natives of India are assumed to be unfit to have charge of districts; it is convenient to assume that all Englishmen are cool and wise in danger, while no natives are so, and that consequently only Englishmen, and no Indians, are competent to be trusted with independent charges. By a process of the grossest self-adulation, we persuade ourselves to believe that natives are only useful as ministerial servants, but that the work of a district, if it is to be done at all, demands the supervision of an English officer. The truth, however, is that the Indians, as of course they must be, are the backbone of our administration. The burden and heat of the day are already borne by Indian subordinates, and in the event (as occasionally must be the case) of an incompetent European being in charge of a district, the whole of the work is done by his Indian deputies and clerks.'

IS INDIA FIT FOR SELF-RULE?

After his return from India, Keir Hardie declared:

'It cannot be alleged that the Indian people are unfit for self-government. The many Native States which are ruling themselves is a proof to the contrary which cannot be gainsaid. A great educated class exists in India which manages universities and higher grade schools, supplies the country with lawyers, professors, newspaper editors, and the heads of great business concerns. Wherever these men have an opportunity they prove that, whether as administrators or as legislators, they have capacity of a very high order.'

IS INDIA FIT FOR FREEDOM AND SELF-RULE?

To this question Mrs. Annie Besant, after a residence in the country of more than thirty years, makes the following unhesitating answer, which has been published repeatedly in India and in England:

'You ask, is India fit for freedom and self-government? I answer, Yes, and they are her right. What does India want? She wants everything, and has a right to claim everything that any other nation has a right to claim. She would be free in India as the Englishman is free in England. To be governed by her own men, freely elected by herself. To make and break ministries at her will. To carry arms, to have her own army, her own navy, her own volunteers. To levy her own taxes, to make her own budgets, to educate her own people; to irrigate her own lands, to mine her own ores, to mint her own coins; to be a sovereign nation within her own borders. Does an Englishman ask for less for himself in England? Why should an Indian, any more than an Englishman, be content to be a thrall? India has a right to be free and self-governing. She is fit to be. It is a crime against humanity to hinder her.'

ARE INDIANS INFERIOR TO ENGLISHMEN AS ACTUAL LEGISLATORS?

Dr. V. H. Rutherford, long a prominent English Labor Leader, and member of Parliament, tells us in his last book, "Modern India: Its Problems and Their Solution" (pp. 82-84), that after attending debates (in 1926) in the Indian National Legislative Assembly and in several Provincial Legislatures, where British and Indian members were speaking and working side by side, he "found a definite inferiority among the Englishmen as compared with the Indians." He declares:

"Although I have a natural bias in favor of my own countrymen, truth compels me to state that in these Legislative bodies the Indians far surpass their English rivals in brilliancy, wit, logic, knowledge, breadth of vision and ideals of statesmanship."

Asking the question, "What station in life would these men have occupied if they had remained at home in England instead of coming to India?" he answers:

"Not more than one or two per cent., would have risen higher than a first class clerk in a government office. As a matter of fact, India is governed by first-class clerks from England, with a few lordlings thrown in as governors.... One truth stands out like a beacon-light, namely, that Indians are infinitely better fitted to govern India than are their English overlords. In sheer intellectual ability and parliamentary capacity Indians outshine their British adversaries."

In conclusion. Such are a few of the evidences which offer themselves to all who care to know, of the high civilization of India: of the undeniable intellectual, moral and practical qualities of the Indian people,—their general faithfulness, their trustworthiness, their honorable character, their eminent ability and efficiency in the discharge of the duties and responsibilities placed upon them, not only private but in connection with every kind of official or government position which they have been permitted to hold.

Of course, these testimonies do not mean (as nothing in this book means) any claim or even dream that the Indian people are all angels. What people in the world are? Nor does anything said in these pages mean that they are all Platos or Bacons or Gladstones. On the contrary, they rank all the way from men very much nearer Gladstones and Bacons and Platos than many of us know, down to men, women and children as low and degraded as any found in our European or American slums.

But, we submit, basing our verdict on the above testimonies coming from competent Englishmen (and, as has been said, hundreds of other similar testimonies might easily be added); have we not a right to affirm that in natural ability the Indian people as a whole are little, if any, inferior to the people of even Great Britain, and that, if allowed the education, training and practical experience

in the management of their local and national affairs which every nation ought to have (but of which their British masters have cruelly deprived them), they would be able to maintain a government not unworthy to rank with that of Japan and the best governments of Europe.

[This article is a chapter from the Author's forthcoming work, "India's Case for Freedom. Editor, *M. R.*]

RICE CULTURE IN ITALY

By D. ANANDA RAO, B.Sc.

Deputy Director of Agriculture, Madras

IN a country like India where rice is not only the staple food crop of her people but one that has been for centuries under cultivation, one would suppose that in its cultivation methods it has reached a high degree of excellence and in its yield it stands second to none in the world.

Looking into statistics one finds that India ranks highest in the area of rice it grows. During the years 1920-24 (average) she had to her credit 80,683,900 acres and there is no country in Asia whose acreage comes anywhere near it. Turning to Europe where rice is still grown more or less as a novelty, it is found that there are only five countries which grow it to any appreciable extent. Of these, Italy and Spain take the first two places. The former country during the same period grew nearly 300,000 acres of rice which is altogether an insignificant area when compared with that grown in India. Such being the case, it should be pardonable if either the cultivators in India or those who work in their interests minimise the claims of other countries specially in Europe where rice occupies but a small area and whose people attach greater importance to other crops than it.

However, India has a very different story to tell, as regards its yield per acre. The average out-turn for the area quoted above, for the years 1920-24 comes to 47,365.017 tons whereas in the case of Italy it is 491,968 tons. In other words, while the yield per acre in India is reckoned at 1,310 lb. that of Italy it is 3,670 lb. This is

astonishingly high. Apart from what one finds in these statistics which reveal bare facts in cold print, Mr. Galletti, a Madras Civilian, himself an Italian drew pointed attention to the methods of culture and high yields obtained in Italy in his very interesting articles published in the "Statesman" a year or two ago. While on a holiday tour in Europe last summer, I was tempted to visit Italy with the express purpose of seeing for myself the conditions which render such high yields possible. On the advice of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome I visited Vercelli, the chief centre of rice cultivation in Italy where there is an agricultural experimental station of which Professor Novello Novelli is the head and to whose untiring energies and high intellect the present record yields are largely due. Piedmont, the region in which Vercelli is situated is the most productive of all. Other regions of importance are Lombardy, Emilia, Veneto, Toscana and Sicilia.

Professor Novelli spared no pains in taking me himself to different farms, travelling long distances by car which enabled me to observe at firsthand the real condition of the crops and the people who were responsible for their cultivation. My visit synchronised with the harvest of rice. I was thus able to see it to best advantage. The region visited is situated in the valley of the Po and is thus fed by it and its tributaries. In this region the most productive centres are Vercelli, Mortara, Novara, Pavia, Milano, and Cremona. The area of rice

cultivation is spreading gradually to the east as far as the sea where the Po empties itself. In the south however, there are no such irrigational facilities; the province of Lucca growing only a small quantity. During the last year about 700 hectares were cultivated in the region of Paludi Pontina in which Rome is situated.

The spread of rice cultivation has seen many vicissitudes mainly due to economic causes. Taking the quinquennial periods from 1870 till 1924 the following indicates the area under rice in hectares (one hectare is equal to 2.4 acres) and the yields in quintals (one quintal is equal to 1.97 cwt.)

Year.	Hectares.	Quintals.
1870-74	232,670	4,810,900
1879-83	201,870	3,548,900
1890-94	182,450	3,046,400
1901-05	175,365	4,434,500
1910-14	144,998	4,878,700
1915-19	138,618	5,218,300
1920-24	121,408	4,698,800

It is obvious that while the area has during the last half a century decreased by 50 per cent, the average yield during the same period has nearly doubled itself. In other words, while the average yield per hectare during the quinquennium 1870-74 was 20 it has risen to 38 quintals during the quinquennium 1920-24. Such progress must be attributed to the methods of culture rather than to the inherent richness of the soil. The river Po does not bring with it in its course any high fertilising materials flowing as it does through granite rocks.

The methods of culture in Italy are in many ways similar to those one is accustomed to in India. For example, one finds the method of sowing by hand still the common practice adopted there and it is said that about 80 per cent, of the total area is sowed by this method. About 10 per cent, is drilled by machines while another 10 per cent, is under transplantation. In fact, this last method came into vogue as late as 1912. With regard to weeding, manual labour is employed even more largely than in India. It is astonishing to find that very large expenditure is incurred on weeding which is as will be described later due to the method of rotations adopted. Women walk into the fields and weed exactly as our women do and Professor Novelli brought to my notice the amount of weed that was collected and thrown on the main bunds, the remnants of

which could be seen even at the time of my visit. Transplantation is also done by manual labour but high cost of labour prevents this practice spreading rapidly. Attempts are now being made to substitute machines, I also witnessed the harvest which was being done by means of the sickle very similar to our own, with but slight modifications. But there are certain outstanding differences which it would be worth our while to consider here.

To one who is accustomed to rice cultivation in India, the most striking difference even to a casual observer is the way that fields are laid for irrigation purposes. Small bunds are absent and at first sight the whole area looks like one vast field. With the exception of large bunds carrying between them irrigation or drainage water there are practically no intervening bunds and one would see even 20 to 30 or even more acres without being interrupted by bunds which one so frequently sees in our country. Great trouble is taken to level the lands and a good deal of terracing is done wherever necessary. In fact, several years of gradual levelling should be done before the land is put under rice. The relatively high labour cost at present precludes levelling to any large extent, so that a good deal of such work had to be done in the preliminary stages. The smiling landscape that one now witnesses is not the work of today but is the outcome of hard and diligent work of former generations of farmers who levelled, drained and reclaimed land which at first sight was altogether unsuited for agricultural purposes. The final levelling of course, is done as in India by means of levelling boards, only horses being substituted for oxen. Another reason for this state of affairs is that water is allowed to flow gently to the fields; flooding of fields as is done in India is altogether absent. Apart from helping to dispense with innumerable bunds it is possible under such a practice to economise a good deal of water. This problem highly interesting in itself is worth further consideration. From the main irrigation channels, small distributing channels are taken off about 6 yards apart through which water is gently let into the rice plots. There is thus no waste of water in its distribution to cultivators. The quantity of water required to mature the rice crop having been previously worked.

out only the required quantity is measured and given to cultivators. This distribution of water is left entirely in the hands of the cultivators themselves. In 1853 an association called West Sesia association of cultivators was formed at Vercelli by the famous Cavour which empowered the associations to distribute water to its members. To-day there are numerous associations of that kind throughout the country. The several rice zones are divided into districts or provinces and each sends its own requirements to the Central authority which is the association of cultivators. These associations pay to Government a certain sum for the use of water from April to the end of September. The individual cultivators in their own turn pay to their association a certain sum for its use. It is, therefore, to the interest of the cultivator himself to use the water with the greatest possible economy since the larger the saving, the further use he can put it to. The association in its own turn exercises great economy in its distribution and sees that percolation and wastage are prevented wherever possible. I had the opportunity to visit Canal Cavour across the river Sesia which is dug below it and which takes water to Novara at one end and to Chivasso at the other. Although this canal is one of the largest, there is now a net-work of canals in the valley of the Po which is responsible for the greatly increased richness of the zone of Piedmont. Irrigation canals are no doubt of recent date compared with our ancient systems. I believe the irrigational canal system was introduced only during the fifteenth century and yet there is no doubt that Italy is far ahead of India with regard to the very large number of canal systems and the way water is utilised to the maximum advantage. My information is that the average consumption of water per hectare is about 3 litres per second for rice and one litre for other crops like meadows &c.

Besides the canals owned by the Government there are others which are the property of the cultivators themselves who do not pay anything for the use of such water. Such proprietors through whose territories these canals run maintain them at their own cost. Such a system of ownership of canals and the maintenance and distribution of water by the cultivators themselves is unique. In a country like India where water at great expense is harnessed and preserved, the

waste of water that is indulged in, in the deltaic tracts of the country and though perhaps to a lesser degree, even in the areas under tank fed irrigation, would be considered criminal from the standards which hold in Italy.

A very interesting point with regard to irrigation of the rice is that the flow is not constant as in India. On two occasions during the growth of the crop the fields are dried. Twenty five days after sowing water is drained for four or five days. The beneficial effects of soil aeration and root penetration are obvious at this stage. After this water continues to flow through the fields till after the last weeding which may be second or third according to the weediness of the fields. Withholding water at this stage probably tends to arrest too much vegetative growth apart from aerating the soil. Before water is let in again, artificial manures are applied after which irrigation is constant until a few days before harvest. During the last few months water is maintained constantly in order also to keep the temperature of the soil uniform.

Certain permanent meadows called "Marcita" are kept up even during winter by constant irrigation. This constant flow of water keeps the soil under uniform temperature. Thus while all cultivation is ordinarily at a stand-still, under irrigation it is possible to maintain a steady supply of fodder for the cattle.

Another outstanding feature of Italian rice cultivation which is different to ours is the rotation of crops followed. Rice, year after year or as it is called "risaia stabile" used to be the common method in its early history. This practice has given place now to systematic rotation of crops which claims to have increased the output of rice. There is no hard and fast rule as to the crops introduced in any particular rotation but rotation as such is adopted almost universally. Around Vercelli it is usual to take one crop of a cereal like wheat or oats followed by one or two years of pasture after which 3 or 4 years come under rice. In localities where clay soils predominate and where drainage facilities are lacking, for example, in Bologna and Montana, there is only one year of rice in the rotation. Before the harvest of rice there is an interesting practice of sowing rape, clover and other pulses which when grown are fed to cattle in spring. This is then allowed to

grow again and turned into the soil as green manure. This is a practice similar in part to that current in parts of South India. For example, in the deltaic tracts under the Krishna sunnhemp is grown after the harvest of rice, but when cut it is stacked along with rice straw to be fed with it.

In the region of Vercelli, for example, rice occupies about 55 percent of the total area; the cereals about 15 percent and pasture about 30 percent. In other regions rice may occupy only 20 percent and other cereals 35, pasture about 30 and industrial crops like hemp would occupy about 15 percent. The amount of the area under rice in the rotation is dependent on soil suitability or other economic factors. Owing to pasture crops following rice in the rotation the land becomes foul with grass weeds. Consequently two and sometimes three weedings are given. The first weeding is generally at the end of May and the second in June and the third in July. The cost of weeding during the first year runs up to about 1,500 lire per hectare. This expenditure is about 25 percent of the total cost of cultivation, but during succeeding years it is not so heavy.

Great strides have been made in the application of artificial manures for agricultural crops. People having been for long accustomed to the use of such manures readily apply them to a paying crop like rice. Farmyard manure no doubt is the basal manure on which they depend, up to 200 quintals per hectare being used. Superphosphate, ammonium sulphate, Calcium Cyanamide and sulphate of potash are the chief manures used, the total cost under these running up to about 800 lire per hectare. These artificials are applied twice, once in conjunction with farmyard manure as an initial dose, and later when the crop is three months old. It is a note-worthy fact that the attacks of mildew have been greatly controlled by rational cultivation and application of potassium sulphate.

Another matter which arrested my attention was the excellent uniformity the growing crops exhibited. I have seen hundreds of acres of one variety of rice all growing uniformly to one height free from mixtures and bearing heavy earheads. These were the progeny of selected seed issued to cultivators for seed purposes. The particular variety I saw was the one selected for early maturity (precocious) with

very little straw but abundance of grain. To begin with, such seeds are given preferably to small cultivators who are likely to pay special attention and the seed is distributed in succeeding years over large areas. Of the several varieties tested, Japanese varieties seem to have suited Italian conditions best and selections from these have been made with the result that today there are about 85 percent of the crop under these.

There is nothing that impressed me more than the advance made in Italy in the employment of mechanical methods in the cultivation of rice and in taking it to the market as a finished product. For ploughing, tractors are largely employed, one or more tractors being found in all farms of decent size. Electricity plays a prominent part in the operation of thrashing. The harvested rice is brought into the farm yard on carts drawn by horses, but these are hauled up to thrashing machines run by electricity. About 30 quintals are thrashed per hour: in other words, an acre's produce is thrashed in two hours. By the time rice harvest is finished winter sets in and with it the process of drying the seed becomes difficult. The early maturing varieties already referred to are got in, in September when there is yet plenty of sunshine enabling natural drying. But in the majority of cases, artificial drying is to be depended on by means of dessicators heated by steam. Three dryings are considered sufficient and about 450 quintals can be dried in this way in 24 hours.

It is usual in India to sell rice in the market as paddy but the Italian cultivator puts it through the further process of hulling by machinery before it is sold. He thus keeps the byproducts to himself for feeding his live-stock and rice is straight away sent to the market for sale or export.

It is, therefore, obvious what an important part machinery plays in the methods adopted both in cultivation of rice and in taking it to the market. Reference has already been made to the transplanting machine which to me is the last word on the ingenuity of the agricultural engineers of that country. It is extremely simple and yet ingeniously constructed. It consists of a box of eight compartments into which seedlings are put and sufficient to plant about 150 metres. The box is replenished at each end of the field. One man does the whole operation. There are two sets of ploughs below one

behind the other : the first set for opening furrows and the second for covering the same. Seedlings are dropped by means of tongs which picks up each seedling as it comes down the box at regular intervals and drops it into the furrow opened by the first plough. It is said that an hectare is transplanted in 2½ hours. The defect at present lies in the fact that the seedlings do not drop down at regular intervals and further trials are under progress. With the high cost of labour it is bound to become a boon to the cultivators and transplantation will naturally become more popular than at present.

During my visit I had opportunities to see the economic condition of the farmers and peasantry. I also enjoyed the hospitality of some of them and wherever I went, I was impressed that farmers in that region are in affluent circumstances. Without hesitation I would say that the farmers here compare very favourably with their compatriots in Britain although the latter country is still the richest in Europe. The landed proprietors in this region possess even four or five hundred hectares of land under their management but from the information I could get I understand that about 300 hectares may be considered an average holding of the well-to-do people. They are all educated but it was easy to recognise the farmer type among them : that they had abundance of worldly goods was evident everywhere. Modern conveniences are available for all of them ; for example, electricity is utilised not only for the machinery but also in their homes. Almost all of them own motor-cars ; radio machines with connections even to London were found in several houses. In fact, they appear to indulge in every manner of modern luxury. Some proprietors living not far from large cities have separate establishments of the farms, where they stay throughout the cultivation season and go back to their city residences during the winter when work is slack. Not only is constant supervision exercised by them but their influence over the peasantry is felt to a remarkable degree. It must however be stated that in Italy, living is less expensive than in many parts of Europe. Large proprietors have sub-tenants under them to whom are leased farms of various sizes according to their requirements or position. Even these small peasants are by no means poor : they enjoy

comforts in proportion to their scale of life and I have it on authority that three hectares of land are enough to keep them in reasonable comfort. Insanitary conditions with disease taking constant toll in former days were attributed to rice cultivation but happily this state of things has been largely replaced by a healthy set of people whose economic progress and trade prosperity are at a high level.

Turning to the labouring classes it is found that emigration during agricultural seasons from poorer localities like Montana and Bologna takes place to more well-to-do regions like Vercelli. This is a feature quite in common with our own country. People from dry land districts go to wet land localities during transplanting and harvest seasons. Even the peasantry are comfortably housed. Some of the houses are two storied, fitted with electrical lighting and with all up-to-date sanitary conveniences. A farmer whom I had the privilege to visit and who owns about 300 hectares of land has 35 families under him. They have a school for the children, a reading-room, and a library for the elders. They all appeared extremely happy and contented and that they looked upon their farmer with respect born of love and gratitude. Payment both in kind and money is in vogue. Payment in kind is preferred for two reasons ; at present the value of lira is constantly changing and therefore payment in kind is much more satisfactory. Again, the quantity of perquisites that they receive is on the whole more than their actual requirements so that they have an option to dispose of the extra quantity at market prices either to others or to the farmers themselves, who are willing to take them back at the rates prevailing. Besides having houses provided for them they receive on an average about 9,000 lire per annum which includes two quintals of rice, two quintals of wheat and eight quintals of maize per annum and also get ½ litre of milk per day per person. In actual money they receive about 3,000 to 4,000 lire. They are also permitted to keep pigs. Goats often take the place of cows in many localities—a practice prevalent even in France. Fish culture is an interesting and paying sub-industry grown out of rice cultivation. Casual labourers work about 8 hours a day and receive at the rate of 36 lire per man and 28 lire per woman per day. At the time of my visit

130 lire were equivalent to one pound sterling.

Dairy farms pure and simple as found in Britain are rare except near the Alps where conditions are such that natural meadows are available in abundance. Mixed farms are therefore the rule, that is the farmer not only has an arable farm to run but has also large herds of milking cows to which particular attention is paid. I saw several cows of the Swiss type in excellent condition whose yields compare very favourably with our best milking breeds. Eight litres per day or 2,500 litres per lactation is considered an average yield per cow. Cattle insurance is very expensive and therefore horses alone are insured.

Such conditions cannot be considered to be prevailing all through Italy. Wet land cultivators in the east are not so well off as those to be found in the region of Piedmont or Lombardy. From what I have seen I am impressed that rice cultivation here has brought much prosperity to the people and when compared with similar cultivators in India they are very much better off both in their social and economic welfare.

It is one thing to know what Italy is doing in its agricultural practices and quite another to be able to introduce these bodily into India. It is neither possible nor desirable to put into practice all that is being done in Italy with regard to rice culture. I do not think that time is ripe for introducing anything in the shape of agricultural machinery as practised there. Firstly, labour is not dear enough to make it worth while to introduce tractors or even transplanting machines, nor is there capital enough to launch into the purchase of expensive thrashers. We have plenty of sunshine at the harvest time to be independent of artificial desiccators. The only point in this connection that might be done to the advantage of the cultivator in India is to deliver rice as a finished product instead of as paddy. Hulling machines and rice factories have covered our country like mushroom growths but unfortunately these are run not by the growers but by others. Co-operative hulling is suggested as the holdings of individual cultivators are small. There are however some lessons that we can learn from Italy. Economy in the distribution of water is an improvement to which I would attach paramount importance. It has

been established beyond doubt that in Italy to obtain bumper crops there need not be a constant flow of two or three inches of water throughout the growing season of 5 or 6 months. I saw excellent crops which were estimated at 60, 65 and even 70 quintals per hectare. I understand that there are crops which produce even 80 quintals per hectare, but 50 quintals may be taken to be a very safe average. This shows that with much less water than we are accustomed to in India, equally good if not better crops are being obtained there. Making due allowance for the climatic differences which are perhaps more favourable in Italy, I think steps should be taken to see how far the present irrigation supply can be extended to other areas.

I am of opinion that research in this direction is absolutely essential. Attention may with advantage be directed to the study of these problems both under canals and tanks and seen by experiment how far water can be economised without detriment to the present yields. These have to be solved on Government farms in the first instance and when this is successfully done it should not be difficult to demonstrate to the ryots at large like other demonstrations. Space does not permit me nor does it lie within the scope of this article to suggest details of such researches. I strongly feel that there is no problem in the improvement of Indian agriculture that is more vitally important than to see how much further the present water supply can be utilised than at present. One is constantly reminded of the many occasions when water is simply wasted, while at others there is such scarcity of it. Yet there is no gain-saying the fact that information on the subject is scanty. I can only indicate here the magnitude and urgency of the problem.

Secondly, it is worth our while to consider how far rotations which are being followed in Italy could be applied with advantage to our methods. None would deny the fact that systematic rotation is one of the potent means by which a system of cultivation of any country is improved. It goes without saying that with rice following rice very good results are being obtained in India. But if it were possible to intersperse other crops with rice in a definite number of years and produce equally good crops if not better than at present, cultivators would be more than thankful for information in this direction, especially if more fodder for

cattle is also brought into the bargain. It has been possible for the Italian cultivator to grow pasture crops in rotation with rice. It may be argued that in India it is not easy to obtain a pasture crop within one or two years. Here again there is opportunity for the Botanist and the Agriculturist to investigate what kind of grasses could be grown sufficiently, quickly and in sufficient quantity to make it worth while for the cultivators to adopt. If certain grasses could be established within a year and these produce, say two tons per acre the only problem that would then have to be solved is whether the returns obtained during, say a period of 5 years of rice in succession are more or less than those obtained by having two years of grass and three years of rice. As a matter of fact there are in vogue several rotations in rice. It only requires that these are adapted to local conditions and attempts made to see how far the fodder problem could be solved. In certain deltaic tracts where indifferent second crops are the rule it may be worth while to replace such by fodder crops. Under well irrigation rice is grown in rotation with other cereals and industrial crops. It is desirable to study whether such a practice could be extended to wet lands. The cultivator when left to himself would certainly prefer to receive abundance of water and do the easy cultivation which rice entails but any thing instructive can be suggested to him only after it has been proved by experiment that a fodder can be successfully grown in rice fields and that by growing it once in three or four years in rotation not only is the total average out-turn of rice not decreased but more fodder is produced during that period than he has been able to buy following his usual practice.

An appreciable amount of progress in rice cultivation could be traced to the systematic manuring that farmers in Italy follow. They are in the first instance more enlightened than our farmers. They can understand at least to a certain extent the theory as applied to artificial manuring and it does not therefore require very much effort to put into practice what he or his neighbour has learnt in the class room. Again, he has the money to spend liberally on manuring; on the other hand, we are up against an uneducated clientele which is poor at the same time. It has been the practice of the Government departments to

suggest to cultivators such manures as are within their reach. Efforts have been made by them to put before commercial firms the desirability to bring down the prices of artificial manures. Until the prices are reduced the cultivators will not buy them. Unless the cultivators buy in large quantities it will not be worth while for the firms to bring the prices down. We are thus in an *impasse*. More concerted effort in demonstration and propaganda seem to be necessary to make it evident to cultivators that it *does* pay to use artificials more freely than they are at present inclined to, but there are already signs in the horizon that well-to-do farmers are becoming alive to the urgency of this problem because on the one hand, there is insufficiency of cattle manure and on the other that which is available is of a poor quality. The commercial firms due to the competition are, I believe, beginning to reduce the prices. This is certainly a bright augury for the future.

In an educated community it is an easy matter for an expert to spread the result of his researches. It is therefore possible in Italy to leave good seed evolved from strains in the hands of cultivators themselves who not only take good care to see that they are not mixed but also help very largely in their distribution to others. Such things would be possible also in our country if education to adults is imparted more widely than at present: for example, visual instruction by means of talks with the aid of lantern slides or cinema shows, would improve the situation. It is obvious that the greatest obstacle to agricultural progress has been the illiteracy of the farmers and the sooner that such education spreads among them the quicker will be the pace of the progress of agricultural improvement.

Professor Novelli speaking somewhere on the insanitary conditions which prevailed in former days in rice growing tracts attributes it not so much to the growing of rice itself, but to "intellectual poverty which is the sister and hand-maid to rural poverty". If this could be said of Italy, what could not be said of India?

One last word: The standard of living of the labourer in the rice tracts in Italy is high while that of his Indian compatriot is low. It is not surprising therefore that the latter is inefficient. If, however, steps are taken to feed, house and clothe him and treat him better it is likely that he would

yield a better return. There is abundant scope for research with a view to increasing his efficiency in all farms where permanent

labour is employed. It is worth while doing it for is not the study of man the worthiest of all?

HINDU MUSIC AND DANCING IN AMERICA

(Achievement of Ragini Devi)

By MRS. TARAKNATH DAS

INDIA'S contribution to the cultural life of the world is immense. In religion, philosophy, the positive sciences, the influence of Hindu thought has been permanent; and today this fact is universally recognised.



Ragini Devi

Hindu influence in the fine arts—architecture, painting, music etc.—is no less significant, although less recognised by the people of the west.

In the west, in the field of music and dancing a new era has come. On the one hand, a large number of restless people are seeking for a new road to newer sensation or sensualism, are exhibiting an unrestrained craze for so-called new music known as "Jazz"; on the other hand, some serious students of music and dancing find in Hindu music and dances new inspiration, not sensual which stirs one's soul and leads to sublime ecstasy.

The music of the future will embody new ideas of harmony and melody—finer notes, intricate and subtle variations and improvisations which will exemplify the beauty of "Ragas" of Hindu music. Spiritual communion through music, enchanting life through music, soothing nerves and creating harmony and poise in everyday life through music, depicting deepest emotions of life, are a few phases of Hindu music, the divine art.

In all ages and among all peoples, dancing has played a significant part in the finer as well as coarser spheres of life. Religious dances, folk dances with all simplicity often give clearer interpretation of the mode of life of a people than written volumes. Hindu dancing in its varied phases is now attracting attention of many, who seek charm and beauty of human movements and expressions. Some time ago, Mme. Ruth St. Dennis introduced a few postures of Hindu dancing in her programme, and Mme. Pavlova lately in ballet productions incorporated something of Hindu dancing. However, Ragini Devi is the first one, so far as my knowledge goes, who has presented a comprehensive programme

of Indian music and dancing to the American public.

Fortunately, Ragini Devi is not an ordinary dancer or singer; but she is an artist of extraordinary ability. She, with her thorough knowledge of Hindu and western music, is trying to give that interpretation of music and dancing of the Hindus, which the West can appreciate and understand. She interprets the music, ancient and modern, including, the spirit of the sublimest poems of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, depicting pathos, love and guileless simplicity, where vulgarity has no place. She is imbued with a spirit of exaltation in beauty and conscious of her mission, which she once described to me as follows:—

"One of the finest phases of Hindu life—their music and dancing—must not be allowed to remain unknown to the world. The world should know of it; and the great masters should ponder over the possibility of its revival and renovation for the whole world. Russian music and dancing have acquired distinction in the world of fine arts; similarly, if properly interpreted, Hindu music and dancing can very easily do the same. Some people who love Hindu music and dancing must give their lives for it. I love India and I am trying to find the beauty of my life through Hindu music and dancing to which I have consecrated my life."

Ragini Devi is the most out-standing and unique pioneer, engaged in interpreting the best of Hindu music and dancing to the west.

Ragini Devi has a charming personality and excellent voice, necessary and indispensable requisites for success. Her recent elaborate programme, given in the Hampden Theatre, (New York) which is conducted by Mr. Walter Hampden, the best living American actor and producer, brought out the following interesting criticism from Mr. Albert Coates, Guest Conductor of New York Symphony Orchestra.

"Ragini's music is amazing. I have seldom been so interested; and the instruments are very fine also. This Hindu music is absolutely unique and I cannot help thinking that it would create a great interest in America."

Mr. W. J. Henderson, the well-known critic, writes in the *Sun* (New York):—

"Ragini's dancing to Hindu airs and singing of India's classic melodies is considered the most artistic and reliable of its kind—found in the United States. Her attractive numbers were many and varied, and she both sang and danced with picturesque and subtle charm.

The comment of the *New York Times* is no less flattering:—

"The songs and dances of Ragini won her audience with simple truth of graceful interpretations rare to see in the theatre."

Ragini began her work quietly and today she has received national recognition in America. She is sought among select circles for her performances. The following is



Ragini Devi playing upon the *Tambura*

typical of innumerable press notices of her splendid work. *The Atlanta Georgian* writes:—

"Haunting airs which wandered rhythmically, giving mystical suggestiveness, time and place to words from Hindu sacred writings, to epics, to modern lyric classics of Rabindranath Tagore, and to the dances of the temples, emotional, seductive, yet with a distinctly moral tone; all these in happiest combination intrigued the interest of the large audience assembled Wednesday afternoon in the auditorium of the Atlanta Woman's Club to hear Ragini in a program of Hindu music offered by the Fine Arts Club...Whether in sanskrit chant or in the love songs from India's historical epics, there was unmistakable evidence of high caste combined with winsomeness...The dancing also of Ragini was truly Indian. Almost one stood among the bazaars where the vendors, with pretty bodily gyrations, appealing eyes and tinkling of bells upon well-shaped ankles offered their entrancing wares.

of mystical charm..One of the most delightful numbers ever given in Atlanta ; certainly the most colorful and interesting programme of its present season."

Ragini Devi is not only an accomplished singer and dancer, but she also plays the "Sitar and Tambura" exquisitely. The music

lovers of the west are grateful to Ragini for her work of introducing and popularising something so beautiful of the life of Orient ; and the people of India may well be proud of her achievement and devotion to her mission.

THE SONGS OF RADHA

By SAROJINI NAIDU

I. AT DUSK

Krishna Murari my radiant Lover
Cometh. O comrades, haste.
Bring vermeil and perfumes my limbs to cover.
Saffron and sandal-paste ;
Bring shining garments for my adorning,
Blue of the dusk and rose of the morning,
Gold of the flaming noon ;
Give me a breast-band of gems that shimmer
Making the lamps of the stars grow dimmer,
Girdle and fillet of pearls whose glimmer
Shameth the ***Shrawan*** moon.

Krishna Murari my radiant Lover
Cometh. O sisters, spread
Bud and ripe blossom his couch to cover,
Silver and coral-red ;
With garlands of green boughs the doorways darken...
Is that his flute-call...sisters, hearken...
Why tarrieth he so long ?
Like pipul leave doth my shy heart shiver,
Like rippling waves do my faint limbs quiver
Softly, O Yamuna, love's sweet river,
Sing thou our bridal song.

II. AT DAWN

All night my heart its lonely vigil kept.
Listening for thee, O Love, all night I wept .
Where went thy errant footsteps wandering.
Sweet Ghanashyam, my king ?

My bridal veils are flung upon the floor,
 My bridal garlands droop across the door,
 The buds that on my bed their fragrance spilt
 Grief-scattered wane and wilt.

O Flute-player, how swiftly dost thou fire
 Of thine own gladness and thine own desire '
 Couldst thou not find upon my yearning breast
 Thy rapture and thy rest?

Whose are the fingers that like amorous flocks
 Roam the ambrosial thickets of thy locks ?
 Ah ! whose the lips that smite with sudden drouth
 The garden of my mouth?

What shall it profit to revile or hate
 Thy fickleness, her beauty or my fate,
 Or strive to tear with black and secret art
 Thine image from my heart ?

Without thy loveliness my life is dead,
 Love, like a lamp with golden oils unfed...
 Come back, come back from thy wild wandering,
 Sweet Ghanashyam, my king !

ZAGHLUL PASHA

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M. A.

POLITICAL workers have been divided into three classes : agitators, politicians, and statesmen. According to some, agitators come last in the scale, because their motives are sometimes questionable and their methods not always legitimate. Agitators love to disturb the waters and to exploit mass prejudices; and they are, therefore, said to be men who talk tall, and make much noise, but achieve nothing substantial. Politicians come a little higher in the scale than agitators (it might be remembered that, according to Lloyd George, a politician is a rarer being than a statesman). But even politicians are men of the moment. Their eye is always on the immediate present, and they do what is

useful and opportune for the time being only. It is, therefore, urged that they sometimes sacrifice the future to the present, that they change too often and have no fixed principles. Statesmen are the highest being amongst the political workers. They build up their nation, without ignoring the past or the future.

Zaghlul Pasha was called a statesman by some, a politician by others, and an agitator by many. A man of tongue of gold, of pen, of fire and of an eye bright as the stars, he was thought to be an anti-British propagandist, and a kindler of mass prejudices by his enemies. Some charged him with inconsistencies also, inconsistencies which chequer

the career of every politician. For instance, it was said, that up to 1913 he was the opponent of the ex-Khedive; but as soon as the relations between Lord Kitchener and the Khedive became strained he took up the cause of the Khedive and succeeded in wrecking the Assembly. Similarly he supported the sale of the Suez Canal shares to England and the separation of Sudan, and these two facts were always exploited by his enemies against him. According to others, Zaghlul Pasha was a statesman who wished to build up the fabric of Egyptian independence on whatever foundations the Egyptians had already laid.

It is needless to quarrel with people in determining whether Zaghlul Pasha was an agitator, a politician or a statesman. One thing is, however, certain that he was a great patriot who wanted complete independence for Egypt, and who suffered heavily on account of his flaming patriotism. But, be it remembered, that no suffering or criticism could shake his determination to make Egypt free. His enemies questioned his motives and his methods; they called him a turn-coat and a demagogue without constructive ability, but these taunts could not make him change his course. There was a time when an Egyptian student tried to take his life, because it was thought that he had become untrue to his own fiery gospel of nationalism, but even this did not embitter him. Nor did persecution inflicted upon him by the British Government weaken his fervour for Egyptian nationalism. A suspect almost all his life in the eyes of the British officials, he was twice deported to distant places on account of his political activities, but even these deportations did not damp his ardour for the national cause. Thus he remained a patriot, true to the cause of Egypt, from first to last.

All his life he spent in the service of Egypt, changing his methods of work from time to time, though ever keeping his eye fixed on the goal of complete Egyptian independence. He used especially the three weapons of propaganda, boycott and negotiations in the attainment of his objects. A man of great political insight and extra-ordinary judgment as he was, he did not pin himself down to one method, but did always what the moment demanded. He started his political career during Arabi Pasha's rising in 1882. At that time he fought against the British, but soon he made peace with them

and became the most intimate adviser of Lord Cromer who said about him in a farewell speech:

"Lastly, gentlemen, I should like to mention the name of one with whom I have only recently co-operated, but for whom in that short time, I have learned to entertain a high regard. Unless I am much mistaken, a career of great public usefulness lies before the present Minister of Education Saad Zaghlul Pasha. He has all the qualities necessary to serve his country. He is honest, he is capable; he has been abused by many of the less worthy of his own countrymen. These are high qualifications. He should go far."

And he did go far as all the world knows. He accepted offices—he was the Minister of Education, the Deputy President, the President of the Assembly, and the Prime-Minister by turns, not with a view to exalt and glorify himself in the eyes of his countrymen, but to serve them. He, however, did not set much store by any one thing. He accepted an office when it served the interests of his country, but he boycotted it next time when he thought that his country would gain by that. When Milner Commission was sent to Egypt he sent a note from France to his countrymen that they should boycott it. And his countrymen did not co-operate with it till the British Government had recognised the independence of Egypt. But if he was not wedded to the principle of accepting offices, he was not also a hot-gospeller of indiscriminate boycott. He was ready to enter into negotiations with the British Government whenever the time was opportune for that. For instance, he wanted to lay Egypt's case before the Paris Peace Conference, and if this proposal did not mature it was no fault of his. He again went to London to negotiate with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Premier. At that time he formulated the five demands which are the bedrock of Egyptian nationalism. He wanted the withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory, the withdrawal likewise of the Financial and Judicial Advisers, the disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government especially with regard to their foreign policy and the abandonment by the British Government of its claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt. He urged also that British protection should be withdrawn from the Suez Canal. All this clearly shows that without taking his eye off the ultimate goal Zaghlul Pasha always did what was best under the circumstances, negotiating with

the British Government if that could prove fruitful, boycotting it if that could make it climb down, accepting offices if by that he could ensure the progress of his country, and forming coalition with other parties if that could bring about peace in Egypt.

All this he achieved by the power of his personality and the force of his propaganda. He was a fellah, born of the soil, and he could read the Egyptians, it is said, like a book. His schooling in the village school, his education at the Elazhar University, his experience as a Government servant, his editorship of an official journal, his practice at the bar: all these things stood him in good stead as a leader of his countrymen. He knew his people well, and was as a nerve over which crept the unfelt oppressions of his countrymen. Thus he possessed an intimate knowledge of and an unbounded sympathy for his people. He had also vitality that could withstand the strain of political life. It is said that he had great energy and alertness, and was a man of action, through and through. In addition to his vitality he possessed great gifts as a writer and speaker. His writings were always inspiring, and roused in the hearts of the people of Egypt a burning love of freedom. But he shone more as a speaker. In debates none could be his equal; for he argued not only his own case but smashed also the arguments of his opponents. He possessed the great gifts of repartee and humour also, and these he

turned to the best advantage always in debates. He was however, incomparable on the platform. He could sway the multitude and kindle in all hearts the slumbering fires of patriotism. Above all, he was to the Egyptians the soul of nationalism, the focus of their national aspirations and the receiving centre of all their tales of oppression. He summed up for them in his person what Egyptian nationalism was.

But he did not rely solely on his personality to achieve his objects; he made use of a very extensive propaganda also for attaining freedom for his country. His own powers of writing and speaking were greatly helpful to him in this respect. But, above all, he relied upon the youth of his country to fulfil his national aspirations. His party had its branch organisation in every town and village of Egypt, and whatever he felt and thought himself he made his entire countrymen feel and think likewise.

Such was Zaghlul Pasha, a man endowed with courage as well as judgment, with sympathy as well as imagination—a man who devoted all his good gifts to the service of his country. It was on account of this that he was called the uncrowned king of his country. Indian politicians may well take a lesson from him. Like him they should try to achieve their object by all legitimate means, without pinning themselves to any hard and fast political dogmas.

LATEST ON HINDU CITIZENSHIP

By SUDHINDRA BOSE

THE most recent development in the strenuous fight for Indian citizenship in the United States is that the Washington government has consented to validate citizenship of Indians naturalized before 1923. All legal proceedings, which have been started about five years ago to revoke their citizenship papers, have now been suspended. This action will enable some sixty odd Indians (generally referred to in the United States as Hindus) to maintain their legal status as

full-fledged American citizens with all the rights of any other citizens.

It is to be noted that the United States government did not concede the Caucasian origin of the Indian people. They are not therefore entitled, like the natives of Europe, to American citizenship. The present ruling on behalf of sixty Indians, including the writer, establishes no precedent at all for other Indians to become citizens of the United States. India is still within the

"barred zone", and no Indians in future will be allowed to be naturalized in this country. Worse than that. The Commissioner of Naturalization has written to me from Washington saying that the cases of Indians whose naturalizations already had been cancelled are in no wise affected by the recent favorable action of the government. In other words, only those who kept up their legal fight for the last five years and carried on their cases to higher courts will be permitted to retain their citizenship.

As a matter of fact, there was actually no final court decision confirming the naturalization of the Indians. What really happened was this: the Department of Labor submitted recommendations to the United States Attorney-General to the effect that pending suits to cancel naturalizations of certain Indians be discontinued. The Attorney-General, in accordance with the recommendations, issued instructions to drop those cases. Their dismissal was a result of the recommendation of the Department of Labor. It handled the matter with the Attorney-General by routine correspondence. There was therefore no new court decision on the eligibility of Indians for American citizenship.

My learned barrister, Honorable Mr. J. P. Shoup, informs me that the United States government decided to withdraw the pending suits because it had ample opportunity to correct the mistake of law or fact at the time the naturalization court granted us the citizenship papers. The government could then appeal, if it wished, from the judgement of the naturalization court to higher courts. The United States is not entitled now, after the lapse of all these years, to cancellation of the naturalization papers. Because of the lapse of time it does not constitute what the jurists call a *res judicata* an equitable issue which may be decided by a court of competent jurisdiction.

In the meanwhile, scores of Indians who neglected to contest the naturalization suits will remain in stateless condition. They are men without a country. Most of these unhappy people are farmers on the Pacific Coast. They have made, according to most

impartial observers, an important contribution to the economic life of the country in developing cultivation of cotton in the Imperial Valley. But now as they are ineligible for citizenship, they are under California law ineligible to hold or lease land. Reported *The New Republic*—

"They were enabled to remain on the farms, which they had developed on what was thought to be sterile and arid land, only by virtue of transferring title or lease-hold to American citizens, by whom they were mulcted of the fruits of their industry, and in some cases reduced to peonage."

Here is an instance of cruel economic exploitation of a group of extraordinarily able farmers and artisans, because they are debarted from citizenship.

California does not propose to stop with this. It is now being planned in California that even children of those ineligible for citizenship, born in the United States, should also be ineligible for citizenship. This will be in flat contradiction to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution which says "that all persons born in the United States are citizens of the United States and the State in which they reside."

Let it be remembered that when United States entered the Great War, it instituted the draft. All Indian immigrants were promised by the American Government that if they would obey the draft peacefully, and serve this country in the war they would be granted citizenship. The Indians responded loyally to this appeal. They furnished their draft quota. Some were wounded in battle. A few even gave their lives to the land of their adoption. But the United States never kept its promise of citizenship—the promise which was sealed by the sufferings and the blood of our Indian brothers.

Naturally all discussion of American citizenship for Indians has by no means adjourned. "Whether or not the Hindu is a Caucasian is beside the point", said an editorial in the *Nation* (New York), "he has proved to be a good citizen."

State University of Iowa,
Iowa City, U. S. A.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*]

Calcutta University Innocents Abroad

In your last issue you referred to the "unholy alliance" formed by the Mukherji-Banerji clique in the Calcutta University and the Swaraj party to vilify, misrepresent and hamper Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, the Vice-Chancellor, in his attempt to introduce the much-needed and long-delayed reform of that institution. It is being alleged by the organ of this party that Prof. Sarkar, before his accession to the Vice-Chancellorship, had condemned all the Professors of the Calcutta University in the *Modern Review*. A reference to your back numbers will show that he has never written a word of wholesale or indiscriminate condemnation, but only protested against the rewarding of the sham research of some, the deliberate manipulation of examination results from personal considerations, and the shavist spirit in certain teachers and examiners, which has brought about this deplorable state of things and made Calcutta first classes of the Sir Ashutosh Mukherji brand the laughing-stock of India. Can Prof. Sarkar's statement be refuted on a question of fact? The latest example which I give below is conclusive.

Mr. Syama-prasad Mukherji, at the Calcutta University, created a record of unrivalled brilliancy. He was declared 1st class 1st in I. A., B.A., M.A., and B.L. (1921), and awarded all possible medals and prizes. This super-graduate of the Calcutta University then went to England and studied for the Bar Examination. At Calcutta he had been 1st class 1st at every one of the three Law examinations. What was his achievement in London?

In the (1926) Bar examinations in Hindu Law, he was not first class nor second class but *third class*. (There is no fourth class in London) But his English record was made in *Criminal Law*, in which he *failed altogether*. It should be here pointed out that Mr. Syama-prasad Mukherji has been for three years a lecturer at the Calcutta University's Law College, and the special subject which he teaches others, as an expert, is *Criminal Law*!

Among your readers there are graduates of the Universities of many different countries. I ask them, could Mr. Syama-prasad's brilliant Calcutta Career have been possible at Oxford or Cambridge or at some place nearer Constantinople?

It need scarcely be added that Mr. Syama-prasad is a son of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, long Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and that

he has been called to the Bar in his second shot.

An Onlooker.

Teachers of Anthropology in the Calcutta University

I crave the hospitality of the columns of your esteemed journal for giving publicity to the following facts regarding the scandals of the Post-Graduate classes in Anthropology of the Calcutta University.

Mr. X, is a lecturer in Anthropology who has got no training in Anthropology, theoretical or practical. As regards his method of teaching he is a slave to his patent exercise books, which are nothing but mere verbatim copies (with very slight alterations in some cases) from Parker Haswell's Zoology, Cunningham's Anatomy and Boule's "Fossil Man," as shown below.

The following are a few extracts from his lectures:—

"At an early stage of development the cerebral vesicles are enclosed in a membranous covering derived from the mesoderm surrounding the notochord. This differentiated mesodermal layer is called the primordial membranous cranium," etc. *vide* Cunningham's Anatomy, p. 186, 5th edition.

"In the Ascidian, the heart is a simple muscular sac situated near the stomach in the pericardium. Its mode of pulsation is very remarkable. The contractions are of a peristaltic character and follows one another from our end of the heart to the other for a certain time, then follows a short pause, and when the contractions begin again, they have the opposite direction. Thus the direction of the current of blood through the heart is reversed at regular intervals," etc. *vide* Parker Haswell's Text-book of Zoology, 3rd Edition, 1921, Vol. II, P. 18.

"The skeleton of all fins—paired and unpaired—presents a considerable degree of uniformity. The main part of the expanse of the fin is supported by a series of flattened segmented rods, the pterygiophores or cartilaginous finrays, which lie in close apposition; at the outer ends of these are..." etc. *op. cit.* From page 145 and onwards.

"The cranium is a cartilaginous case, the wall of which is contiguous throughout. At the

anterior end is a rostrum consisting of three cartilaginous nodules converging as they extend," etc. *op cit.* From page 143.

Instances like these can be indefinitely multiplied. These will show the nature of his lectures.

His only work in the class is that he comes to the university at about 3 P.M., dictates his notes without caring whether the students understand them or not and then motor to his residence. If any student raises any doubts to be cleared up, he becomes a beautiful picture!

Medical students are forbidden to attend his class but their attendance is marked. Is it due to the fact that a serious raid on his anatomical knowledge would be made by them, were they present in the class? We do not know as yet if there is any educational institution that confers the benefit of attendance at lectures even if the students are absent.

In some examinations in anthropology he becomes an examiner of subjects carrying something like 300 marks—in such subjects, *e.g.*, as Racial and Social Anthropology and even in Archaeology, of which he appears to have no knowledge whatsoever. He never spends even an hour of his valuable time over these subjects, most of the time being devoted to Zoology and such subjects as are not anthropological at all.

Is it not a fact that Mr. X. sets and examines some papers disposed of by the Controller of Examination to an outside examiner for the last few years though officially the name of the outsider is kept intact.

The public will be able to judge the merit of the syllabus prescribed for the M.A. and M.Sc. Examination for 1928, which has been framed by our apostles of knowledge.

Extracts from the syllabus:—

The structure and function of organisms.

The Cell Theory.

The evolution of Sex.

The development of the Vascular System.

The growth of the Urinogenital system.

The formation of the digestive system.

The evolution of Proboscidae, Rhinocerotidae, Bovidae and Equidae, and such other things as are quite out of the range of the subject proper. Have the students come to study Zoology and Medical Science—or Anthropology? Possibly the reason behind this is that as X he has no knowledge of Anthropology he will have nothing to speak of for the recurring cycle of two years if the syllabus in question is not framed that way.

We have consulted the syllabus of the other universities, but nowhere do we find a syllabus like this and if need be we can produce them.

No practical demonstration is carried on in the class so it can be easily imagined how far the students can follow him in all these queer and crude anatomical and Zoological details.

The students are not allowed to handle any of the specimens that are present in the seminar, they are never taught these things.

Mr. X. draws a salary of something like rupees 350 per mensem from the department of Anthropology. How is it that he being a part-time lecturer in Anthropology draws so big a salary from the Calcutta University?

His term finishes with this December and it is being rumoured that he is pressing other lecturers to recommend him from the department inspite

of their severe indignation. We hope that the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor, the President of the Postgraduate Council in Arts and the Syndics would consider the situation from an impartial point of view, without being moved by the advocacy of his colleagues.

Mr. Y. is another lecturer who is nothing but an instrument in the hands of Mr. X. He is not an M.A. in Anthropology, and has been posted in the place of Mr. Kshitish Prasad Chatterjee, a well-known anthropological scholar. Mr. K. P. Chatterjee is willing to deliver lectures in the Calcutta University as an outside lecturer, but is it a fact that the present staff of the Anthropological department do not desire it?

The routine of Mr. Y's daily lectures consists of nothing but mere reading from Lowrie's Primitive Society—a text-book. Post-Graduate students possibly know sufficient English and each one of them can at least read a book written in plain English. If any student goes to him to have certain points of complexity explained, instead of explaining these things he always refers to his patent bibliography, most of the books of which cannot be had in Calcutta.

According to Mr. Y. men like Sir J. G. Fraser, I.R.S., have no knowledge of Anthropology. Possibly the scholars of such international reputation do not know the Anthropology which Mr. Y. knows!

He is a champion of making tours. The Anthropological tours, it should be remembered, are nothing but mere squandering of University money. No work is done there, no study made, only merriment, eating, gossiping and childish photography become the corner-stones of work.

Another peculiar feature is that the results of the examination are predicted even one year before the examination is held.

Lastly, the lectures delivered by Mr. Z. another lecturer in sociology and religion, who never had any University education in Anthropology, are fit to be fire side chattyings rather than parts of P.G. teaching. Thus most of the valuable time of the students are taken by his theatrical stage-acting gossip. Again he sets questions which are absolutely meaningless *e.g.*, Q. 3. (IV Paper 2nd Half) 1927. M.A. Examination.

Such is the standard of teaching in the Post-Graduate Department of Anthropology in the Calcutta University. The only persons who sincerely work for the good of the department are Profs. Q., R., and S.

Again the present constitution of the board of Anthropology ought to be changed; for they include persons like Prof. J. R. Banerjee, Pramathanath Banerjee and Ramaprasad Mukherjee, who have not got the slightest knowledge of the subject. It is quite certain that there is a well organised clique behind this whole affair.

The earnest appeal from the side of the ex-students to the President of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts and the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, in whose organising capacity the public cherish a firm faith is that the matters of the department should be *privately* investigated and immediate measures should be taken to remedy all these evils, that such persons be removed forthwith and suitable scholars be appointed in their place.

"An Ex-student".

Editor's Note

The writer of this communication mentioned the names of all the post-graduate teachers in full, but we have omitted them. If for convenience of investigation the University authorities concerned wish to know them, the information will be placed at their disposal.

Editor, M. R.

Recent Hindi Literature

Mr. Ha Chandra Joshi has spasmodically tried to accomplish the wonderful feat of giving a complete account of the recent Hindi Literature, together with an exhibition of his familiarity with such writers as Goethe, Tolstoy, Romain Rolland and Rabindra Nath Tagore, in five columns of the August issue of the *Modern Review*. Scientific analysis, which has become the characteristic of criticism in our times and which has asserted once for all that the first duty of a critic is not to judge but to understand seems to be unknown to the critic since it is nowhere noted in his amazing and sensational piece of critique. There is not a single poet, a single novelist, a single dramatist, a single critic or a single editor in the whole of the recent Hindi literature, who might prove himself to be worthy of the name in a test by our critic or who might be rewarded by him with the acknowledgment of the greatness essential for every man of letters. In a sudden flush of enthusiasm he declares that "owing to this very spirit of nationalism the critics and writers of Hindi literature have been deceiving themselves for sometimes past by believing that Modern Hindi literature is in no way inferior to any other literature of India, if not of the whole world. This self-deceptive, envious and suicidal belief is so strongly current through-out the Hindi-reading public, that if any body ventures to disprove the fact, his is supposed to be a heretic, a Kafir a traitor to the cause of his mother-tongue. Oaths and abuses are hurled upon him from all sides and he is left terror-stricken like a man standing amidst a furious and enraged mob". What he says here needs no argument for its contradiction. The very terminology of the expression makes it obviously clear. As if the whole Hindi-speaking world is in a state of disorder and chaos, as if we are not conscious of the different social, political and scientific forces that are at work as if our national interest is not identical with the interest of Bengal, Madras, Maharashtra and Gujrat; as if the Hindi-speaking public constitutes a nation of its own. No sane man in our literature has ever claimed that our literature is as rich as some other literatures in the recent times. Many of the presidents of the all India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan have humbly admitted the fact that there have been many short-comings in our literature in recent times unknown to the other contemporary Indian literatures and have urged and stimulated our writers to bring our literature to the level of the other literatures. In the course of his criticism upon Premashram, he writes to our great surprise "this very work of fiction has made our men of letters realise for the first time the greatness of our literature. Had not Mr. Premchand composed this work of fiction, we

could have never thought of the greatness of our literature. What a farce? The greatness of a literature depends much more upon its classics and the classical Hindi literature with the colossal figures of Tulsi, Sur and Kabir and many other poets of the first rank is the richest, undoubtedly, of all the other contemporary literatures of India.

"All the greatest artists of the world have always tried to solve the problem of humanity in their works" this is the source of every vital creation according to the critic and for the support of this deliberate thought he quotes Goethe, Schiller and Romain Rolland. But before we can bring it into focus, we must ascertain, how art is created. Is it created deliberately upon some well-directed plan or is it the unconscious expression of the human soul? If only we invite psychology to our aid it will become obvious that the emergence of artistic beauty, which is nothing else but a consummate expression of the human spirit, is one of the most unconscious manifestations of the human mind. Thus to say that art is created to solve the problem whether of humanity or of a man, is unscientific. Mr. Joshi further adds, "but our critics and men of letters do not want to see the truth and they have shut their eyes to the light. Popularity and not truth is their Sole criterion. We would have let them remain undisturbed in their paradise. But they have corrupted and vitiated the taste of the public and have made its aesthetic sense and faculty of appreciating art quite blunt. The critics of the Hindi world of letters have led the public to believe that the works of Tagore and of Gorki are nothing but a means of social or political propaganda. The public has been misled by the false criticism of these critics and takes every word spoken by them to be true." We are not aware, where such a state of things exists in the Hindi world and who are those critics who have tried to misrepresent the glorious writers like Rabindranath and Gorki. We would advise the critic to be responsible to himself and not to create a boisterous medley.

Assisted by a quotation from Shakespeare he asserts that a writer in the habit of touching upon the social and political problems, eventually comes down from the rank of a superb artist. If this were the criterion even Shakespeare would not stand the test; he has frequently touched upon these problems. Even Tolstoy, Romain Rolland and Rabindranath could not do away with them. Tolstoy failed in literature and succeeded in politics. He is most himself when he is revealing the horrible under-side of civilization, the incompetency of the state, the banality of western life and the menace of Imperialism.

In the last and concluding paragraph of his article Mr. Joshi says: "There are many small circles in the Hindi world of letters of the day and each circle--has its own foolish conventions in the matter of art. Darkness reigns there supreme. Nobody wants to see the light and every literary man desires to live in a fool's paradise." What does it all mean? In this age of universal enlightenment, our writers (inspite of the cultural heritage behind them) desire to live in a "fool's paradise"

Nowhere is the error of Mr. Joshi more conspicuous than in the case of his estimate of the period of the recent Hindi literature. He is absolutely wrong in his decision; for the writers

whom he considers to be the writers of recent Hindi literature, do not belong to this period, they belong essentially to the period of Transition. The spirit that animates the writings of Ajodhya Singh, of Maithili Sharan, to a certain extent even of Premchand and of all their other contemporary poets and novelist is the spirit of the nineteenth century Hindi poetry and fiction. They are not the real representatives of this age. Almost all their creative inspiration owes its origin to a date, prior to the last evening of the last century. Their influence is very little felt to day. Though they have still continued writing but their influence is as faint, as was Victor Hugo's, in his old age before the new School of Flaubert and other French writers of the age of criticism. The new generation of writers that has risen to eminence has achieved wonders as decisively as even in the history of literature. It has revolutionised Hindi poetry and stimulated Hindi prose. This spirit of change and progress declared itself in the writings of Jaya Shankar 'Prasad'. Besides many historical plays and stories of intrinsic merit he has recently produced two works of immense importance, forming land marks in recent Hindi literature and bearing distinct testimony as to what a perfect art should be. One of these is a volume of poetry "Asru" or "Tears" The other is a symbolic play, "Kamana".

Nowhere did this spirit manifest itself more strangely than in the poems of Makhan Lal, a politician of the first rank, a real hero of the national cause.

With the advent of Surya Kant Tripathi and Sumitra Nandan Pant the age enters upon a new phase. Every 'tradition and rule' is thrown into the background. Individual craving is incarnated

and it is asserted once for all that a poem is the outcome of a great agitation in the human breast and hence it is subject to no bindings. Naturally they had to face great opposition, but the more acute has been the opposition the more they have gained ground. Their poems have been the consummation of the modern conception of verse. One of the greatest achievements of Surya Kant of Sumitra Nandan and of almost all of their contemporaries Bal Krishana Sharma, Ram Nath Lal, Mohan Lal Mahto, Janardan Prosad Jha and many other writers operating in common for the accomplishment of the same goal has been that they have tried not only to create new wine, but they have created new bottles too. They realised clearly that the wine which they were going to create, would not appeal to the general taste if put into the old bottles, and curiously the opposition that has tried its level best to embarrass the new movement for years together, did not centre around the wine, but around the bottle. Such are the general outlines of this period. As to the detailed and elaborate analysis of the poetic movement, we must wait.

No less than in poetry, has the spirit of progress and reform shown itself in the sphere of prose literature. We have many writers of considerable worth and distinct merit, writing in the fields of criticism and fiction, deserving high places in the hierarchy of writers. Though our recent literature has no writer of the magnitude of a Goethe, of a Tolstoy, of a Rabindranath or of a Romain Rolland, yet there is no reason for the sentimental despair which he has shown in his criticism, since there is a considerable number of writers, both in prose and poetry, who can keep alive in us a real appreciation of beauty.

LAKSHMI NARAIN MISHRA

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

AN INDIAN DAY: By Edward Thompson. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. 306 pages. Price 7-6.

Mr. Thompson has come out with another book—this time a novel—on India. He deals with the attitude and the work of the Anglo-Indian community, and the Indian characters drawn by him are used merely as a relief and are of secondary importance. He also takes the opportunity of impressing on the reader that British rule is good for the Indians, and that what is required is just a few changes here and there. Mr. Thompson is a clergyman trying to be a Socialist, but ever miserably failing, yet ever believing that he is

one. He will not look Truth straight in the face, regardless of consequences either to his country or to India; but he will, instead, see the truth but partially, even admitting a few grievances of the Indians, then patting himself on the back for his open-mindedness and scientific spirit, concluding his arguments according to his wishes and not according to facts.

Mr. Thompson tries the clever trick of eating his cake and at the same time having it. A character in the book, for instance, bitterly complains in the following words:

"I sometimes think that your (meaning the Indians) cursing the United English nation for what our Scots, and Irish and Welsh and Ulster-

mann do isn't genuine indignation, but just a dirty political game."

He could, of course, add the 'Jews' to the list. But what a school boy's argument he has used! It seems as if he thinks Indians are trying to prove that the "English people" are a Mephistophelean crowd. This is not true. Our quarrel is not with individual "Scots, and Irish and Welsh and Ulstermann" as Mr. Thompson seems to think, but with the *system* of British rule in which the Englishmen and many Indians are but tools.

Again, he asserts on the one hand "that there is magnificent outspokenness in England—about Armenia, but never about Kenya or India; and in the United States—about everything except what happens in their own borders" Hammar, the hero in "An Indian Day," is, however, cheered for his courage in giving the accused Indians in a conspiracy case "only" eight years imprisonment while in reality for four years there have been more than 200 men in prison without charge or trial in Bengal under the Ordinance; and *strangely* enough, many such political prisoners get infectious diseases in prison after a few weeks or months in prison while ordinary prisoners, real criminals do not seem to suffer from such complaints! What is that? Shall we assume that the Professor of 'Bengali' at the ancient university of Oxford, does not know of these atrocities, or shall we sing hallelujah to Rev. Thompson's scientific mind?

The purpose of this book seems to be propaganda for the Empire and Christianity. For the former end he tries the confidence trick, and might mislead those who do not know enough about India—and unfortunately there are many of his readers who come under that category; and for the latter, he has to put his last shirt on his own horse. As the editor of the "Daily Mail" finds in Russia *the* dust-bin of Evil, so does Rev. Thompson find in Christianity *the* library of all Good. It is a question of faith and we will leave it at that.

A few words are necessary about the "Indian Day" as a work of art. Coming after the brilliant book of Forster's, "A Passage to India," it makes a very gloomy picture. The contrast is painfully evident, and one cannot help putting one against the other. Forster is essentially an artist. He pictured the Anglo-Indians community as he knew it, and he described the Indian community as he saw it. His characters are human beings of flesh and blood, and he had no axe to grind. Mr. Thompson, on the other hand, has written an apologia for the Anglo-Indian community. It seems that Forster's book was painful (painful because true) and Anglo-Indian needed an avatar for their cause. It is because Thompson has this end in view that his book is so weak, his characters so artificial. There is not one Anglo-Indian character, from the Tommy to the Priest, who is not in some way or other a lamb of Christ. If they err at all, it is seldom and temporary, and their error is explained and justified. They all are decked with virtues, one surpassing the other. Even the heroine, Hilda the English girl, who is externally riding, and who is the background of the novel, appears like a Mogul painting "A lady on a horse," and is made to pull her reins and make a speech on woman suffrage, and later forced to lead a life of sacrifice—for the Indians of course!—a lily of the valley used as manure.

The Indian characters are superficial. There is no depth, and there is no study. But what is characteristic is that some of their virtues are English: "You are a Sahib" (not a gentleman, mark!) is the compliment paid by Hammar, the hero, to Nongyi, who is an Indian serving the Raj against great odds. Even virtues are nationalized. The writer says in his preface:

"No living person is sketched in this story, and if anyone in India holds his name in it he must please accept my assurance that it is because never heard of him."

That is a pity. One wishes that Thompson had not painted his characters in patches; when he accumulates all good on one side and says "let there be light," and calls it an Anglo-Indian community, then he is not giving us enough for our seven and six.

It is a great tragedy, but natural, that political domination of one nation over another should so deteriorate art. It affects both the dominating and the subject nation. The former dare not tell the truth lest its imperialistic prestige suffer, and the latter is often prevented from admitting their weaknesses lest these be used against it for furthering its exploitation. It is not surprising, therefore, that so few Englishmen can write anything about modern India which is but little more than trash. If "An Indian Day" outlives Thompson, then Mr. Thompson may be proud of the miracle—but it is hardly likely.

BAKAR ALI MIRZA

DAWN OF NEW INDIA. By *Brayendra Nath Banerji* with a Foreword by Sir Eran Cotton. Pp. VIII+126. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta) Rs. 2.

This well-printed but slender volume contains three historical papers on the Sunyasi risings in Bengal (so well-known to readers of Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings* and Bankim Chandra's mysteriously novel *Ananda-math*). Pandit Jagannath Tarka-panchanan, and the College of Fort William founded by the Marquis of Wellesley. All of them are based upon State records, and it is only in respect of the third that Mr. Banerji has been anticipated,—by Col. Ranking in *Bengal: Past and Present*. But its story needed retelling in a condensed and popular form and this Mr. Banerji has done here.

We are familiar—often to the point of nausea—with the tale of British battles and annexations which fill our current text-books of Indian history. But the cultural developments and the 'victories of peace' which are the more glorious enduring monuments of British rule in this alien land have not received due attention from what Freeman used to call 'the drum and trumpet school of history.' It is good that Mr. Banerji has made a beginning in this much to be desired line even on a small scale. All his papers are readable and contain many fresh facts.

J. S.

BUHM SINGH: By *Frank R. Sell*. Macmillan, 2 Rs. net.

The Romance of Rajastan is of perennial interest to the student of literature and we are not surprised that Prof. F. R. Sell of the Mysore University has been attracted to the subject and has succeeded in writing a novel embodying some

of the best traditions of Rajput chivalry. It is a romance of the Moghul period dealing with the obstinate campaigns of Aurangzeb against the Rajputs and his final discomfiture. Besides the invention of some imaginary characters to fill up the details of the story, Prof. Sell has not deviated from the facts of history, and *Bhim Singh* is thus as valuable to the serious student of Indian history as it is to the lover of romance. We should consider it an extremely suitable text-book for students in our Universities who are usually deprived of the chance of reading about their own national heroes and are expected to enthuse over the achievements of men of foreign lands. Rajput history embraces some of the most inspiring episodes of the past and Prof. Sell has laid the younger generation under a deep debt of gratitude by this introduction to a fascinating world of love and war.

P. SESHADRI

HAND-BOOK OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES : *Printed at the Bangalore Press, Bangalore. Pp. 351. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a very useful publication giving the essential details of sixteen universities of India and Burma, in a handy volume. The Inter-University Board, ever since its inception at the Indian Universities Conference at Simla (May 1924) and its first sitting at Bombay (March 1925) have been doing a quiet yet solid work of rearing a platform where the various universities of Modern India may discuss their respective problems, academic or otherwise and try to compare and co-ordinate their activities with a view to permanent service to the country. Separatism is still the law of our existence so far as university administration is concerned. But a day will come when academic megalomania of particular universities will give place to a sense of general economy of academic resources leading to the stoppage of useless duplication. Then only we may aspire to profit by a real concentration of our attention to the special aptitudes of individual universities as determined by regional needs and developed by the cultural environments of each. Then the hand-book of Inter-University Board would pass from the stage of being a mere book of informations to a sound and fruitful survey of the interesting experiments made in the respective "cultural laboratories" of India. That day seems unfortunately to be far off. Because vested interest, cliqueism, personal influence and slave mentality are too pronounced to allow a healthy development along the path of national welfare. But we hope that the line of activity indicated by the Board will help our universities to shake off their mediaevalism and emerge as independent and at the same time useful and responsible collaborators in the cause of national as well as international illumination.

We congratulate Sir Venkataratnam Naidu, the President of the Board for boldly facing these problems and we recommend the book to all serious educationists of modern India. The printing is neat and the price of the book is very reasonable.

KAUTILYA : A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY :
By Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya M.A.,

Published by R. Cambay & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 318. Price Rs. 7-8.

Kautilya has been characterised by the author as "the foremost political thinker of Ancient Hindu India" and he has devoted this study to the elucidation of the social and political ideals reflected in the pages of the *Arthashastra*. Mr. Banerjee's method is highly commendable. Rejecting the precarious path of vague theorising, he limits himself to the task of analysing faithfully the positive contents of Kautilya's book on Polity. He rejects naturally the false analogies from western experiments in polity, disputes the readings of "State Socialism" (pp. 287) and thoroughly limited monarchy (pp. 128) advanced by the patriotic school of writers. He candidly confesses like a true student of history that the text "does not prove any legal obligation on the part of the King to obey the mandate of the majority." He significantly characterises Hindu Government as "Paternalism" which found its greatest and noblest incarnation in the Emperor Dharmasoka proclaiming *sarve manuse paya mama* : The whole mankind is my children. The Kautilyan King is the natural guardian and saviour of the whole community irrespective of caste or creed. (Cf. pp. 285-86). "The Government favoured neither the priesthood nor the capitalist nor was overawed by the pretensions of the labouring sections." Kautilya acknowledges the right of the daughter to inherit property both real and personal and that of the mother to her *stridhana*. (pp. 275-76). The orphan and the widows, the poor and the aged, were under the paternal care of the Kautilyan King. Lastly, "though a Brahmin and a conservative by training and tradition" as Mr. Banerjee has said, "it was reserved for him (Kautilya) to advocate the emancipation of the slave and the admission of the aborigines to royal protection." The Sudra was regarded as a member of the Aryan Community and while his contemporary Aristotle was justifying nay vindicating slavery, Kautilya was the earliest to pronounce "An Arya can never be a slave" and held that infamous custom as one which might exist only among the Barbarians." (p. 47).

So the basis of Kautilyan polity was broader than what was expected (or suspected) by the western critics of "oriental despotism," and Mr. Banerjee has rendered a signal service to the cause of correct appraisement of Indian culture history. This book would serve as an excellent introduction to the study of the institutional history of India both in its structural and functional aspects. The original Sanskrit texts that he quotes copiously add to the documentary value of the work specially with reference to future research by advanced students. The printing is neat and the price moderate. We recommend the book to the public.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA : By S. F. Platonov
Macmillan and Co. Pp. 435. Price 14s net.

Prof. Platonov who surveys the history of Russia in the present volume from the formation of the State of Kievi to the extinction of Tsarism, between 860 and 1917 A. D., is a great scholar who from the status of the grandson of a serf rose to be the private tutor to the grandchildren of Alexander II the Emancipator (1855-1881). Being a commoner Mr. Platonov has surveyed the history of his

country, not from the point of view of brilliant savageries of imperial conquerors or sordid splendour of aristocratic politicians; he has given us a sober and accurate survey of the evolution of the Russian people as a whole in course of the last thousand years. The book may serve the purpose of an excellent manual for students. The Index is specially well-arranged.

ASURA INDIA : *By Dr. Anantprasad Banerjee-Sastri M. A. D. Phil. (Oxon) Patna (1926).*

In a series of brilliant papers published in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Dr. Banerjee-Sastri attempted to recover the "submerged" history of ancient India hitherto considered as the preserve of the *Aryas*. It redounds to the credit of the author to have used the earliest Arya documents of the Samhita Brahmana strata and yet bring out indisputable evidence of the influence of non-Aryan or pre-aryan peoples on the destiny of Aryan India. The book is divided into five chapters richly ornamented with footnotes which challenges the attention of "no-changers" in the domain of Indology. We recommend the public to read carefully his chapters on the "Asuras in Indo-Iranian literature," "the Asura Expansion in India" and "the Asura Expansion by sea" which opens up a new vista of Indian history.

TATTVASANGRAHA OF SANTIRAGHITA : *with the commentary of Kankasika. Gokhale's Oriental Series no. XXX and XXXI. 2 Vols. Price Rs. 24. Central Library, Baroda.*

These sumptuous volumes were published in 1926 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of His Highness Sir Sayajirao Gaekwad. This brings to our mind the most important results that had come out of the intelligent patronage of Indian studies by the Gaekwad who founded the "Oriental Series" a few years ago. It has published within a comparatively short time, books of unique importance which might have fallen to gradual decay had not the Gaekwad foundation come forward to rescue them from oblivion. There is a learned Sanskrit introduction to the work by Pandit Emdar Krishnamacharya and Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya M. A. Ph.D., the General Editor of the series has written a long introduction containing valuable historical information as well as an exhaustive analysis of the philosophical contents of the rare treatise. We feel from the learned foreward of Dr. Bhattacharyya how insufficient is the treatment of the History of Sanskrit literature in manuals written by European writers on the subject. As a son of M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, Dr. Bhattacharyya had access to documents and other sources of information which made his survey of the Sanskrit philosophical literature as remarkable by its amplitude of survey as erudite by its intensive analysis. We congratulate him on this splendid publication. The *Tattva Samagrya* is a work on Hindu logic which "undertook to refute all the philosophical systems and conceptions from the standpoint of a Mahayana Buddhist of 8th century A. D., and as such it should be appreciated by all serious students of Indian philosophy as a Buddhist *Sarvadarsanasangraha* of that epoch.

K. N.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISMS : *Being a collection of articles selected from those contributed to the Calcutta Review (first series), the Modern Review and the Presidency College Magazine : By Syama-charan Ganguli, B.A., Hony. Fellow Calcutta University and late Principal, Uttarpara College, Bengal. Luxar and Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, 1927. Cloth. Pp. 270.*

The author of the articles brought together in this well got-up volume is now in his ninetieth year. His last article appeared in January 1925. The first article which this book contains appeared in the Calcutta Review (first series) in October, 1877, that is to say, exactly fifty years ago.

From the first to the last, all the articles are written in a clear and concise style. There is no verbosity anywhere. In his earlier as well as in his later contributions the reader finds that his information is quite up-to-date and his grasp of his subjects masterly. The range of his intellectual interests will appear from the following list of subjects of the articles :—Bengali Spoken and Written ; The Partition of Bengal—Its Annulment and Redistribution of Provinces ; Steps Towards Reduction of Armaments ; Declining Population, Alcoholism and Protectionism in France ; The Rev. J. Knowle's Scheme for the Romanization of all Indian Writing ; The Undesirability of Devanagari being adopted as the Common Script for all India, Self-determination as the Basis of a Just Peace ; The International Phonetic Script ; Esperant, *versus* English Internationalized ; Reform of Fighting in Courts of Law ; Self-determination and India's Future Political Status ; India's Two Great Gifts to the World ; Phases of the Religious Faith of a Bengali of Brahman Birth. My College Reminiscences.

Not to speak of the later ones, even the earliest essay will amply repay perusal. It is a well-argued plea for the wider use of spoken Bengali as a literary medium. As it was written fifty years ago, the author appears to have been the first writer to advocate the use of spoken Bengali in books.

BILINGUALISM (*with special reference to Bengali*) : *By Michael Sadler, L. E. S., Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Dacca, Hon. Reader in Education, Dacca University, Calcutta Government of India, Central Publication Branch. 1926. Price Rs. 2-1 or 1s. Pp. 351, and many graphs and diagrams.*

This is No. 13 of the Occasional Reports published by the Bureau of Education in India.

Sir Michael Sadler contributes the following introduction to the book :—

"This is a book of creative power. It will touch the imagination, and colour the judgment of all who read it. It is scientific, compassionate, practical. It brings a message to India and to Britain. And not to India and to Britain only, but to men and women in all countries, East and West.

"In order that we may live a more abundant life, we look for means of lessening the cost, both in time and money, of the essentials of life. Among the essentials of life are not only material things, but things intellectual and spiritual. Year by year knowledge and thought become more and more necessary for vivid-living. Knowledge

and thought depend on the instrument of language. Most intimate and expressive of all languages is our mother-tongue. But our mother-tongue whatever it may be, does not suffice for all we want to hear and read and say. Even if we are born into the inheritance of a mother-tongue which has the wide currency of a world-language, we need sufficient command of another language in order that we may have the key to what otherwise is locked against us and in order that we may more fully understand the meaning and value of words in the passage of thought and sympathy. If on the other hand, our patrimony is one of the little languages spoken relatively by few, we need to master as our second language one of those which are passports.

"Mr. Michael West aims at making easier for the multitude of men and women this travel and traffic of the mind." We endorse Sir Michael's opinion.

In this important and somewhat technical, educational work Mr. West discusses the nature and origins of the problems of bilingualism, the history of the policy of bilingualism in Bengal, bilingualism and national culture, the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism in the educational system of Bengal, the Bengali's need of English, the silent reading ability in English of Bengali students, the problem of the improvement of silent reading ability in English in Bengali students, the English vocabulary of a Bengali boy, and the teaching of English reading to Bengali boys.

A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE : By H. W. Fowler, joint author of *The King's English*, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, and *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. London : Humphry Milford. Price 7s. 6d. net. Pp 742. Cloth.

This useful book of reference is very clearly printed and is very good value for its price.

MORLEY'S LIFE OF GLADSTONE : *Popular Edition*, abridged. 592 pages. Fully illustrated 5s. net. Hodder and Stoughton. London, E. C. 1.

This popular abridged edition of the great biography of a great statesman will be welcome to those who cannot afford to buy the original unabridged work, as well as to those who have not the leisure to go through big voluminous works. This edition has several new features. The abridgement was placed by the family of Mr. W. E. Gladstone in the hands of the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, himself one of the most brilliant of Liberal politicians and writers. Mr. Masterman has written a full and very important preface to this edition. It not only omits nothing of importance from the original edition, but contains many valuable features included neither in the original nor in any previous popular edition.

Those of our countrymen who desire to give themselves some education in politics should read this work, though in one important respect the life of Gladstone must be a fresh reminder of what little interest even the greatest of British statesmen take in the affairs of India, which has been chiefly instrumental in making the British Empire what it is. In this biography

of Gladstone, the only reference to India is in connection with the reversal of the policy of the Torrey government in respect of the north-west frontier of India! And yet Britishers' pretend to be our "trustees"!

R. C.

INDIAN CURRENCY REFORM : By Prof. Brij Narain, Messrs. Shamsher Singh and Co., Katcheri Road, Lahore. 1926.

This booklet contains a review of the report of the Hilton-Young Commission on Indian Currency and Finance (1926). It was written at a time when the question of stabilization of exchange was agitating public mind and his conclusions well repay perusal. Our author has done well by exposing some instances of plagiarism by the authors of the Currency Commission. He has quoted several passages to show that in the body of the report "whole passages were taken, word for word, without acknowledgment, from the evidence of certain witnesses without any examination or analysis of the opinions, estimates or arguments of the witnesses concerned."

MONETARY REFORM IN INDIA : By A. Ramaiya G. A. Natesan and Co. Madras 1926.

In this little book the author deals with some of the main aspects of Indian Currency and Exchange and suggests lines on which currency and exchange reforms should be effected. Our author has endeavoured in this booklet to point out the real defects of the existing monetary system in India and indicated some methods of removing them. His suggestions are worthy of consideration.

INDIAN ECONOMICS IN A NUTSHELL : Edited by Tarapada Das Gupta and Hemanta Kumar Sen. R. Cambay and Co. Calcutta. 1927.

This book is an welcome addition in the field of Indian Economic literature. The late Messrs Ranade and Dadhabhai Naoroji and R. C. Dutt were pioneers in this field and they were followed by Professors Kale, Jadunath Sirkar, Dr. Pramathanath Bannerjee and Harisadhan Chatterjee. The book, under notice, contains upto-date informations regarding the current economic problems such as currency and Banking, the Khadi Movement, the Imperial Bank Act of 1920 etc., and will, we are confident serve as an excellent handbook to students going in for B. A. or B. Com. degrees. The printing and get-up leave much to be desired.

H. S.

THE USAGES OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION : By H. W. Horwill : published by the Oxford University Press (1925). Pp. IX. 251. Price 10-6s.

Says the author in the Preface.—Yet, however, accurate and comprehensive Lord Brice's study ("American Commonwealth") may have been, it did not cover the whole ground in adequate detail. The subject of the present volume, although full of interest to English and American readers alike, occupies only a few pages of the American Commonwealth.....The book has been written primarily for an English public (the author is himself an Englishman)....The present volume is not the product of academic reflection at a distance: The author has spent more than six years, in all,

in the United States. The *Contents* include these twelve headings, Introduction: What is the American Constitution?: The Election of the President: 'Accidental' Presidents: Third Presidential Terms: The President's Cabinet: The Cabinet and the Congress: Appointment and Removal: The Power of the Purse: The Resident Congressman: Miscellaneous Usages: Changes in the Constitutional Usages: The 'Safeguards' of the American Constitution.

A.V. Dicey writing on the English Constitution ("Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution": P. 22-ed. 1915) analyses it under two main headings.—The Law of the Constitution: The Conventions of the Constitutions. These latter are the customs, practices, maxims or precepts which are not enforced by the courts. As examples of the Conventions of the Constitution (English) these two maxims be given here,—"The King must assent to any bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament" or 'Ministers resign office when they have ceased to command the confidence of the House of Commons'. These are not laws in the true sense of the word, for if broken, no court would take notice of their violation. What Mr. Hornwill is concerned in his book is the treatment of such unwritten laws in the Constitution of U.S.A. Naturally we shall expect a very interesting book. Chapters 2 and 4 serve as especially interesting. The general public will be interested to hear that 'one of the principal aims of the founders of the American Republic was to make the New World safe *against* democracy' (P. 26—the italics is mine). The method of electing the President (p. 28-29) is rather thought-provoking, especially in these days of Communism, Socialism or mob autocracy. Chapter 4, on 'Third Presidential' is illuminating in the light of what is at present happening in U.S.A. Mr. Coolidge has just refused to seek his third term. And why? Gamaliel Bradford, that noted literary critic of United States, referring to Cleveland's refusal to accept the third nomination referred to it as the popular prejudice, which has almost reached the point of superstition, against a third term for any President. Why Cleveland alone? George Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Grant, Roosevelt all of them refused the third presidential terms. And now comes Coolidge! A typical Britisher, the author is specially hard on the 18th Amendment of the American Constitution. He thinks the Amendment which enforced the Prohibition law in U.S.A. is 'un-constitutional' we wonder.

A well-written book: the general public ought to like it, even if it was meant for the English public. Apart from sweeping generalisations at places the book does not betray much of partisanship. And one such sweeping assertion is found on page 212 where he makes all American citizens as believers in Political Fundamentalism, that this is a false estimate must be asserted by those who have studied the trends of thought in America during the last fifteen or twenty years.

EVOLUTION AND CREATION: By Sir Oliver Lodge, published by Hodder and Stoughton, London: 3-6 Shillings net.

Apart from such technical books as 'Ether and Reality', 'Electrons', 'Atoms and Rays', Sir Oliver has written such religious scientific books as the 'Making of Man', 'Reason and Belief' or the

'Substance of Faith'. Therefore in publishing this present volume (Pp. 164) the author has not gone beyond his range.

Contents:—Eight chapters, excluding the Preface and Prologue:—The chapters are on 'Evolution in general', 'Creation or Origins', 'General reasonings about existence', 'Cosmic Speculation', 'Evolution of Plants and Animals', 'Evolution of Man', 'Perfection of Man' (Conclusion & Epilogue Worth of Humanity).

Some of these chapters embody the general sense of Huxley lecture delivered by the author at Charing Cross Hospital (December, 1925), and likewise some midday talks on Evolution at Christ Church, Westminster, in the same month. The general idea represented in the conclusion to Chapter 8, about the main drift of the Bible as a whole, is mainly due to the artist son of the author, though the latter is responsible for adopting it. That this adoption has weakened the book scientifically will be seen presently.

Says the author (P. 15) 'My thesis is that there is no opposition between Creation and Evolution. One is the method of the other. They are not two processes,—they are one,—a gradual one which can be partially and reverently followed by the human mind'. He says further (P. ix) 'Creation' signifies the process by which all observed things—what we call natural phenomena—have come into being and it is a process which in many of its aspects mankind has become able to follow in some detail. We find that it is conducted, in a spirit of law and order, by a gradual process of *evolution*—a process of becoming and unfolding.

Printed in bold types and in good paper, and priced rather moderately, the book is accessible to all interested in the subject. There is one disappointment in the book however. At places the present publication is not quite critical. Says the author (P. 163) whilst talking on 'the worth of humanity',—"And ultimately God so loved the world that He gave the Being we are taught to call his *Only Son*, to live on the planet, and to undergo the rejection, the torture, and the death which was in store for a Being" higher than the sons of men could understand (the italics is mine). Here Sir Oliver seems to be in his devotional mood, not certainly in his critical attitude. We have already mentioned that Chapter 8, on 'the Perfecting of man' betrays a certain weakness in the book. In the 'conclusion, at the end of the chapter says the author, (P. 150) "(There are) two main stages in man's evolution. First came the knowledge of good and evil, the sense of sin, the power of judging—the sense of transgression, the sense of law. Thereafter man was prone to judge not only his own actions but those of his fellows: an era of criticism and self-righteous judgment set in, and continued through some terrible millennia of wrongdoing and backsliding, as narrated in the Old Testament.... First then the reign of human law and judgment. Then came a strange innovation, a new dispensation, replacing the old code of conduct by a spirit of human kindness, charity, service, and brotherly love.... (P. 151): This gradation in the ethical consciousness of man may be in keeping with the evolutionary idea but is certainly not historically correct. All students of ethnology know that the sense of individual discrimination is a later development and not an early one. The trouble

with the English Evolution School of thought is that they refuse to hear anything from the schools of Diffusion on that of Behaviourism. We hope that Sir Oliver will in some future volume, treat on Evolution from a more critical point of view.

A. K. S.

TIBETAN-SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

NYAYAPRAVESA OF ACHARYA DINNAGA PART II: *Tibetan Text, Compared with Sanskrit and Chinese versions and edited with an introduction, comparative notes and indexes: By Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya, Principal, Vidyabhavana, Visvabharati Gachwad's Oriental Series No. XXIX. Central Library, Baroda. 1927. Price Re. 1-8*

We congratulate Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, the Visvabharati and the Government of H. H. the Gackwad of Baroda on the publication of this work. The numerous Sanskrit works translated into Chinese and Tibetan centuries ago should be recovered, and, if necessary, re-translated into Sanskrit. The Visvabharati has shown the way. Lovers of India and ancient Hindu culture should encourage such work in all possible ways.

The book contains a portrait of the philosopher Dinnaga, copied from the *Tanpur* (Tibetan Encyclopaedia) by Babu Dharendra Krishna Devavaman of the Kalabhavana, Visvabharati.

We intend to publish hereafter a critical notice of the book by a competent scholar.

R. C.

BENGALI

HALIM BORO: *By Pearumohan Sen Gupta. Published from the Prabasi Office, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Ten annas, 1927.*

Mr. Sengupta's Halim Boro is an welcome addition in the field of children's literature in Bengali.

The author of *Arunima* (a book of verses) and *Teda-Iani* (a book containing translation of the vedic hymns) needs no new introduction to the Bengali reading public. His *Kafrider Dosh Africa*. (*In Africa: the Land of the Negroes*)—a jungle-story book meant for children became immensely popular with his youthful readers. But the book of verses, under notice, will we think be likewise very popular with the Bengali reading boys and girls. The subject matter of these verses are either humorous stories or a song of rains or an animal story or a lullaby. The poems are written in an attractive style and are all profusely illustrated. The cover design has enhanced the beauty of the work. We are confident that it will make an excellent prize book.

H. S.

MARATHI

SIST SANVARDHAN (शिशुसंवर्धन) (Upbringing of children): *By B. M. Tembe L.R.C., P. & S. & Co. Yeotmal, Publisher V. S. Saravate, Indore.*

This is a small book of 121 pages, mainly intended for conveying accurate information on

this very important subject to the Women of Maharastra. The book has been divided into 18 chapters, the first of which deals with the elementary physiology and anatomy of man and the rest are devoted specially to the upbringing of children, their diet, diseases &c.

The author has made a praiseworthy attempt to convey his information in non-technical language not altogether with success. The first 9 chapters (pages 1-47) are specially open to criticism as the information given is not accurate. The technical terms employed in connection with anatomy and physiology could have been improved upon.

The chapters dealing with the upbringing of children are much better and the information given should prove very valuable to mothers and those who have charge of children. Should a second edition of this book be required the author should entirely rewrite the chapters on anatomy and physiology and increase the number and quality of the illustrations.

S. P. A.

MAJHEN RAMAYAN OR MY TALE OF SUFFERINGS: *By Datto A. Tuljaparkar B. A., LL. B. Published by the author at 10 Pocket Road, Kumbhaderi, Bombay. Pages 592 with two full-page illustrations Price Rs. 2-8.*

In this novel an imaginary Maratha lady of considerable intelligence, education and varied experience has feelingly narrated the story of her own life. Like the well-known epic of Valmiki, this Ramayan is divided into several Kands or sections, each section deriving its name from the nature of its contents. Like the Sanskrit epic this story also has grown in bulk, the author having incorporated in it hot discussions on some knotty problems of the day, political, social, religious etc. The discussions, though interesting and instructive, are not necessarily connected with the main current of the story and at times only serve to divert the attention of readers, a feature which somewhat detracts from the value of the story. The range of subjects discussed is also so wide as to include in it religion, irreligion, the Purdah system and other social evils, education of females, Astrology, the Jallianwala Bag tragedy and other atrocities in the Punjab, the whimsical nature of the administration in Indian States and the money-grabbling practices of the solicitors of High Courts etc. So much heterogenous matter is cleverly pieced together in the story by the author. However, it cannot be denied that the Art is thereby suffocated. Here one can very well ask a question whether the art of the novelist properly consists in depicting characters faithfully and in showing the various stages of their development or in merely chronicling events in an individual or collective life, more or less exciting emotions or quickening intellectual reasoning. Another question suggested by the perusal of this and similar novels recently published in Marathi is, whether it is an allowable or desirable practice for novelist to introduce characters or actions, so thinly veiled as may be easily identified with persons and their actions in the real world. With all these defects the novel under review is thoroughly readable, entertaining and in places captivating. Progressive views are advocated throughout the book, and there is no doubt that the reader will feel benefited by its perusal.

The picture named "the six-headed Goddess of Maharashtra", given as the frontispiece is well-conceived, though misnamed the six-headed Goddess, since there is not a single combination picture with one body and six heads, but six separate pictures artistically arranged in one page, of six several persons viz., Shiwaji the Great, Ramdas, Dnyaneshwar, Tukaram, Devi Ahalyabai Holkar and Rani Lakshmi bai of Jhansi, representing six high ideals which every Maratha will do well to place before his mind's eye, if he desires to succeed in life and to elevate his mother-country.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATHI

ANANDA DHARA, PARTS I, II, III, IV :—*By Ramantal Nanatal Shah*, are a collection of short stories likely to interest and amuse children, with pictures. It is an enjoyable collection.

KILAVANI NA PAYA : *By Kishorlal G. Mashrutala*, printed at the *Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad*. Paper cover. Pp. 248. Price Re. 1 (1926).

These are most thoughtful essays on the foundations of education by one who is born an idealist and a practical teacher, who has learnt his lesson by experience. The essays are replete with hints and suggestions, on the teaching of various subjects, which are sure to prove of great value to those who are in the 'line.'

ANKADA SHASTRA NAN MEL TATVA (ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENCE OF STATISTICS) : *By Chandulal Bhagubhai Dalal*, printed at the *Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad*. Thick card board. Pp. 181+9. Price Re. 1-4 (1926).

This manual on the Science of Statistics is intended as a text-book for schools where the subject is to be taught in Vernacular. It is based on several well-known authors' talented works, and illustrated with charts. It is a fairly good attempt for a subject yet in its infancy.

SHRINGAR TRIVENI : *By Tanmanji Shankar L. Shrivastava*, printed at the *Dharm Vijaya Printing Press Bombay*. Paper cover. Pp. 60+16. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1927).

Three love-poems, the *Shringar Tilak*, the *Pushpa Banavitas* and the *Chour Panchashika*, are translated from Sanskrit into Gujarati verse. The spirit of the original seems to have been fully preserved in the translation and what remains, has been fully explained in the notes at the end : We congratulate the translator on his successful attempt.

BALAVARTA, PART IV : *By Gijubhai*, is a collection of stories for children, narrated by the collector in his inimitable Kathiawad style.

FULMALA, PART I : *By Ramantal Nanatal Shah*, printed at the *Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad*. Thick card board. Illustrated. Pp. 180. Price Re. 0-11as. (1927).

As an entertaining collection of stories of juvenile interest, the book is likely to be welcome.

CHANDANI is a monthly devoted entirely to the publication of pleasant stories. We do not review periodicals.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, PART I for the IV standard of high schools by Chhaganlal Chhnilal Mehta B.A. is an attempt in the right direction.

THE THIRD GUJARATI BOOK : *By Chhotalal Balkrishna Purani* is projected for the use of Vidyapitha students. It contains very good lessons, which are both instructive and informing.

1. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, Parts 2, 3, 4 : *Gokaldas Mafurdas Shah*, B.A., LL.B., a very good translation of Abbots well-known biography of the Emperor.

2. AKBAR : *By Bapubhai Jadavrai Vaishanar* B.A., giving the salient features of his reign.

3. THE HISTORY OF THE BARODA RAJYA. *By Chhnilal Maganlal Desai* B.A., giving a succinct but interesting account of its rulers.

4. LONDONERS' EDUCATION : *By Narahari Shankar Shrivastava* B.A., showing what the London County Council is doing for the Londoners' Education.

5. JATISWAHIAV SHALAK, PARTS I and II : *By Kari Shivalal Lalubhai Barot*, containing 100 spirited stories illustrating human nature. All these five works are published by the Commissioner of Education, Baroda State.

K. M. J.

ORISSA FLOOD DISASTER

By SAKAT CHANDRA GHOSH M.A., B.L.,

OWING to the recent high flood of the Baitarani river, which surpassed all previous records of the last century by 4 inches of water, and owing to the fact that the *Dhamra Muban* was silted up and consequently closed, the surplus water could

not be discharged, and as an inevitable result of this, hundreds of villages on both sides of the Baitarani river were swept away, causing serious damages to men, money and cattle. The aforesaid river is the boundary line of the Jajpur Subdivision of the Cuttack

District and the Bhadrak Subdivision of the Balasore District. So this flood disaster caused loss to both the Cuttack and Balasore Districts the loss to the latter being greater.

On reading the news of the horrible disaster in the columns of the newspapers and the report of the Chairman of the Local Board of Jajpur, myself in company with Babu Lakshminarayan Sahu, M. A., set out to visit the affected areas. It may be mentioned in this connection that my friend Babu L. N. Sahu, who is a member of the Servants of India-Society, received a sum of Rs. 500 from the said Society and directly from Mr. C. S. Deole, Member, Servants of India-Society, Secretary of the Gujarat and Kathiawar Flood Relief Committee for distributing the same among the sufferers, and a further sum of Rs. 500 has been promised by Mr. Devadhar, President of the said Society, for the said relief but to be repayable within 14 years. With the latter sum it has been arranged with the Secretary of the Jajpur Co-operative Bank to start a grain gola in the area which the Honorary Secretary Babu Gobinda Prasad Bose has kindly consented to take over charge and to start soon.

Accordingly we went out on our mission with the aforesaid sum of Rs. 500 for immediate relief.

By visiting a few villages, *viz.* Dehury Anandapur, Misserpur, Sendhpur, among hundreds and hundreds of such villages, I personally saw the people to be totally helpless, ill-clad and reduced to the condition of beggars, their houses being swept away, their valuables and household articles of everyday use and clothing being gone, and to add to this, their cattle property too has been lost. The condition of the women is worse still. They have no clothing to clothe or wrap their body with and maintain their *izzat*, so to say, and so they cannot stir out for food even.

The condition of the middle class men is deplorable. Though now reduced to the condition of beggars, they cannot forget their former family prestige in the presence of their co-villagers over whom they had control and by whom they were looked upon with respect. They cannot go out for rice dole distributed at certain places, though they are the most needy persons. The poor can starve as they are accustomed to do so but the middle class though not accustomed are really starving now. They are not getting a morsel of food even in two days.

The present winter crop cannot relieve them of their distress. They must be helped till the winter crop of the next year, *i. e.*, till December 1928. They must be made to survive, otherwise they must die out. Paddy granaries have been washed away, so paddy must be supplied to the sufferers and golas must be started at certain centres. The Congress party, I am glad to mention, have arranged to open a gola in Dehuri Anandapur village.

The disaster became so great because the water remained constant for 3 days together. People had to climb upon trees to save their lives and remain there without food for 3 days. So it could be easily imagined how it would be possible for them to save their property, and that would be the condition of their mud-built houses. The flood reached its highest pitch on the 29th July. In previous years it used to remain for a few hours only instead of 3 days this time.

The loss has been considerable to these villagers among many others of which I had no personal knowledge, *viz.* Dehury, Anandapur, Sendhpur, Contapari, Misserpur, Mouza Aihias in general, village Sahara and Jamuna the last two being near Jajpur town.

I cannot picture the lamentable condition of the poor sufferers of the Dehuri Anandapur village which I saw with my own eyes. The mud walls of the villagers are all gone, the paddy stocks washed away, the household utensils and valuables all gone, the thatches of some swept away and the houses completely levelled to the ground. Some of the local zemindars even, whom I do not name here, have been made houseless now. They cannot beg or receive rice doles anywhere as they are not accustomed to sell their family padigree or prestige but are remaining starving for days together. The people are taking rest under the palm-leaf sheds. These palm-leaf sheds rest on bamboo props with no walls all round. Thus their *purdah* is gone! How deplorable is the state of affairs can be easily imagined by the sensible public. During the high flood, *i. e.*, from 29th to 31st July last, the work of Babu Mahendra Nath Dutta, a local zemindar, was commendable. When life was at stake and each one was trying to save himself, by plying in a small country boat he brought helpless people to his house and gave them shelter for 3 days together. Now when the flood is all over, relief is being given by others and the place is being visited by out-siders like us. But at the critical

juncture none have dared even to go there. Such village patriots are wanted in all places.

In this connection I must mention that Bābu L. N. Sahu agreed to distribute Rs. 165 to 31 deserving persons here out of the fund at our disposal. Accordingly the above sum was paid. Though the sum is—altogether inadequate in view of their present distress, we cannot do more with the fund with us at present.

In Kantapari village we heard that Jaganath Babu zeminder was on the alert and was trying to arrange a rice gola there and has gone to Chandbali to purchase rice. His actions are praiseworthy.

The condition of the Misserpur villagers is little better. We happened to be there just after a severe shower of rain. We actually saw the people houseless, helpless and shivering in the rain water. We made a list of deserving persons. They were 30 in number. They were given cash for house building purpose. I must frankly admit that this help of ours is inadequate to their present need, but looking to our funds at hand we cannot allot them more for the present.

The people have lost their houses, have no clothing to wrap themselves with. The

winter is coming and what will be the fate of the poor villagers can be best imagined by all sensible human beings. What I relate here is nothing but plain truth and no exaggeration. On our return journey we visited the Jamuna village 7 miles to the west of Jajpur town. Here the villagers have been made houseless and the lands have been made useless by the deposit of sand, 31 persons were given help by my friend Mr. Sahu.

In conclusion I must say that the relief now given by the Government, by the Swarajists and by the Marwari community is quite inadequate for the purpose—the loss sustained being roughly estimated to be several crores of rupees. Unless the relief work be continued over one year, *i. e.*, till the end of December 1928 their distress will not be relieved in the least. I earnestly appeal to the general public to open their purses and try their best to relieve the present distress of the millions of our poor brethren, who have been reduced to the condition of beggars in the true sense of the word. To achieve this and more money is needed, as relief in the shape of distribution of food grain, cloths, and help for house-building purpose, are necessary. Distribution of cloths I must say, is absolutely necessary.

POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA*

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.Sc., PH.D.

Economist, International Labour Office

(Read before the World's Population Conference Geneva August 31, 1927.)

GROWTH OF POPULATION

IN 1921, India had 319 million inhabitants or 17 per cent. of the world's population. In 49 years from 1872 to 1921, the

population in India increased by 113 millions of which 59 millions were due to the territorial expansion and census improvement, thus leaving a real increase of 54 millions or 20 per cent., as compared with an increase of 47 per cent., in Europe in 50 years from 1870 to 1920.

This slower growth of population in India is due to the higher death-rate rather than to the lower birth-rate. While from 1880 to 1910, the average annual birth and death-rates in England and Wales, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Spain were

* References:—Census of India, Agricultural Statistics of India, Statistical Abstract for British India, Annuaire Statistique, International Agricultural Statistics, World's Almanacs, Finch and Baker's Geography of the World's Agriculture, Das's Production in India, Wastage of India's Manpower (Modern Review Calcutta, April 1927), etc.

respectively 3.11 per cent., and 2.20 per cent., thus leaving a surplus of .91 per cent., a year, those in India from 1885 to 1910 were respectively 3.64 per cent., and 3.08 per cent., with a surplus of only .56 per cent., a year. During the last decade, the death-rate in India amounted to as high as 3.41 per cent., as against the birth-rate of 3.69 per cent., thus leaving a surplus of only .28 per cent., a year. From 1885 to 1921, the average rate of growth was however, .48 per cent., a year.

At the rate of growth of .48 per cent., a year as above, the present population of India would amount to 385 millions. What would be the rate of growth in the future is a matter of speculation. But it might be safely assumed that various social movements, especially those for health, would decrease the death-rate, and at a very conservative estimation of an increase of .5 per cent., a year, the population in India would in all probability, amount to 370 millions in 1950.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Of the world's land area of 57.2 million square miles, India occupies 1.8 million square miles or 3.2 per cent. Excluding the uninhabitable regions of the earth, the comparative land supply in India is, however, much higher. While the density of population per square kilometre is 72 in France, 130 in Italy, 134 in Germany, 154 in Japan, 189 in Great Britain, and 256 in Belgium, that in India is 68.

What is more important to a country is the proportion of its arable land, in which the advantages lie with the new countries like Canada, Argentina, Australia and United States, where per capita arable land, varies from 2.94 to 1.17 hectares. The per capita arable land in India is .49 hectare as compared with .57 hectare in France and .75 hectare in Spain. It is much lower in Italy, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain and Japan varying from .32 to .10 hectare. To these must be added fresh and salt water fisheries, in which India is fairly rich.

Forests and minerals are also important resources to a country, both for their direct and indirect use. In the supply of forests, countries like Brazil, Canada and United States have the advantage. The forests, including permanent pasture in India, are rich in variety, but limited in quantity, being

only .13 hectare per capita, as compared with .30 hectare in Italy, .53 hectare in France, .83 hectare in Austria and 1.1 hectares in Spain. The minerals in India are similarly rich in kind, but poor in quantity, except in iron and water. India possesses 1.1 per cent., of the world's coal reserves and 2.2 per cent. of the world's petroleum resources, but stands fourth in the possession of the world's richest iron-ore deposits and third in that of the water-power resources.

NATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY

In spite of her fairly large resources, India is the poorest country in the world, both relatively and absolutely. The per capita national income is Rs. 74 or £5.5 a year as compared with £72 in the United States, £50 in Great Britain, £38 in France and £30 in Germany. What is more significant is that from one-third to two-thirds of the people have been variously estimated to be perpetually on the verge of starvation. Taking for granted that a person needs a food supply of 1.27 million calories a year, the per capita food supply in India, as estimated a few years ago from the yield of the principal crops, amounts to .83 million calories a year or one-third less than what is absolutely necessary. When it is considered that India's imports in food-stuff amount to a negligible quantity and that she has to export a large quantity of food-stuff as well as raw material for the payment of foreign rule and investment, the extent of food shortage in India becomes still more evident.

The fundamental cause of India's poverty is the lack of growth in productive power in proportion to the increase of population within a century or more. The low productivity of Indian agriculture is best indicated by the per hectare yield or 6.9 quintals of wheat as compared with 25.7 quintals in Belgium, and 14.4 quintals of rice as compared with 34.5 quintals in Japan. In agricultural efficiency, India stands only twenty-second among the different countries of the world with an index number of 85 as compared with 221 in Belgium. There are several factors which have contributed to the low productive power or industrial inefficiency in India, such as starvation and disease, illiteracy and ignorance, social customs, industrial systems and political conditions.

The pertinent question is whether India

can increase her productive power and supply the needs of her present population. In his treatise on *Production in India*, the present writer has estimated that provided the arable land could be used for two crops a year on the average, three-fourths of the soil fertility as well as other resources could still be available for productive purposes. But the possibility of their utilisation depends upon the efficiency of labor and the sufficiency of capital. That Indian workers have as great potential efficiency as that of any other people has been clearly shown by the investigation into the conditions of Hindu workers on the Pacific Coast, which the present writer undertook for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1921-22, but by far the major part of India's man-power is underfed, diseased, illiterate and unskilled. Equally deficient is India in the possession of her social capital. Machinery and mechanical power have up to this time been applied to only an insignificant part of her industrial life. Nor are there large social savings which could be transformed into working capital in the immediate future.

The prospects of rapid increase in productivity are not, therefore, very bright. Moreover, the more or less limited supply of forests, fisheries and minerals, even when fully developed, can scarcely supply the growing needs of the progressive civilisation of such a vast population. Of the arable land, about 55 per cent are already in use and any intensity in culture would operate only under the condition of diminishing return, especially in India, where land has been cropped from time immemorial without any return in the form of fertilizers. The appropriation of other 45 per cent, of the arable land would require irrigation, drainage, fertilisation, acclimatization and other scientific treatment. In short, it would take at least two generations before India could acquire industrial skill and social capital for the application of modern science and invention to the full utilisation of her resources, and thus be in a position to solve the problem of present food shortage, but in the meantime the present population would increase at least by 50 per cent, if not more.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Both the insufficiency of resources and the inefficiency to develop them have made

India one of the most overpopulated countries of the world. The effect of overpopulation is manifested in several ways:—First, *famine, and epidemics*, the former, for instance, caused the death of 5 millions in 1895 and 1899-1900, and the latter of 85 millions in 1918-19. Second, *high mortality*, which is 3.06 per cent as compared with the average of 1.45 per cent in England and Wales, France, Belgium and Germany. Third, *low Longevity*, which is only 247 years in India as compared with the average of 50 years in England and Wales, France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Italy, United States and South Africa. When 15 years are taken out for childhood, the average manhood period thus becomes less than 10 years in India as compared with 35 years in the above countries. Fourth *widespread illiteracy*, which amounts to 91 per cent of her population. Out of 81 million children between the ages of 5 and 15, 764 millions or 90 per cent have no provision for elementary schooling even to-day. That more than nine-tenths of the people are ignorant of modern science and philosophy can be easily imagined.

What is the extent of overpopulation in India is hard to estimate for the lack of sufficient data. The optimum population of a country depends upon the cultural ideal of the people, as determined by natural resources and industrial efficiency. But there is growing a more or less common standard of life, which all countries sooner or later must adopt for the moral and material benefit of their people. Judging from that standard, some rough idea may be had of the extent of overpopulation in India from the following facts:—First, the food shortage in India amounts to about one-third of the required amount and excluding exports, to much more than that, as noted before. Second, the food consumption of a Madras prisoner amounts to 741 pounds a year as compared with the per capita consumption of 2,664 pounds in the United States. The food in India is not only small in quantity, but also poor in quality, and the food consumption of the majority of the people in India falls far short of this amount. But taking this amount as the national average, the per capita food supply is much less than one-third of that in the United States. Third, in a recent article in the *Modern Review*, the writer estimated that one-third of India's man-power was lost through under-employment and

another third through inefficiency brought about by disease and illiteracy. Fourth, on the basis that a person needs about 2.5 acres of arable land for a decent living, as claimed by some writers, the optimum population that India with her 480 million acres of arable land could ever support, would be 192 millions, but since at present only 55 per cent of this area is cultivated, the present optimum that India can support would be only 106 millions or about one-third of the present number.

All these facts indicate that only one-third

of the present population could live in India with proper facilities for the development of their body and mind and for the achievement of the highest degree of self-expression. Even with "plain living and high thinking," which has been the ideal of Hindu civilisation one is inevitably driven to the conclusion that there exists in India today under the present state of her industrial efficiency, double the size of the population which could live with moderate degree of opportunity for moral and material development.

SCRAPS AND COMMENTS

By TARAKNATH DAS

German-Japanese Institute in Berlin

"The first lecturer to come from Japan to Berlin University is Dr. R. Kanokoji, who at the same time, will be the Japanese director of the newly-inaugurated Japanese-German institute."

I hope that the Indian educators and leaders interested in establishing intellectual co-operation between India and Germany will take notice how the Japanese are working to promote Japanese interests on a world-scale. It is necessary that the Greater India Society of Calcutta should have a German Section for its activities; and scholars like Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar and others who have thorough knowledge of German academic life should take an active part in promoting Indo-German Cultural fellowship.

Japanese Patriotism

Japan has risen to the position of one of the Great Powers with the third largest navy in the world. Japanese educational, industrial and commercial progress attracts universal admiration. All this has been achieved through Japanese efforts to acquire all that is best in the world. Japanese businessmen have freely spent money to promote the cause of natural progress. The following Tokio despatch is merely an instance of Japanese patriotism.

"A prize of 120,000 yen for the first trans-Pacific flight was offered today by Kumajiro Iaki Kobe, business man and Member of Parliament."

We hope Indian businessmen will follow the Japanese example of aiding Indian institutions of learning, particularly technical schools. Before India can have flyers who will venture to fly across the Pacific, it is necessary to equip Indian institutions properly, so that they may be able to teach mechanical engineering, including aero-dynamics, naval Engineering, electric engineering, etc. Enlightened self-interest and patriotism of Indian businessmen should induce them to further the cause of scientific and technical education in India.

Slavery As Practised By Christians

Readers of the *Modern Review* may remember that Lala Lajpat Rai, as the Indian Labour Delegate to the International Labor Conference of 1926, held in Geneva, proposed that the International Labor Office should investigate the condition of "Native" and "Asiatic" Labor in various parts of the world. South African Labor Delegates and others persuaded Lalaji to drop the question of investigation of the condition of Asiatic Labor.

It seems that the International Labor Office is carrying on some investigation on the condition of Native Labour in Africa.

"Chained by the neck, dragged from their tribal homes and forced to labor ten hours a day under the most abject conditions, native blacks of Africa

are dying like flies because it is cheaper to replace them than care for them in many instances of colonial forced labor."

Such was a part of the graphic story recounted here by Mr. Harold A. Grimshaw, chief of the Native Labor Section, of the International Labor Office.

Mr. Grimshaw stressed the importance of public opinion as a main factor in binding each individual nation to the agreements reached by a committee of colonial experts in Geneva. These conclusions embody the four following postulates which, in his opinion, must be strictly adhered to by each colonial government:

1. That there shall be no forced labor, either direct or indirect, for private profit.

2. That there must be definite criteria for the use of public forced labor, involving clear necessity and actual effort to obtain voluntary labor.

3. That all forced labor should be adequately paid, except in instances of dire emergencies or ordinary sanitation measures.

4. That only fit males should be forced to work, and even then not without a specified guarantee of adequate medical attention. Women and children should never be compelled to work under any circumstances.

We must say that the above-mentioned recommendations are full of loop-holes and will not help abolishing slavery as practised by the Christians and "Superior white peoples" in Africa.

The second recommendation approves of forced labor under certain conditions. These conditions will naturally be determined by the present-day slave-drivers, under the cover of meeting "public need" which will mean the need conceived by the white overlords. The fourth recommendation approves of forced labor "to be carried on by fit males," and the third recommendation approves of inadequately paid or unpaid forced labor *in instances of dire emergencies or ordinary sanitary measures*. We need not comment on the things that are made legal as emergency measures.

In this connection let us emphasise the point that we are unalterably opposed to all forms of social, economic and political slavery which crushes man. So we are opposed to the awful practice of "untouchability" existing in India among the Hindus. But we must say that the lot of the untouchables are not as bad as the condition of the African Natives, living under the guardianship of free white and Christian masters!

Christian missionaries and others often tell us, that as long as there is such social injustices as untouchability, etc., prevalent among the Hindus, there is no chance for the Hindu Indians to secure freedom. Indeed, they have no right to ask for self-government. If we

understand history correctly, from the days of Aristotle upto the present time the people of Europe practised slavery. The Christian theologians a little over half a century ago used to oppose all movements for freeing slaves as anti-Christian! In spite of the existence of chattel slavery in England and America, the people of these lands always stoutly uphold their right to freedom. The British Empire is the biggest of the World Powers to-day; but it is in some sense a slave empire, where the native peoples have been exterminated or are being exploited. Slavery as practised and tolerated by the Christians is a form of civilized barbarism which is far worse than the practice of untouchability, which also is of course wicked.

Railway Development in Persia

The Mejliss has authorised the Government to engage for a period of two years 31 foreigners for the various departments of railway construction. In addition to those already engaged it is intended to get eleven Americans at a salary of \$17,000 per annum, one German at 5,000 toman, six Germans or Swiss at 24,000 toman, one Belgian at 3,000 toman, three Dutch or Germans at 12,400 toman, twelve Germans, Swiss, Americans, French, or Italians at 40,000 toman. *The Government may terminate the contracts on payment of three months' salary and a return passage.* The Government is also authorised to submit for tenders by foreign companies the construction of any section of the line which it considers advisable.

This interesting piece of news shows that the Persian statesmen are following the footsteps of Japan and Turkey in the employment of foreigners. They have taken special pains to see that in the work of railroad construction no Englishman or Russian be employed. (Recently Turkey gave the contract for railroad building to a Swedish concern.) The above report shows that these foreign advisers of Persia will be less expensive than the British advisers in India. Persia's foreign advisers are mere employees who can be "fired" from their jobs, at the will of the Persian Government. The Britishers who are employed in India assume the role of rulers and they cannot be got rid of so easily. They live in India upon fat salaries and then enjoy pensions; and retire in England to carry on, in majority of cases, anti Indian propaganda.

We are often told that one of the boons of the British rule in India is the introduction of railroads, telegraphs, etc. It seems to us India could have her railroads built cheaper

and under Indian control, if the Indian people were free and independent! No need of weeping over India's enslaved condition. It is, however, desirable to devise means for Indianising Indian railways. It seems to us that if India needs foreign advisers, some American, German, Japanese, French or Italian experts should be employed under Indian control. India is "a happy hunting-ground" for British job-hunters and this is bound to remain so until the Indian people become masters of their own country.

Anglo-Soviet Relations

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM) MOSCOW, AUG. 1 1927

In an interview with the press to-day Mr. Chicherin, Foreign Commissary, said:

"You are interested in the meaning of the story appearing in the foreign press about alleged proposals made to the Soviet Government by the British Government for the renewal of diplomatic relations between the Soviet and Great Britain. In reality the Soviet Government has received no proposals.

"With regard to Sir Austen Chamberlain's utterances in the House of Commons on July 28, they consist firstly of the usual attacks on the Soviet Government, which are intended to cover before public opinion in Great Britain the inadmissible steps against Soviet Russia which the Conservative Government in England has undertaken and is undertaking, such as the Peking raid, the Arcos raid, the calumnious story of a "document," the rupture of diplomatic relations, &c."

The Manchester Guardian—Aug. 6-1927

The present British Government broke off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, to bring about political as well as economic isolation of the latter.

So far this has not materialised. In fact, a new controversy has arisen between the British and American oil interests on the questions of trading in Russian oil. The Standard Oil Company of New York, and the Vacuum Oil Co., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. have entered into extensive trade and contracts with Russia; this has upset the British oil interests considerably. If within a few months the Soviet Government could not be overthrown or reduced to submission, to British foreign policy, there would arise a cry in England against the Russian policy of the British conservative Government. It is hardly expected that the Conservative Government will immediately take the initiative to reopen negotiations with the Soviet Government. The Anglo-Russian relations will supply ample ammunition for the Labor Party during the coming General election in England.

Indian Students Abroad and the Greater India Society

One of the aims of the Greater India Society is to establish cultural relations between India and the rest of the world. Indian students in foreign countries should be utilized for the promotion of this object. In fact, there are now in existence various organizations of Indian students in foreign countries such as the Hindusthan Association of America, Hindusthan Association for Central Europe, Friends of India Society in Paris, and various Indian students' organizations in Great Britain and Ireland and the Indo-Japanese Association.

If proper co-ordination can be worked out then under the auspices of the Greater India Society, an International Federation of Indian Students can be effectively organised. Taking it for granted that an International Federation of Indian students is a desirable thing, we take the liberty of suggesting the following practical steps. First, the Greater India Society should have six divisions (a) Asian Division, (b) European Division, (c) African Division, (d) North American Division (e) South American Division and (f) Australasian Division and each of these divisions should be sub-divided into various departments comprising important countries or a section of a continent. Secondly, efforts should be made to centralise various Indian students' organizations, existing in a country into one effective organization with various branches. For instance, various Indian students' organizations in Great Britain and Ireland should be incorporated into one organization like the Central Union of the Chinese Students in Great Britain and Ireland. Thirdly, these centralized organizations should be directly affiliated with the various Departments and Divisions of the Greater India Society. Fourthly, the Greater India Society should adopt various measures to enable the most competent and representative scholars, to go abroad to promote cultural relations between India and other lands. At present, the existing Indian students' organizations in foreign lands have no substantial contact with the Indian intellectual public. The leaders of the Greater India Society fully realize the need of establishing effective international cultural contacts between India and the rest of the world. Let us hope that some means will be devised that in India, some organization may serve the purpose of

the International Federation of Indian Students, and all the Indian Students' Organizations in foreign lands may be affiliated with it.

A Phase of Soviet Russia's Programme for National Defence

The Soviet Russian Government has adopted the programme of building 120 new aeroplanes within the year 1927. A sum of two million rubles has been appropriated to build four factories and to buy machines from America and other countries. It has been planned to establish an up-to-date air-base at Vladivostok. This is only a part of the programme for strengthening Soviet Russia's national defence. The increased activity in the field of air armament of Soviet Russia is apparently in reply to the British programme. In this connection it is interesting to note the following news-item regarding the programme for the increase of British air-forces for 1927-1928.

"Substantial increases in the British Air forces are provided in the estimates for 1927-1928.

It is proposed to raise the strength of the Royal Air Force for the coming year by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ squadrons three for the home defence branch, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ for the fleet, and one for the army, which brings the total squadron strength up to 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ units. Last year only two squadrons were added to the force.

Eleven new types of planes will be constructed and all old engine and plane designs, many of which were used during the war, will be abandoned for the purposes of further construction. Delivery will be made shortly of three machines of the auto-gyro type, and extensive investigations of these aircraft will be carried out."

Anglo-German rivalry in naval strength preceded the World War. Are we to see an Anglo-Russian war in future?

German Chemists Discover Plasmochin

"A new cure for malaria called plasmochin has been announced by two chemists, Professors Sioli, of Duesseldorf, and Muehlens, of the Tropical Institute, at Hamburg. This discovery recalled the drug "germanium," a cure for sleeping sickness that startled the world in 1920. Like germanium plasmochin was discovered in the Bayer laboratories.

Plasmochin is claimed to be a marked improvement over quinine, being cheaper, not so bitter and having a less serious after effect. It is said to check malaria parasites in their development so effectively that the natural defensive forces of the body can easily cope with them. Plasmochin and germanium are asserted by German chemo-therapeutical scientists to be the greatest contribution in this branch in the last decade."

One of the principal causes of the success of German scientists in their research works,

is that they are not only best equipped for such works, but the state and industrial organizations are behind the research workers. Every important industrial concern maintains its own research department and regularly uses a part of its income for this purpose. Let us hope that Indian businessmen will soon realize that the money invested for the promotion of science and research is the best type of national assets. It is apparent that all Indian industrial concerns cannot maintain their separate research laboratories and workers, this makes it imperative for them to extend their support to the Indian Universities to promote higher education and scientific research, which will aid Indian industry and national welfare.

Argentinian View on German Education

Argentine Students' Commission recently visited Germany to determine educational facilities afforded by Germany. The Commission, after their return to Argentina has expressed the following view on German educational policy :--

"The thing which struck us most was the surprising revelation that a country obliged to practise strictest economy in order to fulfil its national obligations does not save on one particular point, the furtherance of Science! Germany occupies first rank in all matters of scientific research, and it affords genuine satisfaction to the friends of Germany to become aware of this fact; for science and its development is the most important factor in Germany's future."

The future of India also depends upon scientific education; but Indian universities are starving for lack of funds and are stunted for lack of proper facilities for scientific research. If poor Germany can do so much under the most adverse circumstances for educational efficiency, is it too much to expect that the Government of India should do something more for the educational progress of the country than what has been done heretofore. We hope Indian politicians of all parties will unite to aid the cause of scientific education.

American Disarmament Activity

The United States of America is supposed to be interested in World Peace and disarmament. We have often heard that the American policy of anti-militarism can be described as "preparedness for war is the best method of averting a war."

The United States of America took the initiative to call a conference of great Britain, Japan and the United States to discuss problems of disarmament. In this connection the following news-item published in an American daily will throw some light on American disarmament activity :

"The keel of the latest submarine for the United States naval service the V 5 was laid at the Navy Yard here recently. The V 5, is to be a sister ship of the V 6, now under construction at the Mare Island Navy Yard, California. They are of the cruiser type. It was expected that in two years the V 5, embodying the latest developments in all branches of submarine technology, would be ready for full service with the fleet."

The Anglo-American world wants that the rest of the world should disarm, while it preserves armed preponderance. God has specially decreed that they should dominate the world—of course, not for their gain, but for world peace !

New German-Japanese Trade-Treaty

The following despatch published in the London Times shows that the Japanese Government is endeavouring to promote commercial relations with Germany :—

BERLIN, JULY 20.

The Trade Treaty between Germany and Japan was signed in Tokyo to-day. It is based on the Trade Treaty of 1911, which lapsed at the outbreak of war, since when no trade treaty between the two countries has been in force.

The new Treaty, which in many respects closely resembles the Anglo-Japanese Trade Treaty, has a duration of three years, and is terminable at six months' notice after the first two and a half years. It contains a most favoured nation clause assuring for German exports to Japan equality of treatment with those of other nations. Further, special warning must be given of any protective measure contemplated by one party which is likely especially to affect any branch of the other party's export trade.

The Treaty also regulates the position of German Consuls and German business concerns in Japan.

There is much talk in India about a special discriminatory tariff against Japanese cotton goods. Indian leaders should work for India's exercising the *Treaty making power*. In negotiating new commercial treaties India should demand "Reciprocity," favored nation treatment and appointment of *Indian Consular officials*. These principles should be applied in India's dealings with British dominions as well as with other Powers.

An American Foundation to Aid Deserving American Scholars, carrying on Post-Graduate Studies in French Universities

The Daily Mail (Paris) publishes the following interesting news-items about the project to be furthered by an American millionaire :—

Something resembling the Rhodes system of scholarships, which yearly brings a hundred American college graduates to Cambridge and Oxford, is about to be instituted for the Sorbonne and other French universities. Small scholarships already exist for American students studying in France, but they are chiefly for brief periods before obtaining the French equivalent of the masters' degrees. A New York millionaire, who has requested that his name be withheld until he has completed all arrangements, has decided during the past month, after visiting several French colleges, to create a trust fund which will provide nearly £10,000 each year, but will insist upon a proviso that the scholarships are to be awarded only to students ranking high in their final year of American university study, and who would not be able, because of their financial position to avail themselves of study in Europe. At the present rate of exchange and the cost of study in France, the fund would provide for about 75 post-graduate students.

Indian millionaires and Princes are reputed to spend vast sums of money every year in Paris for entertainment and aiding British Polo Teams, etc ; but they, with the exception of rare ones, are least inclined to aid the cause of educational progress of India. We often accuse the western people, as being grossly materialistic ; but the fact is that if service to fellowmen involves spirituality and idealism, then the Western millionaires and businessmen are more spiritually and idealistically inclined than our "spiritual people." If India is to survive, she will have to get out of her intellectual isolation, and India's best sons and daughters will have to go abroad to acquire all that is best in the world and to introduce them in India. Is it not possible that some rich Indian patriots will take the leadership to establish a foundation to send out selected Indian scholars to foreign Universities to carry on Post-graduate studies and to act as India's cultural representatives abroad ?

An American Senator Surveys Soviet Russia

New York Herald (Paris) of Aug. 5, 1927 publishes the following :

Russia and the United States within another

thirty years will be the greatest nations in the world, according to Senator Millard Tydings, of Maryland, who has just returned from Russia after a careful survey of Soviet conditions.

"Russia, under the Bolshevik rule, still has a great deal to learn," explained the Senator yesterday "but the condition of the masses is so improved today in comparison with old Russia that one is struck with the advancement of the common people."

"The outstanding complaint that I have to make against the present regime is the constant arrest of political prisoners. In this sense, the Soviet is laboring under the very complaint that the present government freed itself from as a result of the revolution."

"In other words, it is trampling on free speech, which is the basis of any democratic government. If a man or woman voices an opinion against the present government they are immediately thrown into jail, which is tyranny in its worst form according to my estimation."

"But with all their mistakes, they are learning remarkably fast. After a careful study of their procedure, it appeared to me that the Russians

have patterned their government after that of the United States, with a slight regard to the German Republic.

"They are constantly turning away from the radical side and more than ever leaning toward the conservative. The Russian is a thinker and he knows that a nation cannot divert itself too far away from the rest of the world's conceptions."

"I talked to such men as Chicherin, Shoulin and Saudron during my stay and their sentiments greatly resemble the American tendencies. In fact, it seemed to me that the proudest moment that any of the Russian officials felt was when their country or its programs was likened to the United States."

The British Government is sincerely interested in fighting Communism in India. But unfortunately it fosters and practices the communist methods in India by enacting and enforcing "lawless laws" which condemn honorable and patriotic Indians to prison cells without any trial and redress, only because of their political opinion !!!

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Buddhism in Russia

The Buddhist, an excellent monthly published by the Young Men's Buddhist Association of Colombo, gives us the following information :

A movement is now afoot in Russia to propagate Mahayana Buddhism in that country. Buddhist representatives from Tibet, Mongolia and other countries of Central Asia have met in convocation to discuss and settle the details of the organisation. Buddhism will, it is believed, appeal to the peoples of Russia better than any other religion. Should Buddhism be adopted for their national religion, there is, of course, the tendency to modify its established tenets so as to make them fit the political conditions of that country. The Government welcomes "the restoration of an ancient form of Buddhism adaptable to the Soviets' requirements." An association of erudite scholars, organised at Leningrad, the Capital of Russia, is expected to form the nucleus of a great seat of Buddhist learning—a Buddhist University of unique nature, the like of which is nowhere in the world to be found now. This institution, when brought into its working order, will consist of four departments each of them being made the source of Buddhist culture which obtains in a particular country. India, China, Japan and Mongolia are the four countries represented by these four departments. The control of them will be vested in the hands of Sanskrit scholars of outstanding repute. No provision has

yet been made, it would appear for the study of Pali and the Theravada school of Buddhism.

The Government of Russia has guaranteed to pay all preliminary expenses in connection with this movement and also promised considerable financial support in the future.

Interpretation of Dreams in the Upanishadas

R. Nagaraja Sarma M.A., L.T. writes in the *Indian Educator*, of Madura as follows :

The fourth adhwaya of the Brihadaranyakopaniṣad is devoted to a discussion of the dreams. The unbridled creative activity of the subject is held responsible for the manufacture of the kaleidoscopic dream imagery. The realm of the vāsanās roughly corresponds to the unexplored region of the un-conscious. The raw material is freely taken from the vast and almost inexhaustible realm of the unconscious and dream-experience is projected or manufactured. (4-3-10. P. 584 et seq. Anandasrama edition of the Brihadaranyakopaniṣad). The following are the outstanding facts that are culled from this Upaniṣad :—(1) Dream experiences are created by the agent from the raw material of the vāsanās. (2) Two worlds are spoken of—the present world and the other world—the third is inserted between the two like a tertium quid. (3) The figuring of the erotic element in dreams is recognised. (4-3-13). (4)

The moral and the ethical aspect of dreams is discussed and the conclusion is arrived at that the dream activity must be regarded to be beyond good and evil. (5) The investigation in the Upanishads is not carried on from an exclusive and disinterested psychological point of view but is throughout trammelled by metaphysical presuppositions and implications. (6) Dreams culminating in the waking of the subject and the waking state again leading on to dreams, are cited as illustrations to support the view of transmigration.

From the above, it appears that the ancient thinkers of India ; discovered in the course of their search after Truth (religious), things that seekers of Truth of modern times are re-discovering in the course of their scientific endeavour. The importance attached to the *rasanas* (desires) by the Rishis of old, fit in extraordinarily well with the theories set out by the School of Freud and Modern Psycho-analysis.

Sensualism in Literature

The neo-pornographic literature of to-day which sells in modern book-stalls in the name of realism, democracy, psychology, science or enlightened fellow-feeling, has found a critic in Rabindranath Tagore, who writes in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Science is impersonal. Its very essence is an impartial curiosity about truth. And yet the all-pervading net of this curiosity is gradually enmeshing modern literature within its folds ; though of literature, on the contrary, the essence is its partiality.—its supreme message is the freedom of choice according to the taste of man. It is this freedom which is being assailed by the invasion of science. The sensualism of which European literature is full to-day owes its origin to this *curiosity*, as its prototype in the Age of the Restoration had its impulse in *lust*. But just as the lust of that age failed to win the laurel which could secure it a permanent place in the Olympus of literature, neither can the scientific curiosity of this age maintain its keenness for ever.

There was a day in our country when a heat wave of licentiousness passed over our society and stimulated our literature into an outburst of carnalism. It was a temporary aberration of which the modern reader refuses to take any serious notice, not by way of moral censure, but because he has ceased to accord it permanent value.

Of late, it is true, we notice the opposite tendency in some of our modern critics who would rank among the eternal verities the intemperance of the flesh that has been imported into our literature from the Western world. But they forget that the eternal cannot wholly contradict the past. The natural delicacy which has always been a feature of man's aesthetic enjoyment, the enjoyment, the aristocracy which has always reigned in the realm of art,—these are eternal. It is only in the

ravings of the science-intoxicated democracy of to-day that this modesty, this reticence, is dubbed a weakness, and a rude manifestation of physical hunger is proclaimed to constitute the virility of art.

I have seen an example of this begrimed pugilistic modernism in the form that our *Holi* play has taken amongst the roughs of Chitpore Road. There is no scattering of red powder, no spraying with rose-coloured perfumes, no laughter, no song. Rolling long pieces of wet cloth in the street mud and therewith bespattering one another and the unfortunate passers-by, to the accompaniment of unearthly yells, is the mad form which this old-time Spring Festival has here assumed. Not to tinge but to taint is the object. I do not say that such propensity is foreign to the mentality of man : the psychoanalyst is therefore welcome to revel in a study thereof. My objection to the imputation of this common desire to soil into a festival inspired by man's aesthetic sense is not because it is not true, but because it is not appropriate.

Some of those who seek to defend the bringing in of such muddy carousals into the region of our literary enjoyment do so with the question—*But is it not true* ? That question, as I say, does not arise. When our drug-befuddled *Bhojpuri* festive party storm the welkin with the unending clang of their intoxicated drums and cymbals, their demonic shouts of an eternal repetition of the one line of their tuneless song, it is entirely beside the point to ask the suffering neighbours whether or not it is true ; the only relevant question can be : *How is it music* ? There is admittedly a kind of self-forgetful joy in inebriation : there is undoubtedly great forcefulness in an unrestrained exercise of lung power ; and if the ugliness of incivility has to be taken as a sign of virility then we must needs admire this athletic intoxication also. But what then ? This forcefulness still remains of the slums of Chitpore, it cannot aspire to the Elysium of Art.

In conclusion it should be added that, if in the countries ridden by science, an indiscriminate curiosity should, Duhsasana-like seek to strip the goddess of literature of her drapery, they have at least the excuse of science to offer for such conduct. But in our country, where neither within nor without, neither in thought nor in action, has science been permitted an entry, what excuse can serve to cover up the insolence of the spurious, borrowed immodesty that has come to infest its literature ? If the question be sent to the other side of the seas : *Why this turmoil of the market-crowd in your literature* ? The answer will come ; *That is no fault of our literature ; the cause lies in the markets that surround us*. When that same question is put on this side, the reply will be ; *True, markets we have none ; but the noisomeness of the market-place is all there ; that is just the glory of our modernism* ;

Beware of Fat

Ashutosh Roy, L.M.S., contributes a highly interesting paper on the role of Fat

in Health and Disease, to the *Calcutta Medical Journal*. Regarding Bengali dietary and obesity, Dr. Roy says :

While Bengalis do not take excess of proteid, they take excess of carbohydrates and sweets and in the case of well-to-do people excess of fat also. The result is *National obesity*. Surely the pot-bellied Bengali is not the best type of Asiatic manhood.

While they take excess of energy-producing foods like fat and sweets, they never attempt to burn this excess of food-stuff by physical exercise. Their life-long sedentary habits only aggravate the storage of fat, for it is notorious that excess of carbohydrates not utilized as energy is readily converted into fat and deposited as such in the body.

Instead of adding to the beauty of the body, these excessive deposits of fat not only disfigure them, but prevent further physical activity, as they always carry an extra unnecessary load in their body as 'deposited fat.' A vicious cycle is thus produced.

Generations follow this pernicious habit--while in the good old days the Pancreas used to get rest (forced rest) with other digestive organs for the various fasts and semi-fasts imposed on the Bengalis and Hindus generally in the name of religion to ensure better health and more active life, the present critical stage of our National life, the struggle between the old and the new, the East and the West in every sphere of life is upsetting everything. We have forgotten the golden rules of individual hygiene of our ancestors, on the other hand, we have not absorbed the modern ideas of hygiene. The orthodox ancient indigenous hygiene should as much be modified as the modern imported exotic hygiene to suit our present condition which is different from ancient India or modern Europe.

In these days of great economic stress and strain, there should be a cry all over Bengal not only to increase the proteid but to reduce the fat and carbohydrate, particularly excess of sweets from our National diet. There should be more vigorous physical exercise in the open. If this is persistently followed there is no reason why the health of the Bengalis would not be improved.

Dr. Roy's words of advice would prove salutary not only to Bengalis, but to all Indians who are obese through eating the wrong food.

Where Government Servants Die like Fleas

The *Labour*, organ of the provincial postal and R.M.S. Association Bengal and Assam Circle, points out how the conditions of service in the Dooars and Terai area, are actually killing out postal workers in those parts. We are told :

Are not the lives of the postal officials serving in Dooars and Terai worth anything? This is the question that arises painfully in our mind when we see that the Government has not yet adopted any measure calculated to improve the condition of service in these places. At about this time last year some of our young friends, full of hope and promise, were cruelly snatched away from our midst by black water and other fever prevalent in Dooars and Terai. The whole Division was panic-stricken and though we brought the gravity of the situation to the notice of the Government through proper channel and prayed for immediate relief by suggesting some remedial measures for adoption without loss of time but unfortunately all to no purpose.

This year also the season is on with all its fearfulness claiming Nabakanta Seal, Postman Nathuahat (Dooars) and Seodin Missir, Overseer Falakata line as its first victims. Who knows how many officials have to share the same fate if this state of things be allowed to continue. Reports of sickness are daily pouring in. Officials of Jalpaiguri division are really passing their days in great suspense and anxiety ready always to meet their doom like goats at the block erected for sacrifice.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the condition of Overseers is even worse than that of clerks. Out of the total strength of 9 Overseers, 7 Overseers (1) Ramcharitar Singh (2) Singhasan Lal (3) Sahadeo Sukul (4) Harakraj Giri (5) Dhanman Singh (6) Sheoprosad Singh and (7) Sheodin Missir died within a period of last 4 years or so.

It is, therefore, high time that the Government should awake to a sense of responsibility and take measure to alleviate the sufferings of the loyal workers of the department before it is too late to mend.

Learning by Doing in the Philippines

D. Spencer Hatch writes in the *Young Men of India* about education in the Philippines. He gives us a good idea of how the people of those islands are moulding their future citizens into shape, men of ability, ideas and experience, who will surely make the islands prosperous and great. We are told :

While trying to learn what we could about the agricultural and vocational education and school gardening in the Philippine Islands, it was most pleasurable to find actually in operation a sound principle about which there is just now increasing interest and talk in India.

The principle of *learning by doing*.

We may well illustrate how we saw this idea working in different forms and in different places by telling especially of the Central Luzon Agricultural School at Munoz. This by the way, the Monroe Survey Commission considered one of the very best of the fifteen agricultural school or college ventures in the islands.

When the students arrive at the school they

have a conference with school authorities as to the business they are to undertake. Each student decides on his particular project. Each chooses a partner. These two partners are assigned a tract of land on which they are to live and work. They take it over as though they had rented this small farm. They go there and build themselves a house. The school loans them seeds, tools and implements, working bull or buffalo, and if these features are a part of their particular projects, chickens, milch cows, and pigs. The students sign for these animals, implements and any advances, as is done by tenants. Settlement is made when they harvest their crops. The partnership, living and working in pairs, is necessary, for one must attend the classes of the academic part of the school while the other tends the stock and works in their field. Some students may be rated as general workers and are assigned new duties each week.

This school functions as a student town. As in communities where they will live in after life, students here elect their own president and council and govern their affairs. Student police make arrests and keep order in the community, and a student judge tries all cases in his court. The elected sanitary inspector looks after the cleanliness and health of the town. A graduate nurse, assisted by a student hospital corps, treats wounds and cares for the sick.

The office of president is no pretence. The president is executive in fact, presiding over the student council, making assignments of students and generally being alert to the welfare of the community.

Students from the different provinces of the hills and plains of the islands differ much, which makes government even more complicated and less easy. There are separate dormitories for the provinces, and local affairs of the separate provinces are looked after by student provincial representatives. The superintendent of the school has power of veto, which has to be used surprisingly seldom.

This school and the community it creates is a going concern needing to transact much business during the year. There is a Student Exchange, where the students buy and where they can sell their produce. Credit is here extended to all students in good standing. The Students' Bank handles the accounts of the students, takes care of their money and their earnings on deposit. Their obligations are checked against their credits, and balances entered weekly.

No hard working parent, or even rich ones, no philanthropic institution pauperizes these boys by paying their board. Four hours of work a day, Sunday excepted, is enough to pay for their scientifically prepared food in the student mess, operated by the students themselves.

The activities carried on by students are as varied as in any town. They own and operate the general store and exchange, a saw mill, a cinematograph, the printing plant and the bank. They have their own rice mill, in which the students mill the rice they have raised on their farmsteads and other rice for farmers of the country around. They construct their own dormitories, houses and other buildings. They prepare and serve their meals. They build roads, bridges and culverts. In fact, they do not stop at anything that can be accomplished by any other force

of men. They are proud of this. And righteous, splendid pride it is !!

These fellows stoop to no low quality of product. If in any of their enterprises they are not yet experienced enough to turn out the best they employ an expert until they produce one or more from among themselves. For instance, when recently they got their new printing press set up complete in every detail, they hired an expert printer from Manila in order that they may turn out high quality work, and—just as important, in order that they may learn expertly, and attain expertness.

All student farmers are entered in a contest to determine the one who produces most as a result of his own efforts. All products are turned in and sold through the Exchange. Prizes are awarded, and certificates of merit are distributed during the week of the Annual Fair.

Milk Supply in Big Cities

Mr. William Smith tells us in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* :

In addition to the cow-keeping system, the manner in which milk is handled in Calcutta, as in other big cities, is far from what it ought to be. The world is progressing greatly in matters of this kind, in matters connected with the handling and sale of food-stuffs. There are at present two methods of handling and delivering milk. By far the most common method is the wandering-cow-method, which means that cows are brought in front of customers' houses and milked in their presence. The second method is to deliver milk in open vessels and generally vessels with narrow necks that make cleaning difficult, if not impossible.

There is another aspect of this wandering-cow-system just referred to. The cows are milked in your presence and you have no reason to suspect that the milker has put water in the milk. You believe that you are getting pure normal milk. It may be that you are really getting pure milk. But I may tell you that this is not always the case. These people know more about cow physiology than you, and in many cases they succeed in victimizing their customers with the help of that knowledge.

There is another thing. The milk which is drawn first is exceedingly pure, whereas the milk of the particular cow milked for the second and third time is not so pure as you think and falls short in butter yielding qualities. So you see that even the fact that you get your milk in front of your house is no criterion that you are getting normal milk.

So that generally speaking, we cannot get any guaranteed pure milk in Calcutta or in the other big cities. The reason is, says Mr. Smith, that as yet people have not realised what good and pure milk means and what its contributions are to national health. In short, there is no *active and conscious* demand for best quality milk at the present time. Says Mr. Smith :

As you all know, the milk producing business in

India has not attracted businessmen. No capitalist, whether European or Indian, has taken kindly to it, although they have invested very large sums of money in other business such as, sugar, cotton, coal, etc. And why? Because the businessman, when he begins to investigate this question, very soon finds that he has not sufficient protection against the danger of his coming into conflict with milk dealers selling impure and unclean stuff because the public is not discriminating enough to decide between them. This commodity can be so easily adulterated that it is very difficult to protect it from the point of view of purity and it is far too risky to invest any money in the milk business. And this brings into prominence the question of giving adequate protection to *bona fide* pure milk sellers against unfair competition.

There is another reason why the milk business has not yet attracted capital, and that is, the cattle-breeding policy or rather the want of any policy. Now in India there are innumerable herds of cattle and if there had been any cattle breeding policy here, the land would have been over-flowing with milk, if not with honey.

It is a remarkable thing that you are paying for your milk which may be pure or which may not be, 25 to 35 per cent. more than what we pay for our milk in London, although every other commodity there is considerably dearer than in Calcutta. The reasons are: (1) want of organization; (2) want of public opinion and (3) want of a cattle breeding policy. The bulls that are used here for covering cows are generally selected without any reference to the quality of their milk. Our cows and female buffaloes from the point of view of milk production are going from bad to worse, as we have been very careless in the selection of what we call 'sires'. Perhaps you are aware that milk passes through the male line of cattle and it is simply inconceivable to improve the milk yield of our cows unless adequate attention is paid to the selection of good bulls.

Then Mr. Smith gives us a little bit of history and a valuable suggestion:

I do not think it will be out of place if I give you a little bit of milk history in other countries. In the year 1867 the milk supply in London was no better than that of Calcutta at the present moment. In that year rinderpest broke out in London and it practically destroyed the milk cows of the city. But this outbreak of epidemic was the making of London from the point of view of milk supply. Enterprising dealers started to produce milk on dairy-farming system with the result that within a very short time the people found that they had much better and much cheaper milk than what they ever had by an act of God in connection with the rinderpest outbreak which had revolutionised the milk supply of London. This system naturally spread in other cities and practically the large cities in the world the supply of milk comes from the districts, from country-side dairy-farms where animals are housed, fed and kept in a very sanitary condition. The supply of milk for New York comes from a distance of about 500 miles. All large cities in Europe, the United States and the Colonies work under the same system and an adequate supply of pure and cheap milk in Calcutta can only be

ensured by the adoption of the dairy-farming system.

He also answers the question of the feasibility of making arrangements for the milk supply of Cities from a long distance. Says he:

Now the question arises how it is possible to bring in milk from long distances in tropical countries. It may be very difficult to do this in India but it is not impossible. It is only a question of ways and means. There can be no doubt that it is possible to bring in milk from a distance of 200 to 300 miles in a perfect condition, if it can be properly treated, properly conveyed, and sold immediately on arrival. During the war we used to send pasteurized milk to Bombay from Jubulpore and that milk we used to sell without repasteurization. There is no doubt that with proper safeguards and with refrigerating vans in railways you can send milk from a distance of 300 miles and sell it in Calcutta in a much better condition than the milk which you get in front of your house through the wandering cow system.

Future of Indian Education

Prof. P. Seshadri says in *The Educational Review*.

If the Indian educational system was to discharge its highest obligations to the country, the Universities had to be developed immensely, so as to serve as effective centres of higher education comparable to the great Universities of the West. The mere inauguration of new Universities was not a great achievement, unless it was accompanied by the coming in of more efficient educational conditions better libraries, more high class laboratories, a superior and leisured staff, in fact, everything conducive to higher standards of education. The Universities all over India were seriously handicapped by want of funds and found it very hard to embark on new lines of research and development. Lord Lytton's Committee on Indian Students in Great Britain had recommended that the Indian educational system should be made 'self-contained' so as to eliminate the need for students to go to Universities in the West. Not much progress had been achieved in the direction. A fictitious value continued to be attached to foreign degrees, merely as foreign degrees, by the Government as well as the public, and Indian Universities continued to be treated as belonging necessarily to an inferior type. A wave of indignation was passing through the country about the racial discrimination of people in Edinburgh against the colony of Indian students. The proper solution however of the question seemed to him to be that Indians should not wait at the gates of British Universities, begging to be taken in and treated without any marks of inferiority, but make their own Universities high-class centres of education and eliminate the exodus altogether, except in very special cases. As no political progress was possible so long as Indians hung to the coat-tails of foreigners and looked for wisdom

and guidance from England, no educational progress was possible so long as the Indian Universities were not allowed to grow to their full stature and their best products were treated as necessarily inferior to those whose only distinction sometimes seemed to be that they commanded enough money to have a foreign education.

A Public School for India

Prof. Seshadri continuing his discourse in the same journal criticises the idea of establishing a "Select" Public School in India. He says :

A scheme had recently been launched with a flourish of trumpets for the establishment of a Public School in India, one of whose great attractions was announced to be the coming of three Englishmen for running the institution ! I confess the idea left me some-what cold. Its expensiveness made it unsuitable for a poor country like India and it was bound to deteriorate into a school for the children of aristocrats. It would do no good to them to be brought up in such an atmosphere of segregation and they were sure to develop vanity and snobbishness which had no useful place in modern democratic life. To those who had absolute faith in the Public School system of education, he would commend the recent book of Prof. Bertrand Russell on *Education* where he had many illuminating paragraphs on the subject. At one time it trained hardy people, who played an active part in the expansion and government of the empire, dominating over those whom they had conquered, but it was futile to foster that spirit in the New Age. The idea of such aristocratic exclusiveness was entirely opposed to the best Indian traditions, in accordance with which the scions of princely families in ancient days went to the hermitages or ascetics for education with the poorest Brahmanas. One of the most cherished recollections of Sri Krishna who belonged to the royal house of Dwarka, was it will be remembered, his companionship with the poor Brahmin child Sudama at school, and let us not lose the beautiful idea of equality underlying such companionship. The goddess Saraswati made no distinction in her temple between the high and the low and an institution which, in effect, would cater only to those who paid inordinately high fees and considered it a matter of great pride to sit at the feet of Europeans who were 'fresh from England' can neither react beneficially on the present educational system nor rouse the imagination of Indians. Any available money in the country had better be spent on the strengthening of the existing high schools and let no Indian gentleman, however, high placed, consider it beneath his dignity that his son should rub shoulders with the boys of an ordinary Indian high school and be taught by his own country-men.

Future of Indian Women

Swami Ashokananda, editor, *Prabuddha Bharata* contributes a thoughtful article on

the above subject to the September 1927 number of his journal. He puts the whole question in a nut-shell before proceeding to answer it. Says the Swami :

To our mind, all the different problems of Indian women are reducible to two fundamental problems : (1) What should be her attitude towards physical and intellectual life ? That is to say, should these be circumscribed within the domestic limits as at present or should she come out of this limited sphere and take her place alongside of man in all departments of life, social, cultural, economic and political ? (2) What will be her attitude towards marriage ? Must all women marry ? And those who would marry, what would be the significance of their marriage vow ? Does it require changes from its present oneness and inexorability ? What is the ultimate value of *Sati-dharma* ? Is the wife's to be an unquestioning service and allegiance to the husband, without the expectation of any return ? Or would it be mere co-partnership, involving mutual rights and duties, such as married life in the West is tending to be ? These are the two fundamental questions. All other problems are but details.

The Swami then points out how radical feminism has its limits in the heart of the woman herself. She may drift impetuously for a while, but her awakening intellect will surely draw her back towards the normal of womanly bliss.

Selections from Stri-Dharma

The *Stri-Dharma*, the official organ of the Women's Indian Association, publishes the following three notes :

THE ABOLITION OF THE DEVADASI

The wave of interest in Devadasi abolition is remarkable in South India. The gripping of the subject by the only lady Member of the Legislative Councils in British India seems to have caught the public imagination. If Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal, M. L. C., can abolish the custom of dedicating girls to temples she will be splendidly following in the footsteps of her leader, Ram Mohan Roy, who was able to abolish the custom of *suttee*, wife-suicide by burning on the funeral pyre of the husband. These customs of the sacrifice of woman to man are not sanctioned in the Vedas or the ancient religious books. Fortunately they are not prevalent equally all over India. The British Government was humane enough and brave enough to make the practice of *suttee* illegal. Many parts of India have no Devadasi custom ; certain Indian States have legally abolished it, amongst which Mysore is pre-eminent. What its religious Hindu Maharajah has done the British Government need not hesitate to do. An end must be put to "sanctified vice." The Government must give the order, and the Boards for Religious Endowments must find the ways for compensating the Devadasi community for this generation and for starting School and Homes for the young girls

and women who are its victims. Large meetings in the Madras Presidency are calling for the ending of immoral traffic in women and children, both as commercialised vice in the ordinary brothels of cities and under the excuse of religious custom with the dancing girls of the temple. The Age of Consent agitation, the Devadasi Bill of which Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal has given notice, and the Bill for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic are three facets of one evil. They all arise from the fallacy that there can be one standard of morality for men and another for women. Nothing short of a single standard of morality should be the principle of all our work in these sex questions.

FOLLOW UP, OTHER PROVINCES

The example of the women of Madras is worthy of being followed by the women of other Provinces also. At the beginning of the autumn season a large women's meeting was called in Madras under the auspices of combined Women's Associations, and Resolutions were passed stating what reforms women wanted in the Presidency concerning Health, Social Reform, Educational Reform, and Labour conditions. Various groups of the women who organised this meeting have been waiting on each of the authorities in charge of these subjects, such as the Surgeon-General, the First Minister who has the portfolio of Education and the Minister of Health, and valuable interchanges of ideas and information were the result.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

There is no country in the world where women

have so many rights and in which they can be so free as in Malabar, the strip of country on the West Coast of South India. It still remains a *Matriarchate*. The law of inheritance is all in women's favour: the woman chooses the husband, she can divorce him at will and marry again. There is no child marriage in that country, nor purdah, and the percentage of education is the highest in India, as also is the general physique. It is notable that it is from this country that two of the best champions of the women's cause in India have come, namely, the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair and Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair. The latter piloted the Resolutions in the Madras Legislative Council which gave the vote and the right to sit in the Council to Madras women. The former has been advocating the equality of women and men all his life, but recently has excelled himself in advancing the cause of the progress of women by his address at the Convocation of the Indian Women's University and a speech at a public meeting in Madras advocating economic independence for women through just inheritance laws and educational facilities, and supporting Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal's Bill to end the Devadasi system, and urging to bring about a single standard of sex morality. * * *

Sri Dharma does a creditable share in acting as a broadcasting medium for news about the women's movement in India to other countries as it has Exchanges with almost all important feminist papers in English and French. Thus are the bonds of international sisterhood forged, but we do need funds in India for a big Publicity Organisation.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Murder or Punishment ?

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case, protracted over a dreary seven years of slow torture for the accused men and ending in their electrocution, has something of the mediaeval Vengeance of the Law about it. It rouses in our heart, half-forgotten and dreadful memories of days when condemned men saw the faint flush of the rising sun on some fatal morning, after passing fifteen or twenty years in an underground dungeon, preliminary to being tied, packed and weighted in a sack and pushed over from a precipice into the depths of dark surging waves a hundred or more feet below. Whether Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty or not matters little; for no one can deny that they were made to suffer worse tortures, through their "fair" trial, than befall the average low-down

human-beast who murders a lonely widow in her bed in order to get away with her slender savings. The *Literary Digest* gives the place of honour to a discussion of this case in their issue of September 3. We are told in the opening words of the discussion :

With the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti newspaper discussion of the case did not cease, but the angle of approach changed. Instead of arguing about reprieves and motions and pardons, instead of debating how the men's lives could be saved, or whether they ought to be saved, editors began to talk about the permanent lessons to be drawn from a criminal case which has attracted more world-wide interest than anything of the kind since the famous Dreyfus affair. Believers in the innocence of the two Italians who were executed on August 23, seven years after they were first apprehended and after the exhaustion of every legal means of review and delay, turn to consider how such things may be avoided in the future. Those thoroughly convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti

were guilty and justly executed protest against the long delay. The judicial system of Massachusetts comes in for severe criticism, altho stoutly upheld by some Massachusetts papers. The world-wide epidemic of radical demonstrations leads many a conservative editor to use the Sacco-Vanzetti case as a text for a discourse upon the possibility of closing our gates still tighter against the alien Red. The debate spreads over the world, with foreign editors freely descending upon what seem to them to be imperfections of American justice, and our own press in reply instructing them about our Constitution or suggesting that we can take care of our own criminal cases without any advice from abroad.

Some American Papers are supporting the Sacco-Vanzetti execution with that vehemence which one normally connects with the rationalisation of one's own crimes or of those of one's kith and kin. Others are a little more open-minded. For example :

No one, insists the Albany *Kruickerbocker Press*, "will maintain that seven-year-old justice is an ornament to a State." From across our Northern border the Kingston (Ont.) *Whig-Standard* says that "the real tragedy of the Sacco-Vanzetti case is not that the men have now been put to death, but rather that they were not put to death long ago, once their guilt was established in a court of justice." And it might be said here that the commonest reproach from editors and public men in foreign countries has been that Sacco and Vanzetti were kept for seven years in the shadow of the death-house. Such conditions, says that conservative daily, the London *Morning Post*, "turn the law into an instrument of torture."

The *Nation* is strong in its condemnation of the whole affair. In an editorial the *Nation* says :

Massachusetts has taken two lives with a vindictiveness and brutality unsurpassed in our history. In the face of a world-wide protest of never-equalled dimensions, in the face of appeals from lawyers and judges of the highest standing, and from the heads of foreign governments—with complete contempt for the earnest pleas of the entire European press and some of the leading American daily newspapers that the guilt of the two men was not established beyond doubt—Governor Fuller and his council have sent Sacco and Vanzetti to their deaths. Henceforth the world over, when men wish to describe what is worst in any judicial system they will declare that it is akin to Massachusetts' justice.

"The very act which blots out the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti insures their eternity in any social history of the United States.

"No one can say what it all means or foretell where this case will end. But this is clear: This legal murder in Boston will profoundly and adversely affect the international relations of the United States and its moral standing throughout the world for at least a decade to come.

Massachusetts has triumphantly killed an Italian fishmonger and an Italian cobbler, but she has blackened the name of the United States across all the seas."

The Sacco-Vanzetti case has lowered America in the eye of the world ; for 'who would expect a truly great nation to mete out such crude "justice." The case rhymes well with the other glories of America, e.g., lynching, colour-prejudice, criminality etc. A consolidated press correspondent in Washington writes :

"Secretary Kellogg does not consider the labor demonstrations in the capitals of Europe as necessarily representative of universal opinion in these countries, but cabled protests by such people as Madame Curie, Fridtjof Nansen, President Masaryk of Czecho-slovakia, Professor Einstein, Marquis Guy de Lasteyre, the grandson of Lafayette ; Louis Loucheur, Joseph Caillaux and Alfred Dreyfus, make it evident that the upper and middle classes of Europe on this occasion stand with the working classes.

"Nor can be ignored the fact that the Paris newspapers, radical and conservative alike devoted columns of space to the fight of the two men."

The same correspondent reminds us that general strikes were called and were partially successful in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina ; that there were notable demonstrations in Panama, Morocco, and Geneva ; that London newspapers voiced regret over the general outcome, and that in Germany a group of twelve prominent lawyers issued a statement protesting against the execution of a death sentence after seven years' delay. A Paris correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, referring to reports of violence or attempted violence in Copenhagen, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Sydney, Bucharest, Montevideo, Prague, Berlin, Athens, and many other cities, declares that "such, united feeling throughout the bulk of Europe against something American has never occurred before." In Italy, the native land of Sacco and Vanzetti, papers used phrases like "hideous martyrdom." "Not since the the Dreyfus case," declares *The Saturday Review*, in London, "has opinion been so moved and shocked by a public trial."

One explanation of this clamor comes from the New York *Evening Post*, which remarks that :

"Europe, already disliking us as a relentless creditor, now has what seems to be an excuse to burst into a flame of righteous indignation against Uncle Sam as a blood-stained monster, not merely avaricious, but murderous."

Turkey Turns to Europe

We have pointed out on numerous occasions that modern Turkey has few sympathies with the East and that the Turks may for all practical purposes, be classed with the Western nations. The following lines from the *Literary Digest* will probably

open the eyes of the those Indian Moslems who still think of Turkey as a stronghold of Islam and of Kemal Pasha as a probable ally of Mr. Mahammad Ali :

In the *Petit Parisien* a special correspondent at Angora quotes the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Twefik Roushdi Bey, as giving the following intimations of Turkish policy :

"All this talk about the union of the Asiatic peoples is pure imagination. We have nothing to gain from it. What have we in common with the Asiatic peoples? Religion? But we have abandoned it. We are not Moslems. We are Turks. The language? There are no less than forty-six languages among the Asiatic races. In Europe we consider as brothers the Hungarians and the Finns. Ties of friendship? The Persians have always been against us. Our history shows that for years we had a series of wars with Persia. The other Asiatic races? They are too far away. In case of trouble what could the inhabitants of Afganistan, or of India, or of China do, to help us? For all these reasons, we are in favor of a return to Europe."

Greek newspapers which follow Turkey's policy rather closely notice considerable activity on the part of Angora to bring about alliances with Italy, or Jugoslavia, or even Bulgaria. Rumors of an Italian alliance with Turkey are too vague and too indefinite and so may be dismissed for the present in the opinion of the Athens *Emporos*, but it attaches particular importance to the possibility of a Turkish-Jugoslav alliance. "A common enemy brings about the closest friendships," says the *Emporos*, in noting that both Turkey and Jugoslavia have recently agreed that Fascist Italy constitutes the most serious danger to Jugoslav interests in the Adriatic and to Turkish interests in Asia Minor and it adds :

"For Turkey a rapprochement with Jugoslavia would be more than useful. Altho the possibility of a Jugoslav participation in a war involving Italy and Turkey would be rather remote. Turkey would expect to profit by concluding an alliance with a Balkan State, because by that fact she would emerge from her present isolation and incidentally add her weight to the French-Jugoslav group, which today opposes Anglo-Italian policy in the Mediterranean."

A Great Inventor's Belief

In the same journal we find the following :

Declaring that his Belief in a Creator is justified by the facts of science, Michael Pupin, noted inventor and professor at Columbia University, describes in the August *Scribner's Magazine* the direction of his religious thought since he secured his first employment in a factory in New York fifty-two years ago. "It taught me that the fire under the boiler supplies the driving power to every machine in the factory," he writes. "To an untutored Serbian immigrant who had never seen such things in his native village that was awe-inspiring knowledge, and it thrilled me. It stirred my emotions and my imagination, and I almost became a fire-worshiper." Dr. Pupin then points out other

facts which he discovered during the following half-century, and sums up his philosophy in these words :

"The smooth and steady motion of the piston in the boiler-room, assisting the trained hand of man in the factory; the roaring furnace flames in the foundry announcing the birth of beautiful castings; the radiating chaos of our central star, the sun, sustaining the ceaseless terrestrial cycles of co-ordinated energy movement; the messages transmitted to man by the galaxy of stars, proclaiming the lavish expenditure of their inexhaustible store of energy as a preparation for higher forms of creation; all of them tell the same joyous story which Tyudall first told me fifty years ago, the story of transformation of the primordial chaos into a cosmos, a universe of beautiful law and order. This is also the story of the universe of organic life. The truth which this story reveals was recognized intuitively by man since the very beginning of civilization and, guided by the power of his creative soul, he began to dream of a social cosmos which makes life worth living. The awakening from this beautiful dream is the birth of Church and State; guided by the love of God and of fellow man these social co-ordinators will certainly give us a social cosmos, the realization of the highest aspiration of the human soul."

"From this point of view science, religion, and the fine arts, as expressions of the intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic co-ordination of the creative power of the human soul, are three inseparable parts of a single science, the Science of Creative Co-ordination."

U. S. America's Interest in Latin-America

The *Current History* of September is the Latin America Number. The U.S.A. is finding it increasingly difficult to get round and exploits with ease the Latin American lands. Every effort, lawful and otherwise is made to keep Latin American countries well in hand; but the 70,000,000 of these hot-blooded republics are becoming more and more of a handful to the U. S. A. In order to understand the real situation we should know the true nature of the U. S. A.'s interest in Latin America. The *Current History* tells us :

On Dec. 31, 1925, the Department of Commerce estimated that the total investments of the United States in Latin America amounted to \$1,240,000,000. Of this amount, \$910,000,000 was in Government-guaranteed obligations and \$3,330,000,000 in industrial and other private securities. During 1926, about \$1,000,000,000 additional foreign investments were bought by United States citizens, and of this amount \$354,989,700 went to Latin America. About \$70,000,000 of the 1926 investments went to private industrial and commercial corporations. The remainder was borrowed by national Governments, States or Municipalities, and was largely destined for the construction of railways, highways or other public works. A more recent estimate by the Department of Com-

merce (June 30, 1927) placed our Latin-American investments at \$4,800,000,000.

Is Lynching Dying Out ?

The following paragraphs, taken from *The World Tomorrow*, point out how there is some chance that the American sport of lynching will go out of fashion in the near future :

According to the records compiled at Tuskegee Institute in the Department of Records and Research in the first six months of 1927 there were 9 lynchings. This number is the same as for the first six months of the years 1925 and 1926 ; it is 4 more than the number 5 for the first six months of 1924, 6 less than the number 15 for the first six months of 1923, 21 less than the number 30 for the first six months of 1922, and 27 less than the number 36 for the first six months of 1921. All of the persons lynched were Negroes. The offenses charged were murder, 4; attempted murder, 2; rape, 1; improper conduct, 1; charge not reported, 1. The states in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are : Arkansas, 2; Louisiana, 1; Mississippi, 4; Missouri, 1; Texas, 1.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announces that there is a steadily growing expression of sentiment in the South that tends to make lynching a disreputable sport. More and more the influential agencies of the white South are putting the stamp of their disapproval on lynching and mob violence. This fact can be contrasted with 20 years ago, before the Association began its propaganda and expose of lynching. At that time editors, preachers, politicians, and even government officials either condoned or justified lynching. The Association now has in its possession evidence that most Southern editors of the larger newspapers, as well as government officials, a few politicians and some preachers, are openly opposing lynching.

The Vienna Riots

The recent riots at Vienna were unparalleled in their fury and passion. The *New Republic* in a special article throws considerable light on the unseen social forces that caused the riots. We are first told :

On July 14, 1927, while Paris was gaily celebrating the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, tens of thousands of workmen grimly attacked the Ministry of Justice in Vienna, setting fire to the building in which it was housed. For three days the capital of the Austrian republic was swept by riots. Police quarters were wrecked, scores were killed in street clashes, hundreds were wounded. A general strike paralyzed the entire life of the Danubian state.

The immediate cause of the sudden and fierce outbreak of mass violence in Vienna was the acquit-

tal in court of three Austrian Fascists who are generally believed to be guilty of the assassination of a Republican guard and his child, several months ago. This verdict was one of a long series of similar judgments pronounced in the courts of republican Austria by Pan-German Nationalist and Royalist judges who still retain their old offices in spite of the Revolution of 1918. The extraordinary vehemence of the popular protest, however, amply indicates the existence of deeply smoldering fires of unrest in the hearts of the usually complacent and pacific people of Austria. The assault on the Ministry of Justice is but symptomatic of the state of smoldering revolt into which the Austrian masses have been driven by the "stabilizers" of present-day Europe.

The reasons why the masses rose in revolt are explained as originating in the present anomalous structure of Austrian economy. We learn :

If the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire was a political and cultural absurdity, the new Austrian Republic is an economic absurdity. The old empire was a crazy-quilt of divergent national groups, held together by cohesive economic factors making for industrial unity and prosperity. The new state, reduced to one-eighth of its area and population, is like a head severed from its body, miraculously kept alive by the financial oxygen administered under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Austria, with its 6,500,000 people, was the nerve center of the dismembered empire of 51,000,000. It drew grain from Hungary, coal and iron from what is now Czecho-slovakia, and sent them in return manufactured goods. Economically speaking, the Dual Monarchy was a free customs union, an embryonic United States.

The Treaty of St. Germain, however, was an instrument of selfish and blind politics. It was conceived with the Little Entente in view, as a make-weight for a new balance of power for France in Central Europe. It disregarded the vital interests of a huge population. It resulted in a monstrous system of arbitrary tariff barriers which clogged the delicate economic arteries developed during a century of industrial and commercial expansion. It deprived a great and thriving area of its only first-class outlet to the sea, turning Trieste over to Italy, which needed no additional access to the sea.

Today Austria is the most anomalous state in Europe. Enveloped on three sides by a ring of unfriendly countries, suffering from chronic unemployment, forced to import her raw materials from across the near borders and to face prohibitive customs in her exports, she is naturally a fertile soil for national and international trouble-breeders.

And the people of Austria who have been so unjustly and stupidly detached from their economic setting are largely socialistic in politics.

Austria boasts the strongest Socialist party in the world, in proportion to population. In the recent elections, held three months ago, the Socialists polled in the entire country 1,536,000 votes,

nearly 43 percent of the total national vote, an increase of 225,000 as compared with 1923. In Vienna alone, with a population of 2,000,000, the Socialists polled 694,000 votes, more than 62 percent of the entire city vote. At the same time, the Communists polled only 13,000 votes in all of Austria, which was half of their strength in 1923. The Communists in Austria, therefore, form less than 1 percent of the Socialist rank and file.

Not Bolsheviks, but, nevertheless, bad workmen for greedy capitalists to exploit. The Austrian Socialists, are not only a menace to Austrian capitalism, but they provide in their united numbers a solid opposition to reactionaries in the surrounding countries also. For.

There is no danger of a Communist coup in Austria, but there is "danger" that the Socialists, by their constructive achievements, will ultimately take over the Republic not only politically but economically and socially! It is Austrian Socialism which stands in the way of all *putschists*, by its championship of a Balkan federation and by its accomplishments in the field of social reform in Vienna, which it controls.

And they are not bad Socialists either in any way, although they mean some amount of discomfiture to capitalists. We are informed:

Where is there another city in the Old World in which, in the course of the last five years, 25,000 homes have been built for the workingman? Yet this is the record of the Socialist administration of Vienna. The child welfare work conducted by the Socialist municipality is unequalled anywhere in Europe. The infant mortality has been reduced from 16 percent before the War to 8 percent by the "Red" guardians. Tuberculosis, so prevalent under the Empire, has dropped considerably.

But it was the taxation policy of the Socialist municipality that aroused the fierce opposition of the reactionary groups. In Vienna, 791 capitalists are paying annually to the city a combined tax equivalent to the total contributed by the other 490,000 tax-payers who form the balance of the population. Isn't this rank Bolshevism? But it is Bolshevism of a new kind. It makes a potent appeal to the workingman as well as to the middle class. It makes life bearable in a colossal industrial city with a pitifully small hinterland. In a word, it creates some sort of an internal equilibrium in a body externally suspended by the arbiters of St. Germain.

The reactionaries in and outside Austria, therefore, do not cherish any gentle feelings towards these radicals. So that:

Helpless in the face of the deeply-rooted Socialist power, the reactionaries have had but one reply to make: namely, violence. Entrenched in the judiciary, the old imperial bureaucracy has been working hand in hand with the Fascist terrorists, washing the bloody hands of the assassins of the defenders of the Republic. The rioters in Vienna were not the aggressors. They merely struck a telling counter-blow. The intensity of their out-

burst only testifies to the fundamental mass craving for justice. The storming of the Ministry of Justice in Vienna was prompted by the same popular passion that caused the storming of the Bastille in Paris. Whatever may have become of Equality and Fraternity since the French Revolution, Justice still remains the untarnished standard of any civilized and humanitarian system of government. If the Austrian masses have given vent to their outraged feelings in such a revolutionary fashion, it is perhaps partly due to the failure of their leaders to replace the retrograde judiciary with a new code and apparatus of justice. At the same time, the action of the masses serves as an ominous warning to the agents of Horthy, Ludendorff and Mussolini that Socialist Austria will no longer brook their plots and murders, and will not stop at taking over the helm of the state should they persist in their policies of special privilege and their intrigues in the dark field of Balkan politics.

Americans use Torture on Accused Persons

We learn from the *New Republic*

A Short time ago, a man named Ludwig Lee was arrested in New York City, charged with the murder of two elderly women. Lee claims that extraordinary methods were used by the police to force a confession from him. He was, he says, beaten until two ribs were broken and his body was "a mass of huge bruises." Some of his hair was pulled out; his legs and arms were twisted causing excruciating torture; he was kept without sleep, and almost constantly questioned, for the better part of four days and nights. His attorney, believing not unnaturally that this sort of brutality, if proved, would be an important element in his trial when it takes place next October, has sought to have Lee examined in his cell by a physician, and photographs taken of his bruises (which, obviously, will have disappeared in the course of a short time). Both these requests the police have denied. The attorney sought successively in three courts for an order overruling the police, but in vain. Lee was born in Norway, and the Norwegian Legation finally appealed to the State Department, which, in turn, has asked Governor Smith to look into the case. We trust he will, and that his investigation will not end until he has found out the whole truth about police methods. Only a short time before Lee was arrested, a New York attorney declared in court that torture is habitually used by the New York police in the effort to extort confessions from prisoners. There is not another civilized country in the world which would tolerate such practices; and if they exist here, it is high time they were stamped out.

The police of the most civilised nation in the world should not, thus, let their country down.

Discovery of Rare Buddhist Transcript

The *British Buddhist* furnishes us with the following information:—

It is a well-known fact among Buddhist scholars that when Hsuen Tsang returned to China after a

sojourn in India for fourteen years, he pursued the propagation of the teachings embodied in Abhidharma-kosa and Vijnana-matrata, the former representing realistic and the latter idealistic Buddhism. Both are the works of Vasubandhu, a great philosopher of the Mahayana school. The former was written before the author embraced Mahayana Buddhism, so that it is a work belonging to the Hinayana School. Nevertheless, it is a work students of Buddhism must study before all others, as it forms the basis of all Buddhist knowledge. On his return to China Hiuen Tsang translated it into Chinese and taught it to his disciples, who took down notes of his lectures. Two or three kinds of such notes are preserved in Japan. Shortly after, a scholar of the name of Yen-hui wrote a commentary on the Abhidharma-kosa. The book is entitled Ju-sho and consists of thirty volumes. It is well known that during the 9th century a Japanese priest, Chisho, brought back the book from China. Of the thirty volumes of the book, twenty-nine have hitherto been in wide use but the last volume was unknown and it was supposed that it never saw light, the author Yen-hui finding it too much for him to write a commentary on the last chapter on Pudgala-viniscaya.

In this circumstance, it is a most interesting fact that a transcript of this last volume was recently discovered among ancient books preserved in the Todaiji temple at Nara. It is not one that was imported into this country by the priest Chisho, but is of a comparatively later period, being one copied in the 17th century. Nonetheless the discovery of this book is of great interest and has caused a great sensation in the circle of Buddhist scholars. It will be included in Dr. Takakusu's Taisho edition of the Tripitaka. The discoverer is the Rev. Gioin Hoshimoto, abbot of the Yakushiji Temple. That similar valuable discoveries are made in Japan one after another may be taken as a sign of the great zeal with which Japanese scholars of Buddhism are carrying on their study.

Buddhism in Korea and Japan

We find the following in the same journal:

Various signs are manifesting themselves in Korea showing that Buddhism, which sank to the lowest depth of decadence and inactivity under oppression of the Yi Dynasty, has lately begun to revive and be a power for good. One of these is the formation of a powerful body some years ago of Japanese and Korean Buddhist priests and believers. This organisation is called Chosen Bukkyo Dan (Chosen Buddhist Association) and has its headquarters established in Hasegawa-cho, Keijo (Seoul). Among several good enterprises it carries on is the task of yearly sending Korean students to Buddhist schools and colleges in Japan. This work was started in 1925, when five were sent and eight the following year. It has been decided to send six this year, four to Kyoto and two to Tokyo. All of the selected are graduates from higher common schools. When these students finish their study in Japan and go home, it is hoped that Buddhism in Korea will have fresh blood infused in it and will make further vigorous steps towards revival.

The same journal also informs us

A large number of scholars and artists gathered in the auditorium of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts on April 11th, to pay respects to the memory of Shotoku Taishi, the first Imperial Prince to take up Buddhism some 1,300 years ago. The meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Association for the Worship of Shotoku Taishi, was attended by Prince Kuni, honorary president of the association, and Princess Kuni. Mr. Saeki, Chief Priest of the Horyu Temple in Nara, a temple which was built by Shotoku Taishi, performed rituals, and those present burned incense at the altar raised before a wooden image of the prince. Students of the Hinode Girls' School in Meguro were present and sang a song composed for the occasion.

An Army Order of Eighty Years Ago

The *Inquirer* reproduces the following paragraph from its own issue of December 6, 1845. From it we learn the attitude of Army authorities towards smoking in mess-rooms and generally in those days.

In a general order, issued by command of the Duke of Wellington to the army, gymnastic exercises, wrestling and boxing, after mess dinners are directed to be discontinued, and smoking is ordered to be prevented. The order on smoking is as follows. "The Commander-in-chief has been informed that the practice of smoking, by the use of pipes, cigars, or cheroots, has become prevalent among the officers of the army, which is not only in itself a species of intoxication, occasioned by the fumes of tobacco, but undoubtedly occasions drinking and tipping by those who acquire the habit; and he entreats officers commanding regiments to prevent smoking in the mess-rooms of their several regiments, and in the adjoining apartments, and to discourage the practice among the officers of junior rank in their regiments."

A Plea for Buddhist Reform

The *Young East* publishes an impassioned plea for reform in the world of Buddhism. Buddhism has many defects we are told, and we are quoting from the text of the article to show what the defects are supposed to consist in.

The first and the most serious defect in present-day Buddhism is the character and the ignorance of its priests. With the exception of a few brilliant, cultured, and energetic men, they are unquestionably the most ignorant, superstitious, and passive creatures on the face of the earth. The vast majority of the Buddhist priests know nothing about the history of their religion, its principles, the philosophical postulates on which it is essentially based and rests, and cling to beliefs

wholly foreign to the teaching of the Buddha and are more or less obnoxious to the modern mind. Such are the doctrines of heaven and hell, future punishments and rewards, which are quite alien to primitive Buddhism and are to the advanced scientific thinkers mere outgrowth of superstition, animism, and fear. The Buddhist priests ignorantly preach such absurdities and regard them as a part of their religion. About the real Buddhism they know practically nothing.

The second great defect in present-day Buddhism is monasticism. This has been one of its great curses and a source of weakness. It was one of the most important causes of its disappearance from the land of its birth. Monasticism has been a great evil from which human society has suffered. It draws away men and women, often of keen intelligence, from active life, deprives society of their services and thus seriously hinders its progress and development. It breeds a class of parasites which subsists on the produce of others and leads to corruption in morals and decency. Such has been the case with Christian, Muhammedan, Hindu, and Buddhist monasticism. In Protestant Christian countries it is now almost abolished and the monks and nuns are deprived of their rights and privileges. But in Catholic Christian countries it still persists and is an enormous obstacle in the path of their progress. Turkey has swept the whole monkish system and by a single stroke of the pen has abolished the dervish orders. But the Buddhists have yet shown no signs of doing away with this evil and no voice of protest is raised against it. In Tibet monks and nuns are said to be two-thirds of the population; immorality and corruption is rife among them. In China, Burma, and in all the Buddhist countries their number is considerable and they are proving to be a great economic burden on society. Monasticism must be abolished if Buddhism has to hold its own against the onslaughts of industrial civilization.

The third serious evil, which is prevalent in Buddhism and calls for radical reform, is idolatry. It is a shame that in all the Buddhist countries images of Buddha are worshipped and idols are placed in Buddhist temples, which receive the homage of believers. Buddha never wished that his followers should deify him and worship his name. I, of course, do not mean that Buddhists are more idolatrous than the followers of other religions. Mohammedans bow before the tombs of Mohammed and their saints, the Christians have their idols of Mary, and the Hindus worship numerous images personifying One Supreme Being. Even the worship of God to the Buddhists as it is to the Western freethinkers is a mere idolatry, for to them God is an outgrowth of animism, superstition, and fear. God, according to them, has no absolute existence whatever and is a mere psychological illusion. Only the ignorance of man has invented a divine Creator. No trace of him can be found in the realm of experience. No revelation of senses and science reveals his existence. According to this view Buddhists are far less idolatrous than the members of other religions. They worship Buddha, who consecrated his whole life to the service of humanity and to the rationalistic investigation of truth, rescued mankind from the trammels of error and guilt,

and proclaimed the most advanced system of ethics, which the world has ever seen.

This *idolatry* is thus not akin to the idolatry which finds God or the creator or dispenser of human sorrows and joys in an image. Even great thinkers have bowed down to the Buddha *e. g.*:

Philosophers and poets like Schopenhauer and Kinkel worshipped at his shrine. The former went so far in his devotion to the Prince-Philosopher that he kept his big statue on the table and looked at it with almost superstitious reverence.

Even then one cannot support this attitude. We are reminded:

As idolatry is essentially un-Buddhistic and is looked down upon by advanced thinkers it must be abolished and Buddhism must be extricated from its corrupting influence.

Then we are told:

The fourth great and the most dangerous defect of Buddhism is its ahimsaism. This fatal and demoralizing doctrine has emasculated the Indian people and has reduced them to the present condition of servitude and slavery. Though there were other causes which made India a prey to foreign invaders, it was this mischievous cult of non-killing which contributed most to her downfall. It divided the military virtues and undermined the fighting spirit of the Indian people.

We are also asked to reconsider the value of *Ahimsa* in the light of the following:

What would have happened had Japan practised ahimsa in her dealings with the Western Powers? She would certainly have lost her independence and could not have occupied the proud position in the councils of the nations which she is enjoying today. It was sword that brought the haughty Czar to his reason and checked the tide of European imperialism. It is physical force that counts most in international politics. There is nothing in this world but centres of force in constant evolution, in unceasing action and reaction on each other. The will to power, to ever increasing power, and to subject to its dominion an ever increasing energy, is the fundamental fact of the life of the universe. The doctrine of ahimsa is wholly opposed to the teaching of the theory of evolution.

What China can be Industrially ?

The following quotations are from the *China Journal*

Under the title "To-day and To-morrow" Henry Ford has written a book which it would be well for every commercial man, manufacturer, employer of labour, politician and diplomat, native or foreign in China to read. It tells of the founding and development of what is one of the world's greatest individual business, the manufacturing of the "Ford" car. It does much more than this. It

explains the principles upon which this immense industry has been founded and built up, and applies the lessons of those principles to every day life and work, to our present social and industrial being and to the future of the human family, and what he says is so sane and logical that one can hardly refrain from wishing that the whole industrial world were reduced to the state of a "Ford" manufacturing plant. He lifts industrialism from its former, profits-squeezing level to the sphere of a high social system amounting almost to a religion. The principles he enunciates may be summed up in the few words: *public service and mechanical and human efficiency*. The two latter are secured by the elimination of all waste in time, labour and material and in the establishment of a high minimum wage. Service is rendered the public by the return of profits into the business with a view to the improvement and reduction of the price of the article produced.

The story of the manufacture of a present-day car from the mining of the ore to the delivery of the car to the purchaser, reads like a fairy tale. Once the ore starts to be moved it never stops till it has been transformed into a car and delivered to its final destination. It is loaded into the company's steamers, carried to the smelting plant, smelted, turned into steel, melted, rolled, pressed, cut, or stamped, into various parts of the machine, which in turn is assembled while on the move, non-steel parts similarly created on the run, being added, the whole tested, still while on the move, passed out of the workshops to the freight car or hold of a steamer and delivered to the agent or purchaser, and all this in a period of from three to five days! The whole thing is done by machinery supervised by willing workmen. Wherever it is possible to eliminate human labour, this is done, yet the company finds employment for hundreds of thousands of people to none of whom does it pay a wage less than \$6.00 a day. The company owns and operates its own forests, mines, railways, steamers, flax farms and quarries: it maintains a thoroughly up-to-date and well-equipped scientific research laboratory; it sells such by-products from its various plants as it cannot use—and all in the interests of economy and efficiency. The whole organization from mines and forests to the finishing rooms is a huge and perfect machine, worth hundreds of millions of dollars, employing hundreds of thousands of workmen, covering an area of tens of thousands of acres and turning out some two million cars a year.

Of course, Henry Ford when he started his industry had a virgin field to work upon and to a considerable extent undeveloped resources to draw upon. It would not be so easy to apply the principles he employed in, say, a country like Great Britain.

In China, however, where industrialism is in its infancy, very much the same conditions prevail as Ford had to deal with. All the raw materials are in the country itself; there is an abundance of industrious, intelligent labour, and an enormous buying public. Industrially China is virgin territory. The latest and most up-to-date methods could be used in the starting of any industry, since there is practically no obsolete but expensive machinery to scrap. Coal, iron, silica and other minerals are abundant and well-distributed. Everything needed

for the manufacture of fabrics can be grown in the country.

The only thing that stands in the way of an industrial development in every direction in China that might make even the "Ford" car industry look small is bad government and its concomitants—internal strife, civil war, unjust taxation and the moral and physical degradation of the people.

Of course capital is needed and lots of it. There is plenty of capital in the world waiting to be put to use, but before it can be made available for the industrial development of China, peace must come, good government, just taxation and the safeguarding of the investor's interest. Whether this can be brought about out of the present chaotic conditions in China remains to be seen. We feel sure that it can; but it will call for a high sense of duty and a willingness to sacrifice personal interests on the part those in high places for those of the country and the people that is none too common in the world to-day. If the rulers of China to-day, those who have the reins of power in their hands, wish it, they can stop the present insensate warfare and set the country on a course of industrial prosperity such as the world has never before seen. Their great opportunity is here: how will they act?

The above words are equally true of India. Only we have a further, and almost insurmountable, obstruction in the fact that our political rulers are also our industrial exploiters, and, if we progress industrially the chances are that we would have to yield three quarters of the fruits of our achievement to those who hold the reins of our capital, legislation, taxation and education.

The Anglo-Russian Struggle

The *Modern World* says:

Paleontologists tell us that the struggle between the herbivorous and carnivorous dinosaurs raged for nearly half a million years. Earth was not large enough for both species. The carnivorous dinosaurs passed from the scene.

It appears that earth is not large enough for the two great social systems now in being—capitalism and communism. England is obviously determined to join the issue as vigorously and promptly as may be. Hope for peaceful solution of this conflict constantly diminishes.

We talk of all the manifestations of peace but there are many subterranean indications that the world may all too soon find itself again engulfed in a war resulting from England's grim determination to save her empire, let the price be what it may.

Islam finds Support in attempted Suicide of Woman

An insane woman in Venice has given the *Review of Religions*, an Islamic paper,

occasion to extol the purdah system as enjoined by the Quran. The *Review* says :

We remember to have read, some time ago the remark of a man that he would retire into the desert as a hermit if women's skirts became one inch shorter. Now we learn from the "Daily Express" that Mme. Tanya Bogdaroff tried to commit suicide in Venice because huge admiring crowds followed her in the streets. She is too beautiful to live.

Such incidents, however small and rare they might be, are no doubt very significant. Everything that happens in the world does not find its way to the Press. So we cannot say how much the human heart suffers for the violation of the principles of Islam. Islam says women should not display their bodies and ornaments except what cannot be helped, and that they should cover up their necks, heads and faces. Men and women, according to the Holy Quran, should cast down their eyes. This will be a source of great purity for them. Most of the social evils will disappear if people act upon Islam.

Comments are hardly necessary on the above words of Islamic wisdom

Work Done by Japanese Red-Cross

The *Japan Magazine* gives the following summary of work done by the Japanese Red-Cross in the year 1926.

Hospitals of the Japan Red Cross Society, including the two newly established last year, number twenty-three, with 1,325 beds, 387 more than during the preceding year. The actual number of patients treated in all these hospitals was

17,289 in-patients, the aggregate number of which was 1,196,345 ; and 1,220,496 out-patients the aggregate number of which was 3,511,035, last year. Of these, less than 10 per cent., of the in-patients were treated free while more than 10 per cent., of the out-patients were free. Compared with patients treated in 1925, there was an increase of 93,758 in-patients and 543,138 out-patients in aggregate number.

Eight relief-houses in Manchuria treated last year 199 in-patients, their aggregate being 3,338, and 13,760 out-patients, the aggregate of which was 65,229. To these are to be added 83,259 patients treated at subrelief-houses and 73,701 treated by circuit relief corps. There were 526 cases of flood, fires and other calamities, for which extraordinary contingents were despatched by the Society, the number of patients being 10,696.

In the work of preventing and stamping out tuberculosis, 1,557 patients were taken in, while 9,360 out-patients were treated. There were 2,059 in-patients and 5,828 out-patients of pregnant and lying-in women.

Mention should be made of the distribution of relief-boxes, the installation of disinfecting stations, and the work of children's hygiene consultation offices, sea-side schools, nurse-training schools and special courses in nursing, all of which have made contribution the relief undertaking of Japan.

The Japan Red Cross Society rendered great service in the relief of Chinese wounded and sick last year. In the autumn of 1925 a revolt broke out in Shantung Province. The Society sent a relief fund amounting to 3,500 yen, to the Tsinan Hospital under the management of the Dojin-kai Society of Japan. The Tsinan Hospital was entrusted by the Japan Red Cross with attending to wounded and sick, and it started the treatment of patients in December 1925. The relief work was ended in June 1926. During that period 3,607 in-patients and 2,348 out-patients were treated.

INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

News and Portraits

The flood hovecks of Kathiawar and Gujarat have enlisted wide sympathies where in India. The premier Bengali footballers—the *Mohunbagan* team—went all the way from Bengal to Bombay, at the request of flood-relief organisations, to play charity matches. These games attracted large spectators and funds thus realised were distributed amongst the sufferers. Elsewhere we reproduce a photograph of a group of ladies, some of whom happen to be Bengali ladies, seen collecting funds for flood sufferers at the football grounds when a match was being played between the Mohunbagan and the Cheshires.

Indian ladies have been evincing considerable interest in the sphere of administration



Miss B. E. Engineer



Miss Kusum Jayavant

A Group of Bengali and Other Volunteer ladies
Collecting money for Gujarat Flood Relief
Fund at the Football Grounds (Bombay)

Miss M. Janaki



Mrs. K. Kristnavenamma

of justice. We learn that Miss M. Janaki, a prominent social worker in South India, has been appointed special magistrate of Calicut (Madras) and Miss B. E. Engineer, LL.B. has become a Justice of the Peace for the city of Bombay.

In educational activities our ladies are fast taking their rightful place. We are glad to learn that Miss Shailabala Das of Bihar



Miss Nilima Thakore



Miss Bachuben Lotwala



Miss P. Chellamma



Srimati Nayana Devi

and Orissa has just been nominated as a fellow of the Patna University. Miss Das is a wellknown public worker of the province



Miss Shailabala Das

—being a Commissioner of the Patna Municipality and an Hony. Magistrate. Srimati Nayana Devi, B.A. another lady student of that province is shortly proceeding to England having obtained a State scholarship. She is the first Biharee lady to receive this high distinction. It is reported that Srimati Nayana will represent India at the forthcoming session of the International Women's Conference. Mention must be made in this connection of Mrs. K. Kristnavenamma, Municipal Commissioner, Cocanada and Secretary of the Cocanada Red Cross Society who, has been elected President of the District Educational Council, East Godavary (Madras) and of Miss P. Chellamma of Travancore who, has recently passed the *Vidwan* examination conducted by the University of Madras. She attained high proficiency in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Miss Kusum Jayavant who secured *first class first* in B. A. Examination of the Nagpur University and left for England last month as a C. P. Government Scholar for higher studies abroad.

Miss Kumuda Khopkar, M. B., B. S. who recently passed with distinction the final Medical Examination of the Bombay University hails from Baroda and is the first girl in the state to pass that examination. She aspires to go abroad provided she secures a scholarship from the Baroda Government.

Miss Nilima Thakore, B. A. one of the batch of Gujarati girls who Graduated in Arts this year is the grand daughter of Sir Chimmanlal Setalvad who has the good fortune to see third generation in his family to graduate from the University of which he is the Vice-chancellor.

In civic activities the ladies of Bombay have made much progress. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Avantibai Gokhale and Miss Bachuben Lotwala, a Gujarati lady, were the first batch of Bombay ladies to enter the field of civic administration of Bombay. Miss Lotwala has been serving on the Municipal Corporation (Bombay) for two successive terms (5 years). She recently returned from



Dr. Miss Kumuda Khopkar

Europe where she had been for a holiday and had the advantage of seeing personally the working of most advanced parliamentary and civic institutions of Europe in the company of her father, the Hon. Mr. Patel, President, Indian Legislative Assembly.

THE VOTING STRENGTH OF OUR PROVINCES IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

INDIA is not yet a federation of internally autonomous states. But Indian political thinkers generally have such a political future for the country in view. Should India in future have a federal constitution, some of the main features of the present constitution would be likely to be preserved or at least to be generally followed in evolving a new constitution. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the present constitution to see whether it is in accordance with the normal types of federal constitutions and follows the principles of representative government. It will suffice to take into consideration the constitution of the United States of America for purposes of comparison.

The Federal Legislature of the United States is thus described in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica :—

"In 1787 all the states but three had bicameral legislatures—it was therefore natural that the new national government should follow this example, not to add that the division into two branches seems calculated to reduce the chances of reckless haste, and to increase the chances of finding wisdom in a multitude of counsellors. There was, however, another reason. Much controversy had raged over the conflicting principles of the equal representation of states and of representation on the basis of numbers, the larger states advocating the latter, the smaller states the former principle; and those who made themselves champions of the rights of the states professed to dread the tyrannical power which an assembly representing population might exert. The adoption of a bicameral system made it possible to give due recognition to both principles. One house, the

Senate, contains the representatives of the states, every state sending two; the other, the House of Representatives, contains members elected on a basis of population. The two taken together are called Congress, and form the national legislature of the United States."

In the Indian Central Legislature, which corresponds to the United States Congress, the Council of States may be considered the Senate, and the Legislative Assembly the House of Representatives. But neither in the Council of State nor in the Legislative Assembly is the principle of equal representation of provinces or the principle of representation on the basis of population followed. The principles of the federal system of representative government, followed in U.S.A., Australia and Canada for example, would require that all the provinces should have an equal number of elected representatives in the Council of State and numbers of elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly in proportion to their population. But the Indian Central Legislature is not constituted on such or any other logical and consistent principle.

The number of elected representatives of the Indian inhabitants of the provinces in the Legislative Assembly is shown below.

Province	Population	Elected
		Indian M.L.A.s.
Madras	42,318,985	15
Bombay	19,348,219	14
Bengal	46,695,536	14
U. P.	45,375,787	15
Punjab	20,685,024	12
Bihar and Orissa	34,002,189	12
C. P.	13,912,760	6
Assam	7,606,230	3
Delhi	488,188	1
Burma	13,212,192	3
Ajmer-Merwara	495,271	1

* This paper has been sent to the Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, the Secretary, Muslim League, the Secretary, Indian National Liberal Federation, the Secretary Hindu Mahasabha, and the Secretary, Non-Brahman Federation, for necessary action.

It is evident from this table that in assigning the number of representatives to each province the basis of population has not been followed. I have shown in my article on the unequal treatment of the provinces under the Reforms, published in the August number of the *Modern Review*, that neither the basis of the literate population (in the vernaculars or in English) of the provinces nor the basis of the total revenues collected therein has been followed.

The result of this illogical and inconsistent scheme of representation has been the predominance of the minority in India as a whole, and in the case of some of the provinces taken individually. The following provinces contain the majority of the inhabitants of British India :—

Provinces	Population	Elected Indian M. L. A.s.
Madras	42,318,985	15
Bengal	46,695,536	14
U. P.	45,375,787	15
Total	134,390,308	44

The following remaining provinces contain the minority of the population of British India :—

Provinces	Population	Elected Indian M. L. A.s.
Bombay	19,348,219	14
Punjab	20,685,074	12
Bihar-Orissa	34,002,189	12
C. P.	13,912,760	6
Assam	7,606,230	3
Delhi	488,188	1
Burma	13,212,192	3
Ajmer-Merwara	495,271	1
Total	109,750,073	52

The above two tables show that the majority of Indian inhabitants possess eight elected representatives less than the minority of Indian inhabitants.

Let me now take some of the provinces individually.

The population of Burma is larger than those of Assam, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara combined. But Burma has a smaller number of indigenous M. L. A.'s (three) than the latter three provinces combined (five). The population of Burma is about equal to that of the Central Provinces. But it has half

the number of representatives which the C. P. has.

Bihar and Orissa has a much larger population than Bombay. But Bombay has fourteen elected Indian M. L. A.'s, Bihar and Orissa twelve. The population of Bihar and Orissa exceeds that of the Punjab by more than fifty per cent. But both the provinces have the same number of Indian elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly. The population of Bihar and Orissa is more than double that of the Central Provinces ; but the former are represented by only double the representatives of the latter.

The C. P. and Assam, combined, possess a larger population than either Bombay or the Punjab taken singly. But Bombay and the Punjab each have more representatives than the C. P. and Assam combined.

The United Provinces possess more than double the population of each of the provinces of Bombay and the Punjab. But the U. P. does not enjoy a proportionately larger representation. Again, Bombay and the Punjab combined have a smaller population than the U. P., but jointly possess greater voting strength than the latter. The United Provinces possess a larger population than Madras, but both have the same number of elected Indian M. L. A.'s.

Madras has more than double the population of each of the provinces of Bombay and the Punjab, but does not possess proportionate voting strength in the Legislative Assembly.

Bengal has a larger population than every one of the other provinces, but its voting strength is not proportionately large. Its population is larger than that of Madras and U. P. singly, but the number of its elected Indian M. L. A.'s is less than that of either of the latter taken individually. Bengal possesses more than double the number of inhabitants of Bombay and of the Punjab ; but the number of its elected Indian M. L. A.'s is only equal to that of Bombay and slightly greater than that of the Punjab. Bengal has a larger population than the following groups : the Punjab and the C. P., Bombay and C. P., the Punjab and Burma, Bombay and Burma, the Punjab and Assam, Bombay and Assam, and Bihar and Orissa and Assam. But in the Legislative Assembly Bengal possesses a smaller number of elected Indian M. L. A.'s than every one of the above-mentioned groups of provinces.

Proportionate and disproportionate voting

strength can be considered both from the point of view of provincial interests and from that of the opportunity given to the people of each province to serve India and gain political experience. There is no reason why even a single province should have proportionately less of such opportunity than any other province. This opportunity is a right and a privilege, and carries with it corresponding duties and responsibilities. The citizens of provinces which are proportionately under-represented count for less as citizens to that extent. There is no reason why they should so count. They are also, to the extent of their under-representation, deprived of the

right and opportunity to serve India. There is no reason why they should be so deprived.

The Indian National Congress, the Indian National Liberal Federation, the Muslim League, the non-Brahman Federation, and other similar bodies exist, not to perpetuate existing political and civic injustices and wrongs, but to apply such remedies and make such changes as would produce the best results and give general satisfaction by making the ideal take the place of the actual, so far as may be. For this reason I draw their attention to the question of the voting strength of the provinces in the Legislative Assembly.

INDIANS IN BURMA

By AN INDIAN IN BURMA

WHILE Indian leaders and publicists have busied themselves with commendable zeal in ameliorating the condition of Indians in far-off Africa, they have failed lamentably to take into account the various pin-pricks that the Indians have to suffer at every turn under their very nose in Burma. Perhaps, Indians in Burma are too near to be seen truly. But the time has come for the question to be seriously and effectively tackled in the interests of all concerned.

There are clearly three parties to the affair; and their relative positions have to be considered to arrive at any right or definite conclusion in the matter. In the first place, there are the Indians themselves. Secondly, the sons of the soil and last of all the Government-cum-European exploiters. The fight—yes, it is a fight, although not acknowledged by many is, therefore, a three cornered one; which, naturally makes the problem difficult and intricate. Let us consider the parties one after another.

The Indians who number according to the 1921 census 8,87,000—or roughly 7 per cent of the total population, are scattered all over the province, but by far the largest proportion reside in Rangoon. They are engaged in various pursuits trade, law, industry, public service and predominantly, menial labour. According to the census of 1921 only about

6 per cent., support themselves by public service and the professions and the balance by agricultural and industrial pursuits, labour and trade. It is well-known that in Burma gharry-wallahs, rickshaw-pullers, shipping and bazar coolies, cartmen, barbers and sweepers are all Indians. These latter live under the most debasing and miserable conditions, but that is a different story. For our present purpose, it is necessary to point out that the name "Indian" in Burma does not represent a united people as one would hope and expect. True, the Hindu-Muslim question is almost non-existent; but there is no solidarity among the Indians. We have the traditional extremists and moderates among ourselves in Burma, too. There is nothing like Indian opinion in this country (to call it a "province" is merely to blindly follow the established usage); or, if there is one, or is masqueraded as one, it is either feeble or partisan so that the other parties can afford to ignore it. One reason for this disunion or rather want of union is perhaps the apathy of the average Indian in Burma towards the problems that affect him as member of the Indian community. He pursues his calling with extraordinary zeal, but has hardly any community-consciousness. Racial pride among the people of the various provinces, I suspect, is also a barrier to

wholehearted union—though to a smaller extent.

But a graver reason is afforded by the so-called Congressmen in Burma, of whom there were plenty about 4 years ago, but, whose number is happily diminishing. These worthy folk, by their misshapen patriotism, and ingenious propaganda have deliberately kept the Indians ignorant of their true position; and have opposed and scoffed at every attempt made by more honest and sensible men to form an association of Indians for safe-guarding Indian interests under the spacious cry of "Indo-Burma Unity." These gentlemen so far forgot themselves in their noble mission, that, I remember, four years ago, one Congress Secretary, appealing to the young men of "Indo-Burma" to enlist as volunteers under the Congress flag. As early as 1921 Mr. S. Vedomurti, who later on became a member of the Council of State, then Editor of the *Rangoon Daily News*, mooted the idea of forming an Indian Association in his paper, to safe-guard Indian interests. It was the year of Gandhi, 1921; and the most vociferous section of the Indians in Rangoon, who suffered or pretended, for reasons of their own, to suffer from the impact of Gandhism, poopoooled the idea in the name of unity and even held up the author of the scheme to ridicule, for the Indians and Burmans said they were cater cousins, because, the Buddha, the God of the Burmans, was an Indian. And because Indians and Burmans must in any case join hands to fight their common enemy, England.

Thus did the Congressmen succeed in stifling the true and natural voice of the majority of Indians the majority who were both dumb and indifferent and mostly ignorant. For the next four years, nothing happened in this direction, until in June 1925, when the late U May Oung, then Burmese Home Member, introduced the Expulsion of Offenders Bill into the Burma Legislative Council. The measure was obviously directed against the Indians in particular. It provided for the expulsion from Burma for a specified period of an individual not born or domiciled in Burma who is convicted by a Court of Law of certain criminal offences, including political offences. The Government of Burma have always looked upon the Indians with an eye of suspicion as being the carriers and propagators of the virus of nationalism or non-co-operation in this country

and they wanted if possible to send the agitators away. It was then that the Indians were aroused from their complacent slumber. A mass meeting was held on the 7th of June 1925, where it was resolved to form an Indian Association to safe-guard Indian interests. But the organisers of this meeting were again the same Congressmen, who, could not or would not get rid of the fiction of Indo-Burman unity and who, therefore, declared that the aim of the proposed Association was to safeguard Indian interests and to work in unison with the Burmans.

The Association, however, proved a still-born child. In the meantime the Expulsion of Offenders' Bill became law, with certain modifications. Simultaneously with the above bill another bill known as the Burma Seapassengers' Bill had been also introduced. Its object was to levy a tax of Rs. 5—on every immigrant entering Burma by sea. This was directed against the Indian labourers who immigrate into this country in large numbers. This Bill was also passed by the Burma Council but was vetoed by the Viceroy, who was wise enough to see the suicidal folly of putting restriction on the flow of Indian labour into Burma. The measure was also strongly opposed by the European capitalists who depended almost wholly on Indian immigrant labour for their noble work of "developing" Burma. The slender agitation caused by the above two measures having subsided, the Indians once more settled down to their business and forgot all about them till recently they have been pulled up by the ganja scare. Of this I will speak presently.

I have said that the Indians are unorganised, indifferent and mostly unconscious of the true situation. Those who call themselves "leaders" and in fact possess some semblance of leadership mainly belong to two classes—lawyers and merchants. Of the lawyers, almost all are moderates, or believers in the reforms. Like their confreres in India and elsewhere, they do not bother about organising Indian opinion, and are satisfied so long as they can make a noise in the Council and outside and nevertheless remain in the good books of the Government. Of the merchants, some are politicians, others are not. As merchants, they have most of them formed themselves into a Chamber of Commerce known as the Burma Indian Chamber of commerce as distinguished from the Burma Chamber of commerce, representing European

and the Burmese Chamber of commerce representing indigenous interests.

Those among them who are politicians too, generally take good care not to thresh out the problem, lest the bubble of Indo-Burman unity burst to the detriment of their commercial interests. The doctrines of unity of ideals and of brotherhood come handy to these people and they make the most of these shibboleths in order to advance their personal interests under their cover. That these gentlemen are not sincere in their protestations was clear a short time ago when the Government wanted to introduce the Agrarian Bill in the Council in April last. This bill sought to give some sort of protection to the tillers of the soil against the rapacity of landlords. Who are these landlords? Many of them are Indian merchants, money-lenders and lawyers, who, having amassed a fortune by their respective callings, have invested tremendous sums in real property in Burma. No less than 4 million acres of Burma's earth have already passed into the hands of these people, who can, under the present tenancy laws, evict a cultivator at his sweet will. Millions of Burmans have been reduced to mere landless labourers. The Agrarian bill sought to mitigate the above situation to a very small extent. But, as soon as it was published, down came the Swarajist-capitalist thunder on the head of the hated bureaucracy. The bill was condemned wholesale by Indian and Burman capitalists alike so that the Government had to postpone its consideration. In other words, the bill was dropped.

That is the Indians. The Burmans, however, do not take the professions of Indians at their face-value. But they, too, are hopelessly divided and disorganised. There are councils and associations and parties without number but most of them are mere names on paper, having no strong and disciplined organisations at their back. There are non-co-operators, Swarajists, moderates under different names—for the Burman politician is loth to acknowledge his debt to Indian nomenclature openly, but none of them have any definite programme of work. But in one thing they are all agreed namely, in their dislike, if not hatred, of Indians, whom they call the *kala* (foreigner) in contempt. In spite of declarations made by seemingly important men to the contrary,

it is a fact (and the sooner it is recognised the better) that the Burmans consider the Indians as interlopers, as exploiters of Burma's wealth and genuinely desire their withdrawal. The nationalists-moderates want it now if possible. The Swarajist-extremists think it expedient to defer the date—that is all. Not that they appreciate thralldom under the English. But they consider it something like a necessary evil. The English are a superior people, physically and otherwise and they must bow to their superior strength. But they heartily resent the domination of Indians who are slaves like themselves at home. They smart under this double slavery, as some of them are disposed to call it.

The methods and tactics employed by them to snub or expel the Indians are not always fair or intelligent. The attitude taken up by them may not be wholly reasonable or even beneficial to their own interests. But the fact is there and there is no use shirking or suppressing it. There is a distinct movement among them for the separation of Burma from India—and this movement has the support of almost all educated Burmans. The separatist movement may not succeed in the near future—owing to political causes. But the separatist tendency is growing apace among the intelligentsia, and no amount of pious bluff can hide it.

While Burman nationalism has taken a distinctly anti-Indian turn, and the Indian politician is dealing in humbugs, the Government are following the policy of divide and rule. In almost all matters as between Indians and Burmans they back up the Burmans, thereby making a gesture of sympathy towards the people as well as making the cleavage between the Indians and Burmans wider. The European community outside the Government, too, pretend to support the sons of the soil. They are out and out-supporters of the separatist movement—for different reasons though. The European capitalists have little love for their Indian fellows—and would fain see the latter wiped out of Burma so that they might have an undisputed sway over the economic resources of this country.

The recent proposal of the Government to remove the prohibition on the sale of ganja is an instance of the scant courtesy with which Indians are treated by the Government.

The story is interesting. Some time ago (March, 1925) the Burma Government appointed a Committee to enquire and report on the possibility of abolishing the poll-tax (known as the capitation tax in Lower Burma and the thathameda tax in Upper Burma) to which strong exception had been taken by the nationalist members of the Council. They were also asked to suggest alternative resources of revenue—because the poll-tax brought to the treasury about a crore of rupees a year, which the Government could ill-afford to lose.

In the report the Committee did not recommend the abolition of the poll-tax but in case the Government thought it fit to abolish it they suggested twelve alternative sources of revenue which together were expected to compensate the loss due to the abolition of the poll-tax. One of these suggested sources is "sale of ganja" estimated to yield 4 lakhs of rupees a year.

Now the Burmese Government, on consideration of the Committee's report, did not decide to abolish the poll-tax but nevertheless, resolved to tap some of the sources of revenue suggested by the Committee, including the sale of ganja, which had been prohibited in 1873. The Government resolution on the point runs thus :—

"That the Government should take steps to sell ganja in large towns involves the reversal of a policy which has been in force since 1873. The Sale of Ganja in Burma, save for medical treatment of elephants, is prohibited, but the prohibition is more nominal than real. It is common knowledge that Indian consumers experience little difficulty in satisfying their requirements. It is generally believed that the drug does not appeal to the taste of Burmans, in whose interests the policy of prohibition was adopted. It is impossible to reconcile a policy of prohibition in respect of Ganja, for which Burmans have evinced no partiality with the policy of selling opium, which is believed to be specially deleterious to Burmans. His Excellency the Governor of Burma has therefore decided to introduce the sale of Ganja to Indians as an experiment in Rangoon. If the experiment is successful, its extension to other towns will be considered".

Every line of the above resolution shows a cynical disregard of the welfare of the Indian community. The policy of prohibiting Ganja was introduced in the interest of the Burmans and not of the Indians. But since the drug does not appeal to the Burmese taste, no prohibition is needed. Again, since the Government sells opium which is deleterious to the Burmans, why should not they sell Ganja which is deleterious to the Indians? Fine logic, indeed. The Minister of Excise is a Chinaman.

The Rangoon Corporation has recently adopted a resolution condemning the Government proposal and an Anti-Ganja and opium Committee has been formed under the Chairmanship of Mr. S. A. S. Tyabjee, Swarajist M. L. C. of Burma. It remains to be seen what effect the activities of these bodies have upon the Government's action. It is clear, however, that occasional and spasmodic efforts of this nature cannot become really effective and produce lasting results. The remedy lies in organised action.

The Indian population forms only about 7 per cent of the population of Burma, of which 5 per cent are immigrants and about 2 per cent born in this country. Of the immigrants about 6 per cent follow trade and the professions and 94 per cent are labourers. About only 4 per cent of the labourers, again, are domiciled; the remainder are in a state of flux. Of the 6 per cent who follow the arts, professions and trade very few indeed have any intention of settling in Burma. This feature of Indian life perhaps stands in the way of unity and organised action. But the time is come to take stock of the real situation instead of drifting along the current of time towards an unknown destination. So long as the Indians are disorganised and so long as they lack a definite policy and programme but dabble with all sorts of political formulas, they cannot expect to be heard or respected.

NOTES

How Tagore has been Misrepresented

It is not necessary to point out all the misquotations of which Miss Mayo has been guilty in "Mother India." We will give here only one passage from Rabindranath Tagore's essay in Count Keyserling's *Book of Marriage* which she has misquoted. Tagore writes :—

"The desire, however, against which India's solution of the marriage problem declared war, is one of Nature's most powerful fighters ; consequently, the question of how to overcome it was not an easy one. There is a particular age, *said India*, at which this attraction between the sexes reaches its height : so if marriage is to be regulated according to the social will, it must be finished with before such age. Hence the Indian custom of early marriage." (*Book of Marriage*, page 112)

In quoting this passage Miss Mayo has left out the words "said India" which we have italicised, making it appear as if the views expressed therein were Tagore's instead of being those of people who support early marriage, which is not identical with child-marriage. It must also be borne in mind by foreigners that the Hindu child-marriage is followed by another ceremony after the attainment of puberty, prescribed by the shastras, before the bride and bridegroom can live as husband and wife. This is the normal practice, though there are deviations from it. The Hindu child-marriage is in fact, according to the Shastras, an espousal.

In the same essay of Tagore's there are words like, "these must have been the lines of argument," "such was the conclusion," etc. showing that he was not giving expression to his own views.

Miss Mayo, being a dishonest woman, has not given Tagore's own views, which are given at the end of his paper. "Let me," he says, "as an individual Indian, offer in conclusion my own personal contribution to the discussion of the marriage question generally." "In our language we call the power of woman over man by the name of *Shakti*. Deprived of *Shakti* the creative process in society languishes, and man, losing his vitality, becomes mechanical in his habits..... The manner in which the relations between the sexes have been regulated in our country has left no room for the action

of this *Shakti* ;...." This would show to any honest reader that Tagore is not a supporter of the prevailing marriage customs of India.

League Dominated by Scheming Imperialists

Reuter thus reports a speech of M. Hambro, delegate from Norway to the League of Nations this year, at one of the League meetings :—

Geneva, Sept. 8.

Vociferous applause punctuated a vigorous speech of M. Hambro of Norway, who frequently glanced at Sir Austen Chamberlain, criticised the work of the Council and spoke of the secret activity of the Council within the Council. Discussing the important agenda before the General Council, M. Hambro finally asked why the Under-Secretaries of the League only belonged to the great Powers and said that Norway admired the work of the Secretariat, but it would do even more if the Powers that were still outside were brought inside. Delegates rose and patted M. Hambro on his back as he returned to his seat.—Reuter.

M. Hambro represented a country which contains only 26 lakhs of people. But he could speak the truth without fear, because he is a free man. The so called Indian delegates of India, not being free men, are or profess to be full of admiration for the League !

Rabindranath Tagore's Repudiation

Some Indian newspapers have already shown by quoting the exact words of the poet Rabindranath Tagore from Count Keyserling's *Book of Marriage* that by omitting a few words therefrom here and there Miss Mayo has made it appear that opinions which were not the poet's were really his. She has also refrained deliberately from quoting his own opinions, which are to be found towards the end of his essay on the Indian ideal of marriage. This essay originally appeared in Bengali in Prabasi. The reviewer of Miss Mayo's "Mother India" in the London *New Statesman* went one better than her. He attributed to the poet an opinion which even that lying woman had not done. Having accidentally come across this malicious review

the poet has sent from Moendoek, Bali, a letter of protest to *The Manchester Guardian*. He has favored us with a copy of his letter, from which we reproduce a few paragraphs. Says he:—

While travelling in this island of Bali, I have just chanced upon a copy of the *New Statesman* of the 16th of July, containing the review of a book on India written by a tourist from America. The reviewer, while supporting with an unctuous virulence all the calumnies heaped upon our people by the authoress, and while calling repeated attention to the alleged common Hindu vice of untruthfulness even amongst the greatest of us, has made public a *malicious piece of fabrication*, not as one of the specimens picked up from a show-case of wholesale abuse displayed in this or some other book, but as a gratuitous information about the truth of which the writer tacitly insinuates his own personal testimony. It runs thus: "The poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore expresses in print his conviction that marriage should be consummated before puberty in order to avert the vagaries of female sexual desire" (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

Then, referring to another but an allied kind of lies, namely, war-lies, the poet adds:

We have become painfully familiar with deliberate circulation of hideous lies in the West against enemy countries, but a similar propaganda against individuals, whose countrymen have obviously offended the writer by their political aspiration, has come to me as a surprise. If the people of the United States had ever made themselves politically obnoxious to England, it is imaginable how an English writer of this type would take a gloating delight in proving, with profuse helps from the news columns in the American journals, their criminal propensity and quote for his support their constant indulgence in vicarious enjoyment of crimes through cinema pictures. But would he in the fiercest frenzy of his rhetoric running amok, dare make the monstrous accusation, let us say, against the late President Wilson, for ever having expressed his pious conviction that the lynching of the Negroes was a 'moral necessity in a superior civilisation for cultivating Christian virtues'? Or would he venture to ascribe to Professor Dewey the theory that centuries of witch burning have developed in the Western peoples the quick moral sensitiveness that helps them in judging and condemning others whom they do not know or understand or like, and about whose culpability they are never in lack of conclusive evidence? But has it been made so easily possible in my case, such a deliberately untruthful irresponsibility in this writer, condoned by the editor, by the fact that the victim was no better than a British subject who by accident of his birth has happened to be a Hindu and not belonging to the Muslim community, which according to the writer is specially favoured by his people and our government?

He concludes his long letter thus:—

The writer in the *New Statesman* has suggested for the good of the world that the people of India, condemned by the tourist for malpractices,

should never be assisted by the benevolent British soldiers safely to preserve their existence and continue their race. He evidently chooses to ignore the fact that these people have maintained their life and culture without the help of the British soldiers for a longer series of centuries than his own people have. However that may be, I shrink from borrowing my wisdom from this source and make a similarly annihilating suggestion for his kind of writers who spread about the malignant contagion of race-hatred; because, in spite of provocations, we should have a patient faith in human nature for its unlimited capacity for improvement; and let us hope to be rid of the lurking persistence of barbarism in man, not through elimination of the noxious elements by physical destruction, but through the education of mind and a discipline of true culture.

—

Katherine Mayo's Mendacity

We have shown conclusively in our last number, page 361, that Miss Mayo's "Mother India" begins with a lie. Since then Mahatma Gandhi has shown in *Young India* what liberties she has taken with the views he has expressed on various occasions and in his organ. He has also categorically denied having given her the message which she writes he gave her.

Mr. Popley of Madras has written *The Indian Witness* that many things which Miss Katherine Mayo ascribes to Miss Bose, Principal of the Victoria College, Lahore, were never said by the latter.

Some facts there may be in Miss Mayo's book, correctly stated. But some such facts, served up with half-truths, garbled extracts and lies, cannot make a book truthful. That she is an anti-Indian propagandist has been shown in our last issue, pp. 360-361.

—

Abbe Dubois, a Precursor of Miss Mayo

Miss Mayo has borrowed some of her statements from Abbe Dubois's book on *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. In order to show what kind of man this abbe was and that he was paid by the East Indian Company to write what he did and also got a pension from the same Company, we quoted the following passage in the last number but one of *Prabasi* from the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. viii, p. 624:—

"But his great work was his record of *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. Immediately on his arrival in India he saw that the work of a

Christian missionary should be based on a thorough acquaintance with the innermost life and character of the native population. Accordingly he abjured European society, adopted the native style of clothing, and made himself in habit and costume as much like a Hindu as he could. He gained an extraordinary welcome among people of all castes and conditions, and is still spoken of in many parts of South India with affection and esteem as "the prince's son, the noblest of Europeans."

"Although Dubois modestly disclaimed the rank of an author, his collections were not so much drawn from the Hindu sacred books as from his own careful and vivid observations; and it is this, united to a remarkable prescience, that makes his work so valuable. It is divided into 'three parts': (1) a general view of society in India, and especially of the caste system; (2) the four states of Brahmanical life; (3) religion—feasts, temples, objects of worship. Not only does the abbe give a shrewd, clear sighted, candid account of the manners and customs of the Hindus, but he provides a very sound estimate of the British position in India and makes some eminently just observations on the difficulties of administering the Empire according to Western notions of civilization and progress with the limited resources that are available. Dubois's French Ms. was purchased for eight thousand rupees by Lord William Bentinck for the East India Company in 1807; in 1816 an English translation was published, and of this edition about 1864 a curtailed reprint was issued. The abbe, however, largely recast his work, and of this revised text (*now in the India Office*) an edition with notes was published in 1897 by H. K. Beauchamp. Dubois left India in January 1823, with a special pension conferred on him by the East India Company and on reaching Paris was appointed director of the Missions Etrangères, of which he afterwards became superior (1836-2839)."

The words italicised by us in the above extract leave no doubt that he was paid by the East India Company, then the rulers of British India, to do what he did. As at the time when he was in India, there was little love lost between England and France, the very fact of his receiving Rs. 8,000 and a special pension from the English shows that he did his semi-political work very satisfactorily. He served the government of the East India Company also by providing them with an excuse for not administering the affairs of India according to civilized notions of progress. That excuse was, "the limited resources available." But these "limited resources" have sufficed to enrich England at the cost of India. These limited resources were what tempted Englishmen and other Europeans to come to India to shake the pagoda tree.

In order to gain the confidence of the people of India, he embraced "in many respects the prejudices of the natives"—so good a Christian was he. Apart from the

political motive—namely, blackening the life and character of the people in order to prove to occidentals their unfitness for independence—which one may fairly impute to him, he had a "religious" motive. In spite of his "becoming all but a Hindu", he could not gain many converts. Those whom he could convert were, he says, mostly pariahs or beggars; "and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants, outcasts of several tribes, who being without resources turned Christian in order to form connexions chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views." He, therefore, had recourse to a different method to gain proselytes, *viz.*, to write the book on which his "fame" rests. He tells us of this motive in the preface to his book.

"There is one motive which above all others has influenced my determination. It struck me that a faithful picture of the wickedness and incongruities of polytheism and idolatry would by its very ugliness help greatly to set off the beauties and perfections of Christianity. It was thus that the Lacedaemonians placed drunken slaves in the sight of their children in order to inspire the latter with a horror of intemperance."

A man working with such a motive cannot help saying and suggesting much that is false. But supposing his "picture of the wickedness and incongruities", of the Hindu religion were really "faithful," a record of the wickedness and incongruities alone of a religion cannot be a faithful description of it. And yet Abbe Dubois's book is considered authoritative in many quarters! And it is to this biased and mercenary writer that Miss Mayo is indebted for some of her false statements.

Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Child-marriage Bill

Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Hindu Child-marriage Bill has been referred to a select committee. Its object is twofold. "The main object, by declaring invalid the marriages of girls below 12 years of age, is to put a stop to such girls becoming widows. The second object, by laying down the minimum marriageable ages of boys and girls, is to prevent, so far as may be, their physical and moral deterioration by removing a principal obstacle to their physical and mental development."

If the Bill passes into law, the first object will be fully gained; but not so the second object. The bill fixes the

minimum marriageable age of girls at 12, and that of boys at 15. If boys and girls be married at 16 and 13 respectively, even that cannot prevent physical, moral and mental deterioration. The bill, therefore, errs on the side of extreme caution—particularly as it makes the marriage of girls of eleven permissible after obtaining a licence from district magistrates.

We do not condemn Mr. Sarda's caution. He himself would like to make the minimum marriageable age of girls sixteen. But he wishes to carry with him, as far as may be practicable, those sections of the Hindu community which go in for marriages of girls below 12. Giving him every credit for his good motive, we would urge that the minimum marriageable age for girls should be fixed at 14. At present the number of girls in orthodox families who are married at the age of 15 or 16 or 17 is by no means negligible, and the number of those who are married at 12 is very large. Therefore, to fix the minimum age at 12 would not raise it in the case of the educated classes. We shall show before we conclude this note what the average age of marriage of girls actually is.

From what has been written above, it will have been seen that the proposed law is not in the least of a revolutionary character. It is not at all likely to produce any commotion even in the orthodox section of the Hindu community. Yet what did Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member of the Government of India, say when the bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 1st February last? Said that Honourable Member:—

"Sir, I do not desire to break the convention that Bills should not be opposed at the introduction stage; but this is a Bill of a very peculiar character which requires the sanction of the Governor General. All that I wish to say is that, on behalf the Government, I shall oppose any other motion after motion for introduction, other than a motion for circulation."

So, but for the "convention", referred to by him, he would have opposed even the introduction of this "very peculiar bill!"

Not having any skill in thought-reading, we cannot definitely say why Sir Alexander Muddiman expressed his determination, "on behalf of the Government," to oppose all motions except the one for the circulation of the bill. Had he not been transferred to another sphere of action, he would have opposed the bill being referred to a select committee. His

successor, Mr. Cramer, has followed the policy outlined by him, by opposing the motion for the reference of the bill to a select committee and insisting upon its circulation for obtaining the opinion of the public on it. As the Government does not care a straw for public opinion when it goes against the opinion of the bureaucracy and non-official British opinion here and in Britain and against British interests generally, this anxiety for ascertaining public opinion is farcical in the extreme. And what is there to ascertain? For about half a century the controversy on the marriageable age of girls has gone on. All the Sanskrit verses which have anything to do with it have been quoted by reformers and orthodox people. There are some who are opposed to reform and there are others who want reform. Census figures show decade after decade that the age of marriage of girls has been rising, proving that the cause of reform has been gaining and the cause of blind conservatism losing adherents. If nothing is to be done until there is no one left to oppose reform, one would have to wait till doomsday.

It is stated in the Census Report for India, Vol. i, p. 159:

"Whatever be the causes to which the change may be attributed the figures clearly show an increase in the numbers of those in the early age-categories who are still unmarried. The movement is most marked in the Hindu community but is shared by the other religions. The change is most conspicuous in the age-categories 10 to 15 for women and 10 to 20 for men. In Bengal and Bihar and Orissa the rise in the age of marriage is marked. The number of males left unmarried between the ages of 10 and 15 has risen from 826 per thousand in 1891 to 868 per thousand in 1921, the increase in the age period 15 to 20 being from 594 to 665. The case of girls is still more striking, the figures being given in the marginal table; and for both males and females the rise during the last decade has been exceptionally high."

The marginal table is given below.

Bengal and Bihar and Orissa.

Number unmarried per mille girls aged

Year	5-10	10-15
1921	891	494
1911	851	422
1901	836	402
1891	827	372

As "the custom of child marriage was most prevalent in Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Baroda, the Central India tract and Hyderabad," the above table is somewhat encouraging.

As regards Bengal, the Census Super-

intendent writes in the Bengal Census Report, 1921, page 269, that "For practical purposes we may take it that the average age of the bride in a marriage in Bengal is $12\frac{1}{2}$ and that of the bridegroom rather under 20." This average age in 1921 must be much higher now in 1927. As Bengal is one of the provinces where child marriage has been most prevalent and as here the average age is above 12 and 15 for the bride and the bridegroom respectively, fixing the lowest marriageable age at 12 and 15 is rather going backward than forward.

It is stated in the Census Report for India 1921, Vol. i, page 157, that child-marriage "is not exclusively a Hindu custom, and of the Hindus who are most addicted to the practice it is among the lower rather than the higher castes that the custom is most rigidly observed." The higher castes are more educated than the lower. The spread of education then helps the cause of social reform. But the Government has all along directly or indirectly prevented the adoption of the principle of universal and compulsory elementary education on the plea of want of money, though there is always money enough to increase the salaries and allowances of the pampered European services and to incur increased recurring and capital expenditure of a military character.

It is not that the Government has never passed any laws affecting socio-religious practices. The law abolishing suttee and the law validating Hindu widow-remarriage were passed on the sole responsibility of the Government, when there were no legislative councils containing a considerable number of elected representatives of the people. But now, when there are such councils and when a representative of the people introduces social legislation with the concurrence of the majority of his elected colleagues, the Government opposes it! Western propagandists tell the world that we are unfit for self-rule because, among other things, there is child-marriage in India; and the British bureaucracy and people take advantage of such propaganda. But when, in addition to carrying on agitation against it, we want gradually to abolish it by legislation, the Government declares its opposition to such legislation! What is the reason?

It cannot be that the Government has grown more timid than before; because it has passed various repressive and other laws and taken other steps in the teeth of

vehement popular agitation and opposition. It cannot be that it has never undertaken legislation relating to social customs. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that there are other reasons. It may be that as the social backwardness of the people is stated to be one of the reasons for the continuance of British predominance, the British bureaucracy want this backward condition to last as long as possible. It may be that as child-marriage and child-maternity is a cause of the physical and mental deterioration of the people and of backwardness in education, and as these stand in the way of India having a virile and politically self-assertive people, the bureaucracy would not like the disappearance of child-marriage and child-maternity. It may also be that as the bureaucracy have now lost the confidence of the intelligentsia, they wish to pander to the superstitions of the masses in order to maintain whatever hold they may have on them. But whatever the cause may be, we wish to tell the bureaucracy that if our social backwardness be urged as a justification for the continuation of British predominance, it must be because that predominance is to be used for promoting the cause of social progress. If the British bureaucracy will not help us to be socially progressive, they must make room for those who will.

That social legislation may be necessary for the advancement or maintenance of social ideals is proved by the fact that "even in England, where child-marriages are unknown and early marriages are exceptions, it has been found necessary to fix the ages below which boys and girls may not marry."

Those Hindus who are opposed to social legislation but want the abolition of child-marriage should inform the public what public meetings they have addressed, what articles they have written and what pamphlets they have published in furtherance of social reform in this particular.

As regards Mr. Sarda's bill itself, the select committee ought to consider whether the prescription of some deterrent punishment for the guardians of boys and girls married below 15 and 12 may not be substituted for the invalidation of such marriages. For, when once boys and girls are married according to the prescribed religious rites, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to get suitable matches for them again, even

if the rites first undergone were declared legally invalid.

As child-marriage is not an exclusively Hindu custom, there ought to be a law for its prevention applicable to the followers of all religions. But perhaps it is best to leave the initiative to the leaders of the different communities concerned.

—

Exploitation of Bengal Youths by election candidates

In our July number, p. 82, we wrote :

"The worst enemies of our student population are the political leaders who have been shrewdly exploiting the noble patriotism of our young men by turning them by the thousand into unpaid servants for their personal glorification or ambition. We have noticed that for several months before the Council elections of 1926 and the Municipal elections early in 1927, in every ward of Calcutta the students' brigade was drilled, organised, and put under requisition by designing political candidates of one particular party... When did these blind tools of ambitious politicians get any sufficient time to prepare for their examinations?"

The latest evidence in support of our statement has been furnished by the following appeal issued early in August 1927 :—

CORPORATION BYE-ELECTION APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN OF CALCUTTA

Three hundred volunteers, of which two hundred have already been enlisted on Wednesday, are required to work in the Corporation Bye-election in Ward XII for the Congress candidate, Sj. Abani Kumar Dutt. Enrolment will be made at 10, *Hastings Street*, under the direction of Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy, between 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., to-day, Thursday, Young men of Calcutta! muster strong.

Akhil Chandra Datta.
J. M. Sen-Gupta.
T. C. Goswami.
Sarat C. Bose.
Satyendra Ch. Mitra.
J. M. Das-Gupta.
Nirmal Chunder Chunder.
B. C. Roy.
Nalini Nanjan Sarkar.

We do not support but have always opposed and criticised the bureaucratic desire for an "atmosphere of pure study." But it is not right that students should be turned into unpaid (or paid) election agents by any party.

—

The Mid Pan-Pacific Women's Conference

The Pan-Pacific Union is well-known for its numerous activities and achievements. It

is an organisation which is in no way the agency of any Government, yet having the goodwill of all, with the Presidents and Premiers of Pacific lands as its Honorary Heads. Affiliated and working with this Union are Chambers of Commerce, and Educational, Scientific and other bodies. It is supported in part by Government and part by private appropriation and subscriptions. Its central office is in Honolulu, Hawaii, because of its location at the ocean's cross-roads. Its management is under an International Board. Its object is to bring together from time to time in friendly Conference leaders on all lines of thought and action in the Pacific Area that they may become better acquainted and assist them in a co-operative effort for the advancement of those interests which are common to all the peoples. It has established a Pan-Pacific Research Institution, where primarily the work will be along the lines necessary in solving the problem of food-production in the Pacific Area. The Union has conducted a number of successful Conferences, Scientific, Educational, Journalistic, Commercial, Fisheries, and most vital of all, on the conservation of food and food-products in the Pacific Areas. A Conference on Education was called by the President of the United States at Honolulu in April, 1927. It has now been decided to hold a Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in July, 1928. The Subjects to be discussed are wide and varied and are divided into five Sections : Education, Health, Social Service, Women in Industry and Women in Government. Miss Jane Adams, Hullhouse, Chicago, has consented to be the Chairman. The Chairmen of the Five Sections are local women who would like to have on their committees at least one woman from each country. Although India does not border on the Pacific, the interests of its women are so nearly allied to the Pacific that there will be mutual benefit by India joining this Conference. Most of the Eastern countries, such as China, Japan, Siam, Korea, Indo-China, have already decided to send their representatives. I trust that the women of India will also avail themselves of this opportunity offered to them of getting into contact with the great Nations of the Pacific. I do not know how far our Government will be willing to lend a helping hand, though the Governments of the other countries are co-operating with their women. Some Members of the Union are visiting India,

notably Miss Grace Shannon, Miss Flora Lyn Cadwell, Dr. Caroline Furnese. They hope to meet the women of India and interest them in the Conference. The Correspondents in India in connection with the Conference are Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Secretary, Women's Indian Association, Adyar, Madras, Mrs. S. K. Datta, National Y. W. C. A., Calcutta, Mrs. Palmer, National Council of Women, Delhi, Sreemati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Organising Secretary, All-India Women's Educational Conference, Mangalore.

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

"An Exploded Myth"

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay writes:—

An Exploded Myth: The editor of *Capital* the well-known commercial journal, has exploded once for all an old fable which has been repeated times without number, as if it was gospel truth, by opponents of Indians for self-government of India. We reproduce his remarks in another column. This story with suitable modification is repeated in Miss Katherine Mayo's book at page 282. The Maharaja, to whom it was originally attributed, when asked by the editor of *Capital* whether it was true, fiercely answered: "Lie, my friend, a damned lie. We Rajputs never offend the inoffensive: when we insult our foes, we give them the chance to retaliate with the sword." In this connection it is interesting to note the practice which prevailed in India when troops were on the march. The following is taken from the remarkable autobiographical fragment of Nana Fādnavis printed as an appendix to an old memoir of his life recently published for the University of Bombay by the Oxford University Press. Nana Fādnavis writes: "After his investiture, Madhavrao Sahib having had his audience of leave, we started on our way home and returned to Poona. On the road, one day, an infantry soldier seized a young woman in a field and threw her down, with the intention of committing a rape; one of the troopers on duty, observing it, galloped up and pierced him to the heart with his spear. Thus I had before me an example of the consequences of indulgence in the passions." The translator, Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, who was the Resident at the Court of Satara in the middle of the last century, explains in a foot note: "On the occasion of the march of troops through the country, it is usual to post safeguards to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants: and it is concluded that the trooper, meeting with resistance from the foot-soldier, felt himself authorised to act as he did." The rules of war, as laid down in that encyclopædia of Hindu history and culture, the Mahabharata, absolutely forbade as heinous sin the molestation of women and unarmed and peaceful inhabitants during the operations of war, and these rules, according to the grudging testimony of hostile Mahomedan historians, were strictly enforced by the illus-

trious Shivaji in his army. Miss Katherine Mayo's statement, therefore, as applied to the Marathas is not less a lie than in the case of the Rajputs.

The extract from *Capital*, referred to above, is given below.

Miss Katherine Mayo is seemingly conscious of her limitations, for she shows a fondness for smoking-room stories to eke out her mess of stale kail. Those who told them to her pulled her leg egregiously. Take the following for instance:

"Here is a story from the lips of one whose veracity has never, I believe, been questioned. The time was the stormy period in 1920 when the new Reforms Act was casting doubt over the land and giving rise to the persistent rumour that Britain was about to quit India. My informant, an American of long Indian experience, was visiting one of the more important of the princes—a man of great charm, cultivation and force, whose work for his State was of the first order. The prince's Dewan was also present and the three gentlemen had been talking at ease, as became the old friends that they were.

"His Highness does not believe," said the Dewan, "that Britain is going to leave India. But still, under this new regime in England, they may be so ill-advised. So, His Highness is getting his troops in shape, accumulating munitions and coining silver. And if the English do go, three months afterwards not a rupee or a virgin will be left in all Bengal."

"To this His Highness sitting in his capital distant from Bengal by half the breadth of India, cordially agreed. His ancestors through the ages had been predatory Mahratta chiefs."

I heard the original of that story much better and more racily told more than forty years ago. The actors were Lord Dufferin and Sir Pertab Singh, the gallant Rajput who so often acted as Regent of Jodhpur.

"What would happen if the British left India?" asked the Viceroy.

"What would happen," replied the Rajput warrior? "I would call to my *Juans* to boot and saddle and in a month there would not be a virgin or a rupee left in Bengal."

I knew Sir Pertab well, and at the Curzonian durbār I asked him if this conversation had ever taken place. "Lie, my friend, a damned lie," he answered fiercely. "We, Rajputs, never offend the inoffensive. When we insult our foes, we give them the chance to retaliate with the sword." I am tempted to quote Sidney Smith on American gullibility: but why libel a nation for the rantings of an eccentric woman?

The brutal and ribald story has been often repeated, each time in new settings, showing that occidentals of a certain type, of both sexes, have a liking for such putridity.

We found it in Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's "The Awakening of India" years ago when it was first published. In our review of it, we took the author to task for sully his pages with it. In Mr. Wells's *New Machiavelli*, (published 1913) Remington refers to it, and speaks of the ruler in the north-west as apocryphal.

Bengal and Its People

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay extracts the following passage from "Mother India" :—

"Bengal is the seat of bitterest political unrest—the producer of India's main crop of anarchists, bomb-throwers and assassins. Bengal is also among the most sexually exaggerated regions of India ; and medical and police authorities in any country observe the link between that quality and "queer" criminal minds—the exhaustion of normal avenues of excitement creating a thirst and a search in the abnormal for gratification. But Bengal also is the stronghold of strict *purdah*, and one cannot but speculate as to how many explosions of eccentric crime in which the young politicals of Bengal have indulged, were given the detonating touch by the unspeakable flatness of their *purdah*-deadened home lives, made the more irksome by their own half-digested dose of foreign doctrines." ("Mother India, p. 118.)

The comments of the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* on this passage are given below.

It is strange—is it not?—that this (according to Miss Mayo) God-forsaken province should have produced during this last century the largest number of great Indians who have attained an international reputation. Raja Rammohun Roy, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Keshub Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda in the sphere of religion ; Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Toru Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu in the region of poetry ; Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose and Sir P. C. Ray in the realm of science ; Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Lord Sinha, and Chittaranjan Das in politics ; Sir Gurusdas Banerjee and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee in education. What a brilliant galaxy to spring out of the muck of Miss Katherine Mayo's "most sexually exaggerated province"! Even New York and Chicago, we fancy, have not produced greater men in so many spheres and in comparatively so short a time !

As regards the alleged connection between the political unrest in Bengal and the so-called sexual exaggeration of this province, our contemporary observes :

The Indian political extremist of the Partition days was described as a sexual pervert. Those who knew him laughed at this description. But very few outside Calcutta, or, at most Bengal, knew anything of him. We ourselves did not realise the full extent of this calumny until we had unimpeachable testimony to its utter falsity. The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar with Mr. Justice Beachcroft was appointed by the Government of India to examine the cases of some scores of men, mostly students, who were held in confinement for alleged complicity in anarchic doings. The committee, we think, personally interviewed some of them. Its proceedings were private, but this writer distinctly remembers Sir Narayan, when he returned from Calcutta, telling him that the talk about the degeneracy of those boys was pure bunkum. On the contrary, they

had, he said in effect, made a religion of physical fitness. The Gita was their manual of conduct and devotion, and hard physical exercise was a regular part of their daily discipline. Miss Katherine Mayo need not have come all the way to India to verify the observation of medical and police authorities about 'the exhaustion of normal avenues of excitement creating a thirst and a search in the abnormal for its gratification.'

"Mother India," we fancy, had its origin in such a thirst leading to such a search. The muck is in Miss Katherine Mayo's mind more than in Bengal or any other part of India, though, of course, India like every other part of the world is compounded of mud and sky.

Outlawing Wars of Aggression

News has been received that the League of Nations Assembly has unanimously adopted the Polish resolution outlawing all wars of aggression. Lord Onslow, the British delegate expressed the view that the resolution defined clearly the main object of the League and marked a distinct step forward.

The resolution adopted at the League Assembly's meeting has, no doubt, some value as an expression of opinion. But until it is known what steps the League can and will take against aggressive nations, the resolution cannot be expected to produce any good results. The biggest empires of the world to-day have grown by aggressive warfare, showing that the nations which are masters of these empires have been the most aggressive in the world. And it is these nations which have permanent seats in the League Council and dominate the League. Should any of these nations become aggressive, excuses would not be wanting to prove that it has not been aggressive. The wolf in the story made out that the lamb was the aggressor. It would be a difficult task to suggest a definition of aggressive warfare entirely free from loopholes. And supposing any of the big powers wanted to be defiant, who would or could oppose them ?

But assuming that all aggressive warfare would in future be stopped by the resolution of the League, that could scarcely be held to be a source of great consolation to the subject peoples of the world. It has been repeatedly shown in this Review that the majority of the inhabitants of the world are now subject to foreigners. Future aggressive wars would not result in their greater enslavement, nor would the non-occurrence of such wars result in making them free. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, the

League resolution makes no difference in their lot. We and other subject peoples would undoubtedly be happy if countries which are now independent were not conquered and brought down to our humiliating political status. But men being both altruistic and selfish, the good fortune of some cannot be felt as a compensation for the wretched condition of the unfortunate.

We do not know of any peoples who are kept in a state of subjection with their consent. All subject peoples want to be free, but are prevented by *force majeure* from realising their desire. Those nations who rule foreign peoples and keep them deprived of freedom are really in a state of standing aggressive warfare against those whom they keep in subjection. What is the remedy for this standing aggression? Is the League competent even to dream of any such remedy?

The League's first duty is said to be the maintenance of peace. But can there be said to be any true peace when there is a standing invasion of the rights of subject peoples? All subject peoples live in a state of siege. A state of siege is not peace.

It is to be hoped that the League's outlawry of war will not fizzle out like the talk of disarmament. The world was at first told there would be disarmament; then the question debated was reduction; the next stage was limitation. Even that could not be agreed upon. What next?

The British Empire and the League of Nations

The Week comments thus on Sir Austen Chamberlain's description of the British Empire as an older league of nations:—

Sir Austen Chamberlain made fly with the words "League of Nations" as a description of the British Empire and referred to the latter as an "older league of nations." That, of course, is simply untrue. The Empire was an Empire and just that, with a little gradual mitigation of the Imperial rule as *patria potestas* over "daughter nations." It was only during the war that the idea of a "British Commonwealth of Nations" was born and the idea first received documentary expression in England's treaty with Ireland two years AFTER the League of Nations came into existence. And in fact the absolute equality of men, perhaps of the Dominions, in the Empire was still so little clear even then that only a few months ago, an Imperial Conference had to define it beyond cavil. It is therefore sheer affectation to speak of the British Empire as "the oldest

league of nations in the world." The fact is, Sir Austen Chamberlain had a thoroughly bad case to defend at Geneva, and if what he said is the best that can be said for it, it only proves how utterly bad it is.

The British Empire is a commonwealth *minus* India, where the vast majority of its inhabitants live.

The Army and the "Martial Races"

It is only in a subject country like India that one hears of the division of the people of the same country into martial and non-martial. In free and independent countries recruits are sought and obtained from all classes, only physical fitness and other qualifications being required. In India, many areas which formerly furnished recruits to the British Government have ceased to be classed as containing people fit to be soldiers. There may have been some degree of real emasculation there, produced by British rule. But another fact cannot but be noticed. With the spread of education comes the dawning of political consciousness and patriotism; and as soon as this happened in any particular area, it ceased to be a recruiting ground for the Indian army. But that is a long story, which cannot be told here.

The professionally military mercenary classes want that the Indian section of the army should remain a close preserve for them—commissioned officers also, when appointed, being chosen from their ranks. In reply to the spokesmen of these classes, Sir C. P. Sethna spoke as follows in the Council of State:—

It will interest Sir Umar Hayat and those who hold the same views as he does that in the course of our investigations at St. Cyr in France we enquired as to the number of boys who came from the military classes and of those whose fathers had not followed the military profession. The House will be interested to know that out of the 325 boys at St. Cyr at the time 175 were sons of professional soldiers and 150 were sons of men in different civil professions. We were told further that the former, namely, the sons of soldiers, did not as a rule display any greater military aptitude than the latter, and the latter, the House will be still more interested to know, were sons of tax-collectors, business employees, carpenters, chemists, agriculturists, bailiffs, butchers, band-masters and working men.

Women Students at Dacca University

According to a statement made by the Vice-chancellor of the Dacca University, last

session there were five women students, of whom three lived in the women's hostel attached to the Dacca Hall. This session 13 women students have taken admission and had come to the hostel. Of the 13 students in the University, 4 are reading in the fifth year M. A. Class, one in the sixth year M. A. Class, five in the third year B. A. Class, two in the fourth year B. A. Class and one in the first year Law Class. In the recent University examination Miss Fazilat-un-nessa, a Mahomedan woman student, obtained a first class first in M. A. in Mathematics. Miss Fazilat-un-nessa's achievement is a record for Bengali Muslim students as well as for Bengali women students of all sects.

Of these thirteen women university students at Dacca, two are Brahmans, one is a Muslim, and the remaining ten are Hindus.

The Dacca University Court has recommended the expenditure of Rs. 5,000 per annum for enabling a woman student to proceed to Europe for the prosecution of higher studies.

An Indian Woman Student's Success in America

Miss Sarala Ghosh of the Darjiling Maharani Girls' school has obtained the degree of M. A. in Sociology and Economics, graduating from Wellesley College, Massachusetts, U. S. A. She has raised one thousand dollars from this college for the building fund of the Maharani Girls' School

Maharani Suniti Devi's Princely Gift

The Victoria Institution for girls was founded in Calcutta by Keshub Chunder Sen. His eldest daughter, the Maharani Suniti Devi of Cooch Behar, has recently made over Lily Cottage, her father's residence in Calcutta, with its grounds, covering four bighas, to this institution. The property must be worth several lakhs of rupees. This noble gift is worthy of both father and daughter. It will give stability to the institution, which will continue to do good to the women of Bengal generation after generation.

Indira Maharani Hunting and Dancing

We have felt greatly pained and humiliated at the report published in the papers

that the Maharani Indira of Cooch Behar, who has several children, has been spending her time in England in hunting and dancing, occupations which are unworthy of a Hindu widow. Hitherto only Indian Maharajas have been guilty of squandering abroad the wealth extracted from their uncared-for subjects. It would be an evil day for India if Indian Maharanis followed the unworthy example of Indira Maharani. The following cutting from a British paper has been sent to us by an anonymous indignant Indian correspondent:—

A DANCING MAHARANEE

One of the keenest dancers in London just now is the young Maharanee of Cooch Behar, a very beautiful girl who dresses her hair in modern style and wears it uncovered, but has not dispensed with her long sari. She was dancing at Chez Victor this week, and I notice that she appreciated all the points in the various songs sung there by Leslie Hutchinson, so her English is evidently very good. This is not surprising, as her husband and his brothers were educated at Eton, and her father is the Gackwar of Baroda.

Our ruling princesses, particularly the widows, should follow the noble example of the sainted Maharani Ahalyabai of Indore.

"An Indian Gulliver"

Under the above caption, *The Week*, the Calcutta Roman Catholic organ, has the following editorial paragraphs:

In our issue of August 11th we gave a detailed account of the reception accorded to Rabindranath Tagore at Singapore. Sir Hugh and Lady Clifford having had their fellow citizen in the Republic of Letters staying with them for three days, the whole official and non-official European world, of course, with that snobbery so characteristic of petty "Society" in tiny corners of the world, fell over each other to follow the gubernatorial lead. As a consequence the Poet's progress through Malaya was of a semi-royal nature—at least until he had got half-way through. Then a bombshell burst. Somebody had discovered that Dr. Tagore was... horror of horrors!—"disloyal" and "anti-British". The way the discovery was made is also typical of the closed-in toy-universe in which these people live—three days' steam from Calcutta. Somebody, we say, had found in a Manila paper, that a Shanghai paper had said, that a Chicago paper had said, that the Poet had said to a Calcutta paper, that he heartily disapproved of Indian troops being sent to China "as pawns in the British game in China." This amazing discovery of course might have been made last February, when the Poet gave an interview on this China business; and in fact another and still graver discovery—which seems not yet to have been made in Malaya—might indeed have been made earlier still, *viz.*, that Sir Rabindranath Tagore on a certain occasion renounced his

British Knighthood. Well may the heads of "Society" people of Malaya reel. Such a seditionist! Such a traitor! This anti-British viper! and actually staying at Government House.....

Meanwhile, on leaving Malaya, the Poet has, through his Secretary, Prof. E. Ariam Williams, issued a dignified statement...But we hope sincerely that the matter will not end there and that, when Rabindranath Tagore returns home, he will write for the world's delectation a light comedy of his travels to Liliput.

Government has not taken any special step to punish and put a stop to crimes against women in Bengal. The comparative criminality of Hindus and Musalmans does not trouble us so much as the question of how the honour of women can be made safe everywhere.

Outrages on Women in Bengal

In our last issue we printed a letter from a Muslim lawyer in which he expressed a doubt as to whether his co-religionists were guilty of a larger proportion of crimes against women than the followers of other creeds. There is not the least doubt that they are. *Sanjibani*, the Bengali weekly, has carefully worked out certain percentages based on the published cases of such crimes committed during the last five years. Here are some of these figures :—

Of such crimes 50.6 per cent. were committed by Musalmans, 25.5 per cent by Hindus, 5.3 by Hindus and Muslims combined, and 16.2 by persons of unknown religious profession.

Of the crimes committed by gangs of rascals, 52.4 per cent. were committed by Muhammadan gangs, 18.4 by Hindu gangs, 9 by combined Hindu and Muslim gangs, and 19.4 by gangs of men whose "religion" is unknown.

Of the women offended against 68.7 per cent. were Hindus, 21 percent. Muslims and 6.8 of unknown religion.

36.8 per cent of the crimes were committed by single individuals, and 61.6 per cent by gangs.

These figures support our conclusion that there are brains, money and organisation behind many of these crimes.

It will not be pleasing news to anti-Indian propagandists to learn that not a single Indian extremist or anarchist has ever been accused of any crime against women. In fact, if political suspects had anything to do with such crimes, they would have been hunted down in no time. The British Government entertains the services of a rather large and costly detective staff, with spies added, who detect, and some say, manufacture, political criminals. But the same chivalrous British

The Viceroy on Communal Unity

If the duty of the Governor-General of India had been only or mainly to make speeches, it would have been quite the right thing to judge Lord Irwin by his speeches. But he is the executive head of the British Government here. His duty, therefore, does not end with preaching sermons. The question of the sincerity of such sermons does not arise. The head executive officer is to be judged above all by what he does.

Lord Irwin seems to think that communal unity and amity can be established solely by the efforts of the communities concerned. That is, however, not the case. There are undoubtedly historical, religious and social causes underlying communal discord in India. But these causes had been in existence from before the establishment of British rule in India. To these causes have been added political and economic factors for which British rule is responsible. The assertion of Lord Morley in his *Recollections* that Lord Minto "started the communal hare," and Maulana Mohamed Ali's dictum that the Muslim deputation which waited on Lord Minto for a definitely fixed proportion of the seats in the Councils, then proposed to be expanded, was a "command performance," while remaining true, have lost their novelty by repetition. Since the Morley-Minto Reforms, the Government has done many other things which have accentuated the separatist tendency.

Whenever and wherever the executive officers have anticipated or imagined any breach of the peace owing to possible communal conflicts, "law and order" has been attempted to be maintained by preventing the Hindus from going on with their religious observances—not because the Hindus were likely to be turbulent and break the peace, but because the Muslims might try to interfere with Hindu celebrations by force.

A Governor-General and all subordinate executive officers under him are, therefore, indirectly responsible for communal conflicts and riots along with the members of the communities themselves. The district executive officers and the district police are directly responsible for the non-prevention of communal riots. We presume, though we are not sure, that if there be any increase in ordinary crime in any district the district officers and police are departmentally held to have been inefficient or negligent in the discharge of their duties. Similarly, if there be communal riots in any district, the executive and police officers should be sternly taken to task. Their promotion should be stopped, they should be degraded, or they should be dismissed, according to the degree of their incompetency, neglect, or worse. But, as far as we are aware, this is never done.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Report contains a long and convincing argument against communal representation, but nevertheless concedes what the separatists want. Then, there is the reservation of a certain percent, of posts in the public services for Muslims but not for any other class of people. Not that we want any such reservation for all other backward or so-called backward classes. It is impossible to be just to or satisfy all the sects, classes, castes and sub-castes of India by following the principle of reservation of seats in representative bodies or of posts in the public services for these different sections. We can safely challenge anybody to satisfactorily tackle the arithmetical puzzle involved. It may be easy to satisfy the Muslims, but it is impossible to be just to all without following the principle of an open door for talent the most capable, irrespective of caste or creed or race or class.

Lord Irwin was not entitled to preach the sermon that he did, because he has not done his bit. It may be that he has no power to do anything effective in the directions indicated above. We do not know. But, if he has no power to do his bit, he ought to resign and declare why he has done so. His speech has been hailed in his home country as a great achievement, and it has been sought to be suggested that if communal concord be not established, it will be in spite of the Viceroy having done his best, and the fault will lie entirely with the communities concerned and their leaders. But speech-making is perhaps the least of the Governor-

General's duties. If it were his main duty, there would be many better preachers of sermons available at quite a small fraction of his salary.

This communal affair is not a mere communal one. It is, if we may so put it, a three-cornered tangle. Concord cannot easily be established only by the efforts of the communities themselves, unless the Government does its bit and high public servants and their underlings sincerely and honorably do their bit as gentlemen.

The Unity Conference

We sincerely regret the failure of the Unity Conference at Simla. We did not anticipate that it would succeed. But we should have rejoiced if our anticipations had been falsified.

So far as we can judge, the only way to establish friendship between the communities is not to curtail any right of any community. Cattle should be allowed to be sacrificed in slaughter-houses appointed for the purpose, at mosques, and in places owned by Muhammadans—but everywhere screened from the public gaze. As nobody takes offence or breaks heads when cattle are led through the streets by butchers to slaughter-houses, they should be allowed to be led through the shortest public routes to the places of sacrifice also. Places where goats, etc., are sacrificed by Hindus should also be screened from the public gaze. Beef stalls may be opened in separate places sanctioned by municipalities or similar bodies, even where they do not exist at present.

We do not write these things with pleasure. Though we are not orthodox, our parentage and upbringing are Hindu, and we are vegetarians by choice and conviction. We value the life of cattle. But, to say the least, we value human life and human liberty (political and of all other kinds) not less. Our conviction is that if Hindus did not make it a point to raise objections to the sacrifice of cattle, there would not be more cow-killing in the long run than now. Probably there would be less in course of time.

So far as musical processions and music in Hindu temples and Hindu homes and institutions are concerned, they should be allowed in all public places and thoroughfares at all times, before

or in the vicinity of all mosques and Muslim homes and institutions, in all Hindu and other non-Muslim homes, temples and institutions.

New Ministers for Bengal

The announcement in the papers that as soon as Sir P. C. Mitter returns to Bengal, the Governor of Bengal will appoint him and Nawab Musharraf Hossein ministers, has given rise to much discussion in the papers. Discussion is necessary and ought not to be objected to. But we have no relish for personal squabbles, and do not intend to take any notice of them.

We have never been in love with dyarchy. But the mere scotching of it without killing it and substituting something better in its place is to us a futile and uninteresting game. If the ministers can get some of our money to spend for the good of the province, that is not worse than allowing all the money to be spent by the British bureaucrats according to their fancy, pleasure whim, or self-interest. But, of course, we would prefer the ending of dyarchy and the establishment of autonomy in the provinces and in the country as a whole.

Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Bill

That elementary education should be made free and compulsory for girls and boys throughout India, including Bengal, is a proposition which does not require any argument to establish in the year 1927 A. C. But every-where the official objection is the lack of money. It is very unfortunate that money loses its solidity and becomes volatile and evaporable in the Indian public treasury in the presence of a warm desire in the Indian mind for education. But neither the warmth of military ardour, nor the warmth of civilian avarice appears to volatilize it.

We are reminded of the fact that there is not sufficient money in the Bengal treasury for the extension of primary education by the proposal contained in the Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill to levy a cess for raising a crore of rupees for the purpose. As we have shown repeatedly, particularly in our article on the subject in the last July issue, there would be no need to levy a new cess, if Bengal were given her just dues. Bengal having been robbed and cheated by

the Meston Award, cannot agree to be taxed again. We are absolutely against any fresh taxation. Let our Ministers do their best to get for Bengal her dues. If they fail, let them resign, saying why they have resigned.

The apportionment of this fresh cess is also bad. The ryot is to pay four pice per rupee of rent and the land-lord one pice. Are the ryots wealthier than the Zemindars?

The constitution of the proposed district education committees is also objectionable. The majority of members ought not to be such as would merely cry ditto to the collector.

India and the International Labour Office

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated press about the work of the Tenth International Labour Conference, Mr. G. D. Birla, Indian Employers' representative, said among other things that, "although a good deal of useful and quiet work is being done by the Labour Office, very little has been done affecting the condition of Indian labour."

Rabindranath Tagore on Freedom

In the course of a letter, addressed to Dr. J. T. Sunderland in reply to one received from him, published in the *Viswabharati Quarterly*, Rabindranath Tagore writes :—

It is needless to say that I also dream of freedom for my motherland, but I know that neither the path towards it nor its instrument and expression can be copied from the history of other nations. So long as the bulk of our people remains steeped in ignorance, unable to know its own mind, it can never attain emancipation for the purpose of its self-revelment in politics according to its own temperament and need.

The whole letter deserves to be read and pondered over. But it seems to us that in the picture which he draws of our country the shades are too dark and the lights are wanting. For instance, he observes :—

Our want of ordinary human interest, not only in our neighbouring provinces, but in communities not our own, is darkly lense among us; the communication of mutual sympathy and understanding between ourselves is barred at every step by caste and communal obstructions and religious fanaticism.

This cannot be said to be a wholly inaccurate picture. But neither can it be called a wholly accurate one. Instances of Hindus working for Muslims and of the men

of one province working for those of another are not entirely wanting. There is a little mutual human interest, too.

Again :—

The unreasoning acceptance of practices and prohibitions in minute details of life, the complete sacrifice of individual initiative forced upon our unthinking millions by a system of social tyranny more perfectly organised than in any other country of the world, the terribly efficient machinery for a wholesale manufacture of cowards and slaves constantly working in our domestic surroundings, these are the powerful enemies that are in alliance with the evil star of our political misfortune. Our immediate duty is to fight them, to conquer our country from the age-long domination of an intellectual and moral inertia, from the crude materialism ruling in the guise of piety causing immense dissipation of energy and unmeaning suffering and degradation.

We venture respectfully to observe that as there is to some extent interdependence between social and spiritual freedom on the one hand and political freedom on the other, it cannot be said that political freedom should be worked for after spiritual and social freedom has been achieved. In fact, so far at least as social reform in some directions is concerned, it is quite clear to us that it cannot be effected without the attainment and help of political freedom. In the days of Rammohun Roy the spiritual and social condition of our countrymen was worse than now, the reign of superstition was then more undisputed than now. Yet Rammohun Roy tried to be an all-round emancipator of his countrymen. He was an uncompromising fighter for spiritual, intellectual and social freedom. But he was *at the same time* a fighter for political and civic freedom.

We do not think any man, however great, can be quite free within unless he is also free without. Some imperfections in the personalities of some of the greatest teachers of humanity can be almost directly traced to their having not been politically free.

We repeat, therefore, that we are unable to accept the poet's suggestion—for such it appears to us to be—that political emancipation is not an immediate duty, and that it should be attempted after spiritual and social freedom has been achieved. In any case, it may be allowable for the small number of persons in our country who may be considered as free spiritually, intellectually and socially, free as other men of their class were or are in other countries, to work both for the spiritual and social emancipation of the rest of their countrymen and for the political emancipation

of themselves and the people in general, as far as practicable.

The poet concludes his letter thus :—

In countries where the mind is alive and active, the different problems, such as politics and economics, have their meaning. But where the mind itself is smothered under a load of dead things, under the pressure of automatic habits inherited from a primitive past, all our powers must be directed towards rescuing it from the debris of a ruined antiquity. That means widespread education. (Of course, we in the name of humanity, have the right to appeal to our rulers to help us in this object. And yet that appeal may be in vain or ludicrously meagre in its response, owing to a parsimonious budget bursting with its burden of military and punitive expenditure. But there is nothing, except our own apathy, to prevent ourselves, from utilising all our resources and organising a system of national education that will include in its function an active and direct guidance of the life of the people, helping them to realise the dignity and freedom of their creative spirit. Only when they are conscious of the real meaning of self-rule within themselves, can they successfully strive to establish it over their outer circumstances.

That the mind of the people should be rescued from the debris of a ruined antiquity, and that widespread education is indispensably necessary for the purpose is undoubtedly true. But we do not think that universal education of the people is practicable without State action. And such State action, so far as our knowledge goes, has been taken only in politically free countries. Universal education by private effort is certainly a thinkable proposition. But it is not practicable. And that for several reasons. The force of character and enterprise which such effort presupposes are not found in a sufficiently large number of persons in politically subject countries; for the soul of man is dwarfed by loss of freedom. In the second place, politically subject countries are comparatively poor, and consequently a sufficient number of inhabitants thereof cannot afford to spend and subscribe enough again for education in addition to paying the usual taxes and cesses and rates, which in free and wealthier countries secure for the people free education. In the third place, in India any widespread vigorous movement for the education of the masses is sure to incur the suspicion and disfavour of the bureaucracy. The movement may not be suppressed wholesale, but the workers may be removed from their field of work, as the fate of several social workers proves. In conclusion, it may be stated that even in England and some other

independent countries, universal national education has followed, not preceded, the widening of the franchise and the getting of the vote by larger and larger numbers of the people. The reason is easy to understand. The aristocracy and the middle classes in all countries generally are not quite so altruistic as to confer the blessing of knowledge on the lower orders unless constrained to do so; for knowledge is power, and the upper classes know that their predominance would be threatened by the lower ones being educated. It was only in Japan that the upper classes gave up their privileges of their own accord. But that example is unique in history, and was possible only in a politically independent country.

We do not in the least wish to discourage private effort in education. It should go on more vigorously than now. But there is no harm in knowing its limitations.

Address on Rammohun Roy

The authorised text of the address on Rammohun Roy delivered by the editor of this Review as president of a Calcutta Rammohun Roy Memorial Meeting appears in full in the *October Welfare*.

Abolition of Slavery in Nepal Again

We are glad our repeated contradictions of Sir William Vincent's story that Nepal abolished slavery under the influence of the League of Nations have borne fruit. The Maharaja of Kapurthala admitted at a League meeting this year that the League had nothing to do with it—Nepal did it independently.

Falsehood about Tagore's Ancestry

Prabasi contradicts the story given publicity to in the *Ceylon Daily News* of September 6, that Tagore told an interviewer of the "Dail Mail" (of what country, town, or date it is not mentioned) that his "ancestor to the fifth generation was a son of a Portuguese." This shows to what absurd lengths some journalists can go in their invention of lies pure and simple.

Unhappy Kharagpur

There is again a probability of a railwaymen's strike at Kharagpur in consequence of the lock-out and so-called retrenchment, which is believed to be only retaliatory victimisation due to the last strike. There is great distress among the workers and their dependants. All contributions should be sent to the office of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, 12 Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.

Religious Outrages Act.

The Bill to punish outrages on religious feelings has been passed. This places a new weapon against the press in the hands of the executive. The offence should not have been made non-bailable. We have been all along against this piece of legislation, and have given reasons for our opposition. The power to sanction the starting of prosecutions should have been given only to High Courts, not to magistrates, and that on the application of the aggrieved party.

Our Puja Holidays

The Modern Review Office will remain closed from the 3rd to the 16th of October current. Letters, etc., received during this period will be taken up for disposal on the 17th.

INDIANS ABROAD

Buddhist Temple at Dar-es-Salam

On the 6th of August, 1927, a large number of Sinhalese Buddhists, resident at Dar-es-Salam assembled in a meeting and passed a resolution to the effect that immediate steps be taken to construct a *Vihara* at Dar-es-Salam by the end of 1928. The

estimated cost of the Temple would be about 60,000 shillings. A strong Committee of 18 has been formed to give effect to the resolution. About 10,500 shillings have already been promised.

The idea is very good. We, however, should like to point out that the Committee

should specially emphasise the necessity for stimulating Buddhistic studies in Dar-es-Salam. Scholars of eminence should be invited and popular lectures arranged to rouse popular interest in Buddhism. If these are not done, mere building of Viharas would be of no avail.

Indian Life Vs. European Prestige

We reproduce the following from the *Indian Opinion*, Natal.

As reported in our last week's issue, for killing an Indian child by carelessly driving her car a European woman was fined £20. Now for interfering with a European woman in an insulting manner an Indian has been sentenced at the criminal sessions to six years hard labour and eight strokes, Mr Justice Matthews remarking that he had to take a very serious view of this behaviour towards European women. Thus the prestige of a white woman is greater than the life of an Indian in the eyes of the Courts of justice in this country.

The Feetham Report Condemned

The Report of the Feetham Commission has roused great resentment among the Indians in South Africa. The following extract from an Indo-African paper will explain the situation to some extent.

A meeting of the executive committee of The Eastern Africa Indian National Congress and certain other gentlemen specially invited to attend was held at the Congress offices, Nairobi, on Tuesday to discuss the position created by the outcome of the Feetham Commission Report.

After discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

That in the event of adoption of the Feetham Commission Report by the Local Government, the Indian community should withdraw all members from all Government bodies and also from public bodies, and mass meetings be convened throughout the country to protest against the adoption of the said report and that ultimately a special session of the Congress be called as early as possible.

The following Resolution was also passed unanimously.

In view of a letter from Mr. Shamusdeen, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu be requested to preside over the special session of the Congress, and that Mrs. Naidu be requested to stay in this country for at least three months.

It was resolved that the Congress be held at Nairobi sometime in the month of October, 1927.

The meeting was then adjourned till next day when a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies was submitted by the general secretary protesting against the Feetham Commission Report and this was adopted.

Indian Business Abroad

That Indian businessmen's success is at the bottom of the present white vs brown

struggle in Africa is now well-known to the Indian public. The nature of the business success that is causing this inter-racial jealousy would be well realised from the following extract from an African journal:

Sisal Industry, which is the backbone of Tanganyika Territory, has been a monopoly in the hands of European settlers before the war. After the war when a few Indian firms ventured and stepped into this enterprise, the Europeans not only thought but also declared that the Indians would never be able to succeed in this venture:

Although this industry was entirely new, yet the Indian firms that undertook it, doggedly stuck to their guns with the most astounding results in the recent Victory at Nairobi.

All the visitors that were present at the recent Nairobi Exhibition expressed complete satisfaction at the Sisal exhibits. And amongst many Sisal exhibitors of both Kenya and Tanganyika, there were hardly two or three exhibits representing the Indian Sisal Manufacturers. The judge appointed was the well-known Sisal expert Col. R. B. Turner of Kenya.

It will be a source of pride and satisfaction for the Indians of Kenya and Tanganyika to learn that the Honours in number One fibre class were awarded to the Gomba Sisal Estate of Makvuni. This Sisal plantation belongs to the well-known firm of Messrs Karimjee Jivanjee & Co., and it will not be out of place to mention here that the said Sisal Estate is being so successfully run under the capable and intelligent control of Mr. Abdulla M. A. Karimjee.

The judge of the Sisal exhibits, Col. R. B. Turner awarded 94 points out of a possible 100 points, and his remark was that the Sisal produced by the said estate "was almost perfect in every way". Such high points—(91/100)—and so very creditable a remark tends to prove that Indians can do things creditably when they have the opportunities to do them.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri on the Empire

The *African Chronicle* vehemently criticises Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's pro-Empire speeches in Africa. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is reported to have said:

"Towards the British Empire India has been drawn by ties of affection, esteem and gratitude which it is impossible to describe. At first she was brought within the Empire by force, now we value very greatly our position and the fact that we were born of the 'Pax Britannica' Now that we are fully established we can scarcely realise the terrible fate we have escaped by being drawn within the Empire. Fairplay in a court of law and absolutely even-handed justice India has these things in far greater measure than in the best administered Indian States. Our greatest politicians believe and have laid it down in so many words that the British connection has been ordained for the good of both countries and that good has not yet been fully achieved. There is much to be drawn from this connection and we therefore take a vow that we will not do anything

which may have the remote effect of weakening this connection."

On the above the *African Chronicle* Comments as follows :

The foregoing speech delivered by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri, before a crowded European audience in the Maritzburg Town Hall, has undoubtedly created a profound sensation among the intelligent section of the Indian community, but the British section is highly elated at the unwonted encomium paid by this high-placed Indian official to the genius of the British race for ruling a horde of brown races, scattered over the continent of India. We have always understood that the Moderate Party, who now style themselves Liberals in India, were sincere patriots bent on a constructive policy in the governance of the Indian Empire, but we never harboured the notion that that Party is capable of entertaining such an exaggerated—nay extravagant idea of the effect which British connection has bestowed on India and to which Mr. Sastri gave utterance in such superb over-flowing English last week. As a distinguished official of the Indian Government and as an outstanding Imperial propagandist, Mr. Sastri may be just doing his duty, but in so far as the bulk of the Indian people are concerned, we are afraid that the distinguished Agent-General, is not giving a true reflection of the popular opinion in respect of the Empire which acquired India by force and in which they are forced to be a member against their wish! We would not have taken the trouble to give this disclaimer to Mr. Sastri's speech had it not been for the fact that at Bombay, just before his departure, he declared that he was proceeding to South Africa as representative of the people of India. Should this Maritzburg speech be construed as the correct opinion of the Indian people, then it might lead the people of India into a more complicated position, and, therefore, we have to draw prominent attention to certain misleading statements contained in the Maritzburg lecture.

Mr. Sastri paints a black picture of the Indian States under indigenous rule and indirectly insinuates corruption when compared with the British Rule. This is a libel on some of the best and highly efficient administrations of States such as Mysore, Baroda and Travancore, where people obtain better justice at a less cost than the most expensive justice to be had under British Rule. Moreover, one should not forget common corruption and jobbery even in British administered territories, and we, therefore, fail to see why Native States should be singled out while leaving the British territory, which is just as bad if not worse! Discussing about secession from the Empire, Mr. Sastri waxed eloquent over the immeasurable benefit conferred by England and quoted Mr. Gandhi as having expressed satisfaction with the British connection. But it should not be forgotten, that the self-same Mr. Gandhi during the hey-day of non-co-operation movement went about the country, stirred the populace to a fury against the "Satanic Government" and exhorted them to long for the "Ram Raj"! Indeed, it is amazing to note Mr. Gandhi becoming a disciple of British Imperialism alongside of Mr. Sastri, and the pity of it is that the great leader of Satyagraha movement in collaboration with the greatest intellectual force of Modern India and

leader of the Liberal Party should have unconsciously become active participants in an astute plan to clear the Indians out of South Africa by a slow but sure process of squeezing out policy. We can quite understand the mentality of that clique known as the phantom Congress, but it is really incomprehensible to a lay mind the attitude of Mr. Sastri and Mr. Gandhi in relation to this "Indian Agreement" which is not likely to enhance their reputation for sound statesmanship! It may be for the consolidation of the British Empire he has consented to this settlement, but the Indians in over-seas care very little for the Empire if that Empire is not prepared to sacrifice even itself for the cause of justice and humanity. In effect the crucial test for the solidity and potentiality of the Empire rests with the solution of the Indian problem over-seas, and in this agreement, we are afraid, the Indian Government have deplorably failed!

However, when Mr. Sastri says that "by ties of affection, esteem and gratitude which it is impossible to describe" India has been drawn to the British Empire, one cannot help but questioning this assertion and to say that Indian Nationalists will never subscribe to this doctrine! Because there is nothing in common between India and the Empire! During the last 200 years of British supremacy, India has been sucked dry, and according to Sir Theodore Morison's work on "The Economic Transition of India" it has been estimated that the drain from India from 1889 to 1908, has been not less than £150 millions sterling. According to the late Wm. Digby's "Prosperous British India" "during their tenure in India, Britain has taken away no less than six hundred million pounds sterling from their great dependency without giving it any sort of adequate return whatsoever for the money thus immorally taken. The spectacle of what the English Christians have been and are in India and Ceylon drove Mr. Digby into reluctant Atheism."

Even so great a man as the late Lord Salisbury, one of the Prime-Ministers of England, had to frankly admit that "If India must be bled, at least let it be done scientifically."

A more detailed criticism, with quotation of facts and figures follows, which leaves no doubt in the reader as to the empty and even courtierlike nature of Mr. Sastri's compliments to the British Empire.

Mr. C. F. Andrews also Attacked

The same journal also attacks Mr. C. F. Andrews for having expressed certain opinions, as follows :

Mr. Andrews, the unofficial agent of the Government of India, according to an interview given to a Rand Press representative, gave a parting kick to the Indian community before taking his boat to India at Lourenco Marques. This Sage Imperial Political Missionary says :

"He considered the central feature of the agreement to be the cause whereby Indians in future would be refused permission to introduce in the Union, from India, any more minor children unless they were accompanied by their mothers,

Unfold harm had been done in the past by the had old practice of never bringing over the wives from India at all. This unfortunate habit prevailed among the Indian trading class, and it had led to inevitable demoralisation.

It was good, he said, neither for South Africa nor for India.

The harmful custom had been established in the past (he proceeded), of bringing over the male children, one by one, just before the age of 16, in order to carry on the business, leaving the rest of the family behind in India. This purely male adult emigration was being repeated in each new generation. In some Indian businesses it had gone on for two and even three generations.

While settlers from other countries were introducing their wives and thus creating a stable form of colonisation, the Indian trading community had been utilising their domicile in South Africa purely for monetary purposes.

In these modern times the main trend of emigration was against such merely business use of a new country.

Mr. Andrews stated that while he had journeyed up and down all over the Union and Rhodesia, he had come across some very distressing examples of the demoralisation which had already set in. In Southern Rhodesia more than 80 per cent. of the British Indians were living apart from their wives.

In Portuguese East Africa the proportion was probably still higher. In East and Central Africa the same evil prevailed.

The criticism offered to what Mr. Andrews said is impassioned but not very thorough. We first read :

Though we do not admit the proposition which has been so spaciouly laid down, we want to know whether, he has enquired into the reason why such a state of affairs is alleged to exist ! However, we may give it for the information of the public. It is not that the Indian trader does not wish to bring his wife and children and make his home in this country, there are many who are with their family here, but because the Government of the Union, does not encourage especially Indians to live in this country as self-respecting decent men and lead a respectable family life and that is one of the main reasons, that some of the Indians are reluctant to bring their family.

As a matter of fact no traders in any foreign land carry their whole family with them, irrespective of government encouragement or otherwise. We expect with the

passing of time and the establishment of security and stability for the South African Indians and the granting to them of an honorable place in the country of their adoption, we shall see more Indians living with their wives in Africa.

The criticism then proceeds as follows :

If Mr. Andrews is anxious to improve the present undesirable state of affairs, he should have used his influence and persuasive powers to obtain for the Indian full rights of citizenship, rather than administering a dose of this parting kick to the Indian, who has been sufficiently maligned in the past for many imaginary sins of his !

Mr. Andrews bitterly complains about this harmful custom of the Indians, but he has apparently forgotten what his own brother Native Englishmen civilians are doing in India who deserve to be sermonised a bit on the subject. They are about 150,000 Britishers ruling the country; but very few of them come to India with their families and during the long period when they hold office, they drain away all the wealth from the country, and when they retire to their Native land in England, they enjoy their pensions at home. During the period of Englishman's bachelor life in our Homeland, Indians have not complained of the "demoralisation" of the Englishman, a demoralisation which has brought about a Eurasian problem in India for all eternity" and neither do we complain of the Englishman "utilising their domicile in our country for monetary purposes". Indians have not complained about Englishmen spending 50 million pounds sterling of their pension in England though we know that India is bleeding white by this process ! However, it is deplorable that Mr. Andrews should have expressed his thoughts on a subject that has ramifications far beyond the present trifling issue, and, needless to say, that his press interview has caused profound ill-feeling in the community. Whatever may be the effect of "demoralising" tendency by enforced bachelorhood of Indians due to economic and political causes brought about by the laws of this country, the cause for same is more serious indeed than the remedy suggested by Mr. Andrews, and therefore, we venture to submit that the Government must dive a little deeper into the question before they impose further restrictions on the importation of Indians, wives and children.

We expect a better and a more detailed criticism of Mr. Andrews statements from the *African Chronicle* in the near future.



Without Health No Happiness

TO be healthy, entirely healthy, to have sparkling vitality flowing through your veins—that is the very condition for lasting happiness.

Be healthy !

It is possible indeed to increase or regain your health. In the following lines we will show how.

Your Proper Food

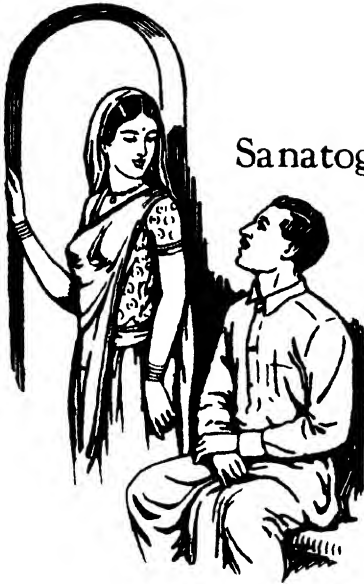
Food is the first essential of health. It will be entirely clear to you, that to improve your health the first thing to do is to improve your diet. There are two substances which are all important for both the health and activity of your body-cells viz., albumin and phosphorus. These materials feed, build up and restore your muscles, nerves and brain. Your diet, therefore, should contain them in abundance. Remember the words of that world-famous scientist Liebig, who said: "Without albumin we die" and also the statement of a famous physician: "No phosphorus—no thought".

Science has at last succeeded in finding the preparation, which contains the life-bringing materials: albumin and phosphorus combined in such a way and made so pure and so easily digestible, that even the weakest child can take it. It is called Sanatogen.

The Important Value of Sanatogen

Sanatogen is made of fresh cows' milk and of phosphorus of vegetable origin. Being absolutely pure and never touched by

hand, it can be taken by members of any faith and any caste. We would especially point out what has been written by a physician in "The Indian Medical Gazette": "For people in tropical countries suffering from general debility, the best, and the most readily assimilated food is Sanatogen. I have used it on a large scale and have every reason to be satisfied with the results obtained."



Sanatogen Conquers Debility

Its wonderful properties for feeding the cells of both muscles and nerves with exactly their suitable food-materials, for stimulating the functioning of all organs and strengthening mental and bodily capacity, have won for Sanatogen the admiration of medical science. It may be proved by quoting the words of that foremost English medical paper "The Lancet", viz.,

"There is abundant evidence of the value of Sanatogen as a restorative and food and more particularly in cases of general debility." Which means, that he or she who uses Sanatogen regularly, will not know what it means to be nervous, weak, fatigued or impotent. And all who suffer from debility, neurasthenia, or who are deprived of their sexual powers will—with Sanatogen—regain that fine feeling of vitality and re-enter Life, able again to enjoy it to the full.

You, too, will find it a sustainer whenever you need more strength. The wonderful qualities of Sanatogen combined with the fact that in no case and in no quantity can it ever harm anybody, caused H. H. The Rajah Dharamharan Bahadoor to write :

"I should advise everybody to use the well-known tonic food Sanatogen. Its effect is marvellous."

Sanatogen during and after Illness

It is impossible to describe here in full details the happy results obtained with Sanatogen during and after illness. It exactly supplies those substances which have been partly destroyed by your illness. It stimulates the function of the stomach, thus improving digestion, and gives you back your appetite, so that you will be able to eat more of other food. The physician to H. H. the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga writes:

"Sanatogen has been used by H. H. the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga and Raj Household with advantage for neurasthenia, general weakness and in convalescent stage. Sanatogen is a valuable tonic food."

Sanatogen is a real Blood-builder

Especially in all those illnesses which cause poverty of blood such as malaria, dysentery, typhoid fever, and after operations, you should use Sanatogen, because of its real blood-building properties. This fact has been stated by many physicians who carefully studied both the amount and quality of the blood of several of their patients before and after the use of Sanatogen. "In every case—as a well-known doctor writes in "The Indian Medical Gazette"—both a remarkable increase of red blood corpuscles and a general improvement were observed."

He is a lucky man, who—conceiving the immense importance of healthy blood—decides to make use of the proper means to improve his strength. Read what has been written by Dr. M.M. Scripur, P. O. : "I have used Sanatogen in two severe cases of malarial fever. They could both take any kind of food. One of them was a female who remained almost unconscious for twelve days; she was in an extremely exhausted state. Sanatogen was given in 15 gr. doses every second hour. Both the patients have completely recovered. I think that Sanatogen is of great value in such cases."

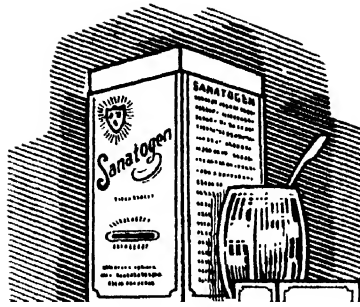
Sanatogen, moreover, has been recognised by physicians as the ideal food for women during pregnancy and after confinement. Women nursing their children will find that Sanatogen promotes an abundant and rich flow of milk.

Medical Evidence and Advice

Over 24,000 physicians have given their testimony or have written important articles in medical papers about the influence of Sanatogen on the whole system, which is—in their combined opinion—nothing short of marvellous. And the advice of all and everyone of them to you reads : take it, take it to-day, so that in a short time you will feel the happy difference, it makes in your own health and strength and happiness. Soon enough you will bless the day when you started the use of Sanatogen.



Sanatogen gives you back your appetite



The Clue to Life of the fullest Kind

The Opinion of Medical Authority

Nervous Weakness, Neurasthenia, etc.

The physician to H. M. the Queen-Mother of Italy, Dr. E. Persichetti, says :

"I have used Sanatogen in several cases of Neurasthenia with the result that in every case the nervous symptoms were greatly diminished. I am convinced that Sanatogen is a valuable food tonic to restore lost strength".

Dr. P. Rodari, Professor of Medicine at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, writes :

"The basic-double idea in Sanatogen : a concentrated food and at the same time a nerve-tonic, is not only theoretically right but has been proved by trustworthy clinical and experimental observations to be sound in practice too.

Sanatogen in Tropical Diseases

Dr. C. R. Naylor, Bangalore, South India, writes :

"In many almost hopeless cases of Plague where heart failure has been threatening I have found Sanatogen helpful in getting the patient to turn the critical corner, and it has admirably aided my treatment of this fell disease. I have no hesitation in stating, that by the discovery of Sanatogen you have added a most powerful weapon to those already in the possession of every physician."

Prof. Dr. C. A. Ewald, formerly at John Hopkins Medical School,

Sanatogen is never at any time during the course of manufacture and packing touched by hand.

Sanatogen is obtainable at all Chemists and Bazaars.

Baltimore, writes :

"Sanatogen being of a perfectly non-irritating character, may be used with great advantage for the purpose of increasing the nutritive value of a given diet in all cases of physical weakness, especially in those of a chronic nature, and particularly in typhoid fever."

Anæmia and Chlorosis

Prof. Dr. C. V. Noorden, First Medical Clinic, General Hospital, Vienna, writes :

"An especially responsive class of cases to the use of Sanatogen comprises all diseases in which the object is to promote tissue-building, such as various forms of Anæmia, particularly Chlorosis and most varieties of malnutrition."

Sanatogen in tropical Diseases

A doctor writes in the "Indian Lancet" :

"In typhoid Fever Sanatogen diminished the physical and nervous prostration of the first stage, it lowered the temperature in the second stage and in the third stage proved superior to any other preparation employed."

Sanatogen in Convalescence :

A famous physician writes in the "Indian Medical Gazette" :

"Sanatogen, by virtue of the glycono-phosphates it contains, is useful in the loss of nerve power following dysentery, enteric and colitis."

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THE DANGER OF PUTTING OFF INDIA'S SELF-RULE

By THE REV. DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

THE people of India believe they ought to have self-rule now.

They believe their freedom ought never to have been taken from them ; having been taken away, they believe it ought to have been restored, long ago. Especially they believe it ought to have been restored to them at the end of the World-War of 1914-1918, which was fought, India was told, and the world was told, "to make the world safe for democracy", and "to give freedom and self-determination" to all oppressed nations and peoples. If Poland, Czecho Slovakia and other smaller, less important and less oppressed nations were given freedom and self-rule, it seems to them extremely unjust that the same was not given to great, civilized, historic India.

There is difference of judgment among the Indian people as to what form they desire self-rule to take,—whether that of absolute independence, with no relation to Britain except that of friendship ; or that of "Dominion Status" within the British Empire, like that of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

Up to the end of the Great War and a few months after, the feeling of a large majority of the Indian people was in favor of the latter. As a result of events which have occurred since, there has been a change and the change is still going on. It would not be easy to say what is the prevailing feeling in India at the present time.

It is believed that the Government of India made the greatest possible mistake in not availing itself of the enthusiasm for England engendered in India by the Great War, to extend to the Indian people at that time, in recognition of their self-sacrifice,

their loyalty and the splendid service they had rendered in men and in money, the great boon which they so much desired and which they expected, namely, freedom and home rule, in the form of Dominion Status in the Empire. That would have allayed at once India's discontent, settled the dark problems that now frown so threateningly in her sky, fastened the Indian people to Britain with hooks stronger than steel, and saved the terrible blunders and disasters of the Rowlatt Acts, the Amritsar Massacre, and all the other Punjab and other atrocities and horrors.

It is believed that then was the "psychological moment" when England, instead of acting the part of a suspicious, imperialistic tyrant, ought to have treated India in the same generous, noble large-minded way that she treated South Africa. Long will she have reason to lament that she did not have, in that crisis time, a Campbell-Bannerman, to lead her in the path of honor and true statesmanship.

There is another critical time soon coming,—another "psychological moment". It is to arrive in 1929, when the ten years of "Dyarchy", or the "Government Reform Scheme" of 1919, are to expire, and when the decision is to be made as to whether the same Scheme shall be continued ; or if not, what shall take its place ; in other words, when the decision is to be made as to what the British are going to do for India, then and from that time on. Will they continue in the same old imperialistic way, dominating her by force ; giving her the least liberty possible without danger of revolt ; holding out promises to her as unsubstantial as a mirage ; professing to be educating her for self-rule, without giving

her any real assurance that she will ever be given self-rule at all?

In other words, will the British keep on talking and talking about giving India freedom and trying to make the Indian people and the world believe that she is on the road to it, but delaying and evermore delaying to do anything that really means freedom, with the vague hope that by some hocus pocus, some miracle, they may be able to keep her on and on forever, essentially as now, without having to give her real freedom or real self-government at all?

Or will something happen before 1929? Will some real statesman arise, some Campbell Bannerman, some man *big enough* to see and to make the British Government see that just as South Africa could be saved to the British empire only by freedom, so India can be saved only in the same way,—by a big, generous, impressive, dramatic act of granting her real home rule, and doing it without aggravating delay—of extending to her promptly the hand of frank, sincere, honest welcome to a place in the Empire (in the "Commonwealth of Free Nations") by the side of South Africa, Canada and the other Dominions? Will such an event happen? Will such a large-minded, far-seeing statesman arise, and be able to lead England to a change of heart in her policy toward India?

Perhaps the most discouraging feature of the whole Indian situation is the fact that so many of the British people are obsessed with the idea, with the delusion, that the Indian people are semi-barbarians and not fit for freedom, that they can become fit for it only by a long process of education, and that the British are actually giving them this education with the intention of granting them self-government as soon as they, the British, think they are fit.

This delusion is particularly injurious and particularly hard to dispel, because it flatters the British people, eases their conscience, causes them to think that the crime which they are committing against the Indian people in continuing to hold them in subjection is not a crime but a beneficence, causes them to feel self-righteous when they should feel ashamed, and therefore prevents them from repenting of their sin and doing "works meet for repentance" by freeing India at once.

The facts in the case are:

(1) The Indian people are not semi-barbarians, but highly civilized, and

possessors of one of the oldest and most valuable cultures of the world.

(2) In the very nature of things, any civilized people in the world can rule themselves better than any foreign nation can rule them. It follows that the Indian people can rule themselves better than the British foreigners can do it.

(3) There need be no delay. The Indian people are fit to rule themselves now.

(4) The idea of educating the Indian people for freedom while keeping them in bondage, shows utter ignorance of psychology both of individuals and of nations, and contradicts all accepted principles of education.

(5) Every year and every month they are deprived of freedom only adds to Britain's crime, and instead of benefiting the people of India, adds to the wrong done them.

(6) The only way any nation or people in the world ever did or ever can learn to rule itself well, is by experience, by practice, by "trial and error", by making mistakes and thus learning wisdom.

(7) No nation can be taught to rule itself while it is kept in bondage. Yet this is exactly what Britain is claiming to do in India.

Let us see what some very eminent men, Englishmen and others, who have had large observation and experience in the matter, have to say about educating people for freedom while keeping them in bondage.

Long ago Macaulay wrote the following words:

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as the self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever." (Essay on Milton).

Was not Macaulay right?

John Morley wrote the *Life of Gladstone*. In that work (Volume I, p. 360) he says:

"Gladstone was never weary of protest against the fallacy of what was called 'preparing' these new communities for freedom: teaching a colony, like an infant, by slow degree to walk, first putting it in long clothes, then in short clothes.....In point of fact, every year and every month during which they are retained under the administration of a despotic government, renders them less fit for free institutions.....It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine. Wait till they are fit."

How can any Englishman doubt that Gladstone was right?

Let us quote two or three eminent Americans. There is no American scholar who is a higher authority regarding the peoples of the Orient, their governments and present condition, than Frederick Starr. Says Professor Starr:

"A government adapted to the economic development of a people and working up from within, is better than the most perfect government forced from above. The Americans are doing far more for Philippines than Britain is for India; and it is my opinion that every day we remain in the islands, the Filipinos are less capable of self-government."

The Principle which Professor Starr lays down applies to India quite as much as to the Philippines.

I wish to cite a very instructive passage from the eminent German-American statesman, Carl Schurz. Mr. Schurz was a general in the Union Army during the American Civil War, a member of the Cabinet of President Hayes, and for many years one of the nation's most honored and influential public leaders. In connection with his office of Secretary of the Interior he had large experience with the immigrants who at that time were coming to America in great numbers from lands of the Old World where they had been given no opportunities for self-government. How could they be made valuable citizens in a democracy—a nation where there was self-rule? In his *"Reminiscences"* (Vol. II, pp. 77-80) he says:

"One of the most interesting experiences of my life was the observation of the educational influence exercised upon men by the actual practice of self-government."

Persons attempting to exercise self-government for the first time, he declares "may do it somewhat clumsily in the beginning and make grievous mistakes, but these very mistakes, with their disagreeable consequences, will serve to sharpen the wits of those who desire to learn."

Practice upon one's own responsibility is the best if not the only school of self-government. What is sometimes called the art of self-government is not learned by the mere presentation of other people's experiences by way of instructive example. Practice is the only really effective teacher. Other methods of instruction will rather retard, if not altogether prevent, the development of the self-governing capacity, because they will serve to weaken the sense of responsibility and self-reliance. This is why *there is not any instance in history of a people's having been successfully taught to govern themselves by a tutelary power, acting upon the principle that its wards should not be given the power of self-*

government until they had shown themselves fit for it."

This may well have been written with India directly in mind. Will the British rulers of India heed it?

I quote another utterance, if possible still more significant, which was spoken with India directly in view. It is from the American historian and scholar, Charles Francis Adams. Speaking before the American Historical Association in 1901, this man of candour and of large learning (said, confirming in every respect the testimony of General Schurz, Professor Starr, Macaulay and Gladstone).

"I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history, from the earliest times until now where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character, or made self-sustaining or self-governing, or even put on the way to that result, through a condition of dependency or tutelage. I might without much danger, assert that the condition of dependency, even for communities of the same race and blood, always exercises an emasculating and deteriorating influence. I would undertake, if called upon, to show that this rule is invariable—that from the inherent and fundamental conditions of human nature, it has known, and can know, no exceptions. This truth I could demonstrate from almost innumerable examples."

And Mr. Adams proceeded to make a direct application of this truth to India and declared in the most unequivocal terms that notwithstanding any or all material or other improvements made in the country by the British during the period since the East India Company began its exploitation and conquest of the land, British rule had been an absolute failure as a means for increasing the capacity or fitness of the Indian people for self-government,—it had not increased that capacity or that fitness in the slightest degree; but on the contrary it had actually lessened it. And he held that there was no ground for believing that it would or could ever have any other effect. It was not by subjection or tutelage to another nation—no matter what that nation might be,—but by the very opposite, by *freedom by actual practice of self-government, by experience, by making mistakes and learning wisdom from the same*—it was by this method and no other that *all capacity for self-government has been obtained in the past and must be obtained forever*. It was by this method that India learned 3,000 years ago to rule herself, and had continued one of the great self-ruling nations of the world until great Britain robbed her of her nationhood. And what she needs now

is simply "hands off" on the part of her foreign conqueror, so that her native capacity for self-rule, which Mr. Adams held has been weakened by British dominance, but by no means destroyed, may again, as in the past, come into activity and therefore into growth, normal development and permanent strength.

All these eminent scholars and statesmen simply confirm what all history teaches that "it is liberty alone which fits men (and nations) for liberty." No people can teach another freedom; each people must learn it for itself. No nation can teach another how to rule itself. Each nation must find out by experience.

To say that India should be trained, educated, fitted for freedom and self-rule by Britain or any other nation before she is given freedom and self-rule, is simple to fly in the face of all the best educational philosophy and practice of the modern world. The old method of teaching by theory without practice, teaching before practice, or even teaching in preparation for practice, is fast giving way to the far better method of teaching through and by practice. This is known as the "practice method" or the "laboratory method" or in law the "case method", and it has been adopted or is being adopted in schools and educational institutions of every grade and every kind. Geology and botany are taught by taking students into the fields, the woods and the mountains, to study the flowers, the shrubs, the trees and the rocks, themselves. Mechanics is studied in the presence of and by the constant use of hammer, saw, square, anvil and lathe. Chemistry is learned almost wholly in laboratories. Languages are taught by actually speaking and writing the languages. Students of medicine go for study to laboratories, clinics, and hospitals. Our best law schools rely more and more on practice courts and case work.

Nations and peoples must acquire the art of government in the same way, by the practice method. They must learn self-rule by actually undertaking self-rule,—by trial, by experiment, by making mistakes and correcting them. There is no other way.

If India were ruled by really liberal Englishmen, Englishmen who truly wanted her to be free and to govern herself, in that case remaining for a while longer under British rule might be called in a sense educating her for freedom. But unfortunately India is not ruled by really

liberal Englishmen, but by those who are conservative, backward-looking and imperialistic. There are Englishmen in England who are truly liberal, and occasionally one gets into a position of some importance in India. But this is seldom, and they have little or no power. The Bureaucracy in India is the real ruler; and that, taken as a whole, is dead set against India receiving self-rule or even any more freedom. How then does remaining under these lords and masters train the Indian people for self-government? Does keeping men in slavery fit them for freedom? Slavery only fits men for more slavery; freedom alone fits men for freedom.

It is said that the much praised "New Reform Scheme" which has been given to India (which has been forced on her) is really educating the people for freedom and self-rule? But is it? If it is educating them for anything, it is not at all for freedom; it is for *obedience*; it is to do things *under strict British control*—this and nothing else. The scheme puts *British dominance over absolutely everything*. No Indian officials under this scheme, not even the "Ministers" who are supposed to be the highest and freest of all, are allowed to do *anything* that is thought by the British to *conflict with their (British) interests*, nor *anything* that cannot be *overturned* by British veto, or "disallowance". This is *not* educating for *freedom*; it is educating for *bondage*, and *in bondage*.

For seventy years, ever since the Mutiny, Britain has been promising, promising, self-rule to the Indian people. The Indian leaders are more and more asking, Will she go on promising forever and really doing nothing? Does she intend to do nothing? Her so-called Reform Scheme seems to India only the last and most pretentious of these futile and irritating promises.

The poison element, the fatal element, in this whole business, is that the Indian people are to receive self-rule *only when she (Britain) thinks them fit*. Ah, yes! Will she *ever* think them fit? Does she *intend* ever to think them fit? India is asking these questions with constantly deepening earnestness. More and more she is *suspecting* that she is being intentionally and persistently *deceived*. She sees that these seventy years have brought to her people a few more privileges, a few more

offices, but have they brought any *relaxation whatever of Britain's Iron grip*? Have they (these seventy years) brought to India any evidence that Britain *intends ever* to give her *real* self rule that is, *freedom to conduct her affairs as a nation otherwise than under the absolute supreme control and domination of Great Britain*? I say these are the vital questions which India is asking with ever-increasing seriousness and persistence.

If the British continue the present policy—if India is not given self-rule and given it soon, in some real form—“dominion status” in association with Britain or full independence—will she not be driven to *desperation*? Gandhis influence for non-violence will not last forever if the provocation continues. Is it said that Indians will not fight? Let Britain not be deceived. Let her call to mind India's fighting regiments that turned the tide in the first battle of the Marne and saved Paris. Let her remember the desperate fighting she herself had to do to conquer India. Let her remember the Mutiny, and the fact that only because the heroic Sikhs fought on her side was she saved from defeat and from being driven out of the land. If India is driven to revolution, it will not be a small part, as in the Mutiny; it will be all India. Dr. Rutherford tells us that in his recent visit to India he found absolutely all parties, races, religions and classes, however divided in other matters, united in their common desire and demand for self-rule, and self-rule without delay.

Why does not Britain see that her own salvation as well as that of India depends upon her acceding to India's just demand? Will she continue to delay, under the everlasting hollow pretense of “educating for self-rule”, and thus act the part of a child playing with fire?

Supplement

I regret the need to dwell further upon the fact to which attention has been called above, that notwithstanding the constant assertions of the British that they are educating India for self-rule and intend to grant it as soon as she is fit, there is a growing feeling in India that they do not really intend anything of the kind, and that they will never pronounce her fit.

This feeling has two causes. One (already mentioned) is the constant and seemingly settled government policy of trying to allay

popular discontent in India and lure the people on by promises so vague as to mean nothing. The other is statements made by men high in the government to the effect that Britain intends to possess and rule India permanently. Many such statements might be cited, I give here three—from Lloyd George, Lord Curzon and Lord Birkenhead, than whom there are no higher authorities.

(1) During the latter part of his term as Premier Lloyd George made an address bearing on the Government of India Reform Scheme, in which he declared that Britain intends always to rule India, that there must always be in India's government a “steel frame” of British power, British authority, British dominance.

(2) Some years after the end of his term of service as Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon published two articles in the *North American Review* (June and August 1910) on “British Rule in India”, making it clear beyond a question that in his judgment Great Britain never should, never intends to, and never will give up her domination of India, closing his last article with the words; “British rule of the Indian people is England's present and future task; it will occupy her energies for as long a span of the future as it is humanly possible to forecast.”

(3) On the 7th of July 1925, Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, said in Parliament: “I am not able in any foreseeable future to discern a moment when we may safely either to ourselves or India, abandon our trust”, (that is, the rule of India).

In these statements we have these three men, the highest authorities on the subject declaring that in their judgment it is the *settled purpose* of the *British Government to hold India in its grip permanently*. Some of the words used are soft, calling Britain's relation to India a “trust”, etc., but they all mean the same thing—that Great Britain intends *absolutely to dominate India*, with or without its consent, (and of course it will be without it) *throughout a future as long as she can discern*.

To all this, what is to be said? There are two things to be said. One is that such a purpose, such an intention, on the part of Great Britain, if it exists, gives the lie to all her thousand times reiterated statements that she is educating India for *self-rule*; it shows that she intends nothing of the kind, and that

her statements are made simply to deceive India and the world.

The second thing to be said is, that such a deliberate purpose on her part, if it exists, is simply inhuman. There is not a shadow of right or justice in it. It is neither Christian nor civilized; it is barbarian. It is nothing less than monstrous. Put in plain words it means that Great Britain *acknowledges no law higher than might*.

For myself I repudiate the utterances of these men—high officials though they are. I cannot and will not believe that they state truly the purpose of the British nation. If they do, it means that Britain intends to *hold in subjection permanently one fifth of the human race by the power of the sword*, for she knows she can do it in no other

way. In other words it means that she deliberately plans to be, for all time so far as she can see, the greatest *aggressor nation*, the greatest *tyrant nation*, the greatest *leech nation*, the greatest *robber nation*, the greatest *slave-holding nation in the world*,—that she actually intends her future Empire to be one of *sixty millions or more of freemen and more than three hundred millions of thralls*. What a future for British men to look forward to!

Let those believe it who can. As for myself I simply will not believe anything so monstrous of the nation of Hampden and Milton, of Burke and Wilberforce and John Bright.

[A chapter from the Author's forthcoming work, "India's case for Freedom"]

SINCERITY AND ELOQUENCE

By HETTY KOHN, B. A. (Lond.)

I

Intellectual Sincerity

"The whole of our dignity consists in thought; it is by this we are to elevate ourselves, and not by mere space and duration. Let us then labour to *think well*; this is the principle of morality."

Pascal

INTRODUCTION

PERFECT sincerity is surely one of the greatest desiderata in human character. A perfectly sincere person, honest in thought, motive speech and action, is a *rara avis*; for one need not be a philosopher to recognise the fact that intellectual honesty requires careful cultivation. Many a person who is scrupulously honest as judged by the ordinary standards of behaviour, could not claim to have attained to absolute truthfulness, genuineness, earnestness of thought, and freedom from hypocrisy, as included in the connotation of the word "sincerity."

So intimately bound up with one another are thought and speech, that the habit of sincerity formed in the one will, in its inevitable reaction, produce sincerity in the other. For this reason it is essential to begin the habit of absolute sincerity in both thought and speech quite early in life, before the

subtle poison of intellectual dishonesty has had time to destroy our power of distinguishing the true from the false.

Eloquence, the art of expressing thoughts in such language and in such a way as to produce conviction or persuasion, or of expressing strong emotions vividly and appropriately, is desired, whether consciously or unconsciously, by every individual.

This desire to impress others is natural and universal, not only because persuasiveness implies influence and power over others, whether employed from utilitarian or altruistic motives, but from the elementary instinct of man to wish to shine in the eyes of his fellows (observable in any child) and to be pleasing to others in daily life by his conversation.

It is the object of this series of three articles, firstly, to analyse sincerity in thought in its main aspects, ranging from mental honesty in the trivial incidents of daily life, sincerity as regards views in matters of art, to intellectual sincerity in matters of religion and inter-racial intercourse, and also to examine sincerity in motive, secondly, to analyse

the nature and essence of true eloquence and to establish that complete sincerity is the necessary basis of eloquence whether in speech or writing, and at the same time to point out and investigate the danger of allowing the passion for eloquent phrases to outweigh the love of thought which is truthful in the highest sense of the word—and thirdly, (in the last article) to attempt a more detailed analysis of the prominent part played by intellectual insincerity and the mischievous "magazine" mentality in retarding the advent of an improvement in inter-racial intercourse.

Throughout the discussion, the individual whom the writer has in mind as being guilty of intellectual insincerity, is definitely not the unscrupulous person who deliberately modifies the truth to serve his own purposes, but the conventionally upright person, who prides himself upon his honesty in all the affairs of life.

(a) *In the trivial incidents of daily life.* The first time an habitually truthful person indulges in insincerity, the falsehood is generally trivial enough in itself, and the person tells a "white lie" *consciously*, in order to suit some purpose of his own. The "white lie", exaggeration or twisting of a fact, may be intrinsically harmless, and unlikely to affect anyone; but when the process is repeated, this slight deviation from truth paves the way for the formation of a mental habit which, for the very reason that, like a narcotic, it deadens the intellectual conscience of the person, is well-nigh impossible to eradicate. Neither will the arguments of friends carry any weight with the individual concerned, for the reason that he does not admit that he is in the wrong. On the contrary, the implication that he is "telling lies" stings him into a kind of righteous indignation, urging him obstinately to espouse the inaccurate or ridiculous statement he has made, unless he still possess sufficient sense of fairness to allow his friends to show him step by step the false mode of thinking into which he has slipped. It is not always possible for another person to know at precisely which point the individual in question ceases to admit *to himself* that he is in the wrong; for even at the stage when he still feels a twinge of conscience, vanity will probably not allow him to admit his lapse to others.

The individual, estimable though he may be in all other ways, becomes exceedingly difficult to "get on with," for in ordinary conversation he will make misstatements of

facts which prove greatly annoying to those around him. His plea that the matter is too trivial to warrant discussion and that insistence on the accuracy of details is pedantic, is merely a symptom of the mental disease, for such it is, to which he is a prey; for, just as the man who commits a petty theft with complacency, will sooner or later steal a lakh—if circumstances are in his favour—even so, mental insincerity in trifles will, if unchecked, lead the individual by imperceptible degrees, to serious misrepresentations.

A few illustrations from the writer's personal experience are here given.

Case 1. A young lady shorthand-typist (whom we shall call "typist A") told her two colleagues that she had once swum half a mile, and that this was her maximum achievement in swimming. A few weeks afterwards, referring to the same achievement, she stated the distance as one mile. One of the colleagues commented on this discrepancy, the second colleague corroborating that she also had understood the distance to have been half a mile. "Typist A" indignantly protested that she had swum one mile, and that she could have had no reason for stating the distance as half a mile. Several months after this, "typist A", again referring to the same achievement, gave the distance as one mile and a half! The writer believes that "typist A" had by that time thoroughly deluded herself into the belief that she had really swum a mile and a half—whereas her original statement was in all likelihood the correct one.

Case 2. When the writer was staying at the house of friends, the water was bad during a part of the hot weather, and it was agreed to drink as little of it as possible. The family, however, drank tea made of this water, as usual, morning and afternoon. The writer, who was not in the habit of drinking much tea, was thirsty one day and indulged in one glass of cold (boiled) water. In view of the fact that the others were drinking three or four cupfuls daily of the same water, though camouflaged with tea and mixed with milk, their angry reproaches at the writer's "wrong and foolish" action were unreasonable and inconsistent, though amusing from the psychological point of view! As they were highly educated people, there was no question of their failing to appreciate the fact that the tea was just as injurious as the cold water! In this case the stupid inconsistency can be traced to a mere lack

of imagination. Being accustomed to regard their cup of tea as a "sine qua non" of existence, they regarded it as a necessary evil to drink tea even though made of injurious water, but viewed the water in its pure form (even "ekach piala"!) as a luxurious "cold drink."

Case 3 The writer overheard an English-woman who had been living in India for some years, telling an Indian that in the gymnastic lessons in English schools the girls walk at some height from the ground on a thin rope. This was during a conversation in which the Indian had argued that Indian children have greater balancing power than European children. The Indian gentleman in question was likely to incorporate the gist of these remarks in some articles of his. For this reason the writer, struck by the gross inaccuracy of the above statement on the part of the Englishwomen (all the more remarkable as she was an exteacher) interposed, suggesting that the lady had evidently forgotten that English girls walk, never on a rope (ropes are used only for climbing and jumping) but on the flat edge of the heavy horizontal wooden bar, about one inch or one inch and a half in width: (the rounded edge of the same bar is used for the exercise known as "travelling", in which the person hangs on to the bar by the arms, and "travels" from one end of the bar to the other). This exercise, which in itself needs much practice and considerable balance, is not nearly as precarious a feat as walking on a rope, which, in Europe at least, is performed only by professional athletes. To the writer's amazement, the lady adhered obstinately to her "rope walking", theory, even when details of gymnasium routine were recalled to her mind. So treacherous a thing is memory!

Case 4. An incident of the early school-days of the writer is indelibly impressed on her mind, as some incidents of childhood are apt to be clearly as though they occurred but yesterday, with every attendant detail, and even an exact memory of the actual words spoken and the tone in which they were said (though other events of the same distant period are long forgotten). One morning just before Christmas, a class-mate (aged seven years, the same age as the writer was then) who happened to be the daughter of a very well-known manufacturer, said to the writer while changing shoes in the cloak-

room: "I wanted to ask you to my Christmas party, but my mother says I mustn't." "Why mustn't you?" asked the writer. "Because you don't come in to prayers." (the writer was the only Jewish child in the Kindergarten). The injustice and senselessness of this exclusion from the party impressed the writer, who related the incident to her mother. The comment of the writer's mother is clearly stamped on her memory: "I am very sorry about the party, but it was very wrong of you to have asked M. why her mother did not wish to invite you. You must never do so again." This incident has often been referred to, since, in the writer's family, as an example of stupid intolerance. The writer's amused surprise may be imagined when, recently, she overheard a relative (who at the period of the party incident was twelve years old, i.e. a "big girl" in the same school) relating the anecdote to a friend, quite seriously asserting that it was to herself (i.e. the relative) that M's remarks had been made! Even after the writer's protest, she adhered to her own version, with some "embroidery" added on the spur of the moment.

The value of the anecdote as an example of intolerance, of course, remains, but it is the actual experiencing of how inaccuracies and anachronisms arise, which makes us realise the extreme need for the utmost caution with regard to historical records of any kind.

Case 5 A lady experimenting in the kitchen, hit upon a new and economical way of using dates in the making of a pudding. The pudding was voted popular by the family, and was made many times. A few weeks after, the lady's sister exclaimed spontaneously in the course of a meal; "How lucky that I thought of this date pudding!" The "inventor" of the pudding looked in amusement at her sister, thinking this was a joke. The other members of the family, too, who well-remembered with whom the idea had originated, were highly amused, but for the moment the sister was really under the impression, and insisted, that the pudding was the child of her own brain. When the circumstances had been recalled to her mind, she suddenly remembered, apologised, and joined in the general mirth.

Case 6. A young lady was, prior to, and during the early part of the world-war, engaged to be married to A. Subsequently her engagement to A. was broken off, and she became

engaged to B. whom she married in about 1917. One day in 1919 or 1920, during a conversation centring around what each of us was thinking and doing on the day of the outbreak of war, she said: "I was out for a walk in Hyde Park with B (i. e. her husband) and B. said to me—" She stopped short, laughed rather confusedly, and remembered: "Why, it was A. who was with me then! How stupid of me!" A case of confusion of thought checked in time—but one felt a sense of relief that B was not present.

Though it is well, in ordinary intercourse to maintain a charitable attitude towards friends who thus are the victims of strange lapses of memory, the more important moral is obviously that one should keep a strictly critical eye on one's own mental mechanism, for in cases when one has read a particularly vivid description of a person, place or event in a book or in a letter, or heard such person, place or event described in the conversation of a friend who has the gift of eloquence, it is quite easy (and some minds are more prone to this than others) to imagine that one has actually met the person, seen the place, or witnessed the event in question. How frequently, too, does one have occasion to say to oneself: "I could have sworn I put my purse here", whereas one finds one left it in a different place altogether.

A factor which should here be mentioned as conducive to the habit of intellectual falsehood, is *untidiness*, and it is worth while to follow the untidy individual along his crooked paths. The distress of the untidy person (whom we shall call "A" when he really needs a certain paper, and has to wade through a heterogeneous heap of his belongings in the search, is so pitiful to behold that the tidy person (whom we shall call "B") is moved to assist him, though experience teaches him that it is wiser to leave "A"'s things severely alone.

The untidy person is won't to justify his failing by asserting (1) that he "can't be bothered", (2) that he has "the artistic temperament", or (3) that he has more important things to think about. Only the first explanation is an honest one, for no one nowadays believes any longer that untidiness is a necessary attribute of genius. The point at which untidiness brings about intellectual falsehood is when "A", whom annoyance at not being able to find his things has reduced to a state of irritated

helplessness, turns on "B" and accuses him of having removed the article in question. "B" (who has experienced many such provoking scenes before, and knows the article must be somewhere in the mass of "A"'s things) denies the charge, and asks "A" to try and remember when and where he last saw the article.

The reason of "A"'s readiness to suspect and accuse "B" rather than take the trouble of going steadily through the rubbish-heap of his papers, is partly pure laziness (for the inspection of an accumulation of unsorted papers does need considerable physical effort), but it rests partly on a subconscious feeling of guilt and humiliation because he knows that "B" has had to help him out of similar emergencies in the past. It is the very fact that the assistance of the tidy person has been resorted to, which gives the untidy one, in his frequent dilemmas, the handle of ungratefully accusing him of "always interfering with and tidying up" his, i.e. the untidy one's belongings.

The astounding psychological phenomenon is that the *same* person who on some occasions will claim his privilege of untidiness and even boast of it, on one or other of the above-mentioned grounds, will, on other occasions, labour under the delusion that he is really a model of tidiness, but that circumstances (and especially the malicious machinations of the tidy individual) conspire against him and hide his property in mysterious places. The orderly person has often to put a severe restraint on his rising indignation when thus unfairly suspected and accused by the untidy one.

(b) *In matters of art* One is often justified in questioning the mental sincerity of the opinions and tastes expressed by persons of one's acquaintance in matters of art. Quite apart from persons who, in order to give the impression of being cultured, aesthetic and original, profess to appreciate some particular type of literature, some particular style of painting sculpture or music, some particular combination of colours, as opposed to others, there are many individuals who, by the sheer force of suggestion from outside agencies such as the conversation of their friends and the periodicals they read, have persuaded themselves that these opinions or tastes are really their own.

It is one thing, and a desirable thing, to be guided in one's judgment by what persons

of more powerful personality and higher culture, think and feel; but it is surely dishonest and unworthy to adopt any such opinion or taste at second-hand, without fighting fairly to make it one's own. To profess any opinion without thoroughly understanding it, is pure affectation, and this leads to mental hypocrisy. In these matters it is not every individual who has, or can have, decided tastes or views.

In the case of paintings, the ordinary person is often told by the connoisseur that a certain picture which he, the ordinary person, admires, is not "true art" but merely pretty. The connoisseur will proceed to explain his statement. If the amateur is genuinely convinced (now or at some future period, when he has had time to reflect on it, and to apply the test to other paintings), so much the better: his appreciation of other works of art will doubtlessly be all the greater for this advance in his artistic education. If, however, the amateur remains unconvinced, and is unable to accept the fact that a picture which appeals to him and makes him feel uplifted, is not "art," the only honest thing is for him to confess as much to all who may question him, and to leave to the connoisseur that superior understanding of and deeper insight into pictures which he himself is unable to acquire. But it takes an honest person to resist the temptation of persuading himself that he feels as the connoisseur does. On the other hand, an individual may have the "right" instinct about a work of art, without being able to analyse his feelings about it. Especially is this so in the case of music, where melody and harmony are almost bound to make their appeal, though the unsophisticated hearer could probably not (without leaning on the views of a connoisseur) say why he likes a particular composition better than another.

If a person desires to grow in his appreciation of what is beautiful in art, he should surely avoid all affectation like poison, and not be afraid of admitting that there are matters beyond his comprehension.

In such matters as combination of colours as used in dress and furnishing, fashion frequently plays the part of a temptress luring us from mental honesty, as she lays down criteria which cannot possibly appeal to all alike, but from which by no means all have the honesty to admit that they differ. Persons therefore persuade

themselves (while the fashion lasts!) that the combination for instance of bright mauve and pale pink, or that of black and yellow, is beautiful, whereas that for instance of pale blue and bright green, or of bright blue and pale green, is "impossible"—in spite of Nature's mingling of these colours in field and sky.

(c) *In matters of religion.* In so vital a matter as religion, it is surely imperative to analyse honestly one's own thoughts and feelings, and not to lean on the ideas in which one has grown up from infancy. Many persuade themselves that they have thought the matter out for themselves, while in reality they but echo the views of their ancestors or priests. Alas, it is so fatally easy and comfortable to say "I believe" the tenets of a traditional, ready-made religion! Likewise, man clings to traditional ideas of morality, patriotism, war, and the like, when he might analyse these things rationally.

With sincere piety and with sincere agnosticism we have no quarrel. However, the desire to impress others tempts many an individual to affect piety or agnosticism which is in reality foreign to him and which he cannot reason out. It frequently happens that the spontaneous, chance expressions of a person give the lie to the protestations he makes of being, for instance, a confirmed atheist. As Lessing has it, "all who mock at their fetters are not free from them"—they like to *think* they are.

The Jewish rabbis of olden times had an excellent maxim: "Learn to say: *I do not know.*" Many a man has found it necessary to alter his career even after a long training, in order to be sincere as regards religious belief. The critic Scherer, after having taken a degree in theology and become a professor of Exegesis at Geneva, became gradually aware of the difficulties of the Protestant creed. He resigned his Chair, and was formally excommunicated. Renan, the author of the "Life of Jesus" rejected much of the orthodox belief of his early days, though retaining his active interest in things religious. His compromise made him the butt of the bitterest censure on the part of orthodoxy. Sainte-Beuve experimented in the directions both of Roman Catholicism and of Protestantism, but "was destined never to cross the barrier between doubt and belief" the most difficult position to maintain as far as the outside world is concerned, for the man who feels that he

is neither one thing nor the other has to withstand the attacks both of orthodoxy and of decided agnosticism. The world is often intolerant of seemingly abrupt changes in a man's belief. Yet allowance should be made for the fluidity of thought and feeling with the individual's progress through life.

At University College, London, alone, there have been for many years three professors who were trained for the ministry, and who left the sphere of religious for that of academic teaching, owing to their intellectual honesty. This is no implication whatsoever that *all* religious teachers lose their belief in their doctrines, but there must surely be many whose views change in the course of their career, but who lack the courage to say so. Two of the above-mentioned are Jews and one a Christian. The one Jew and the one Christian had been in their respective ministries for many years, but as soon as they discovered that they could no longer honestly believe what, in accordance with the doctrine of the theology they represented, they were expected to preach to their flock, or that the interpretations they put upon such doctrine were not admissible, they diverted their activity to a less dogmatic province. Such honesty, unfortunately, often entails serious hardship to the individual and his family "for conscience's sake", for it is not always possible for a man trained as a minister to earn a living wage in any other field.

(d) *Intellectual insincerity in interracial intercourse.* Malebranche (in "Recherche de la verite") adduced eleven main reasons for the predilection of man for ready-made opinions, the chief being, firstly the natural laziness of man in thinking things out for himself, secondly, his inability to meditate, owing to a lack of mental training in early life, thirdly, an inherent dislike of abstract truths, and fourthly the vanity which leads man to hanker after a reputation for learning since the title of scholar is conferred on him who has *read* the most.

The omnipotence of ready-made opinions is also most patent in inter-racial relations. Leaving aside as beyond the scope of these articles those larger issues of inter-racial prejudice where the factors of language, and political and economic interest come into play, it is advantageous to analyse the way in which mere intellectual insincerity and a lazy reliance on ready-made opinions hampers the ordinary individual in his ideas

regarding people of other races, and produces what might be termed the "magazine mentality". This will form the subject matter of the third and last article of this series.

(e) *Mental sincerity in motives.* As regards mental sincerity in motives, it is easy and pleasant to flatter oneself into the belief that one performs an action for unselfish reasons, whilst all the time one is giving pleasure to oneself, or combining the two. It is easy, too, by a little mental juggling, to invent any number of excuses to pacify one's conscience rather than admit to oneself that an irksome task is being shirked through sheer laziness. A man can do this ad libitum, until he becomes a perfect martyr in his own estimation.

Case 1. The writer, convalescent after an illness, was asked by some friends to go from Poona to Bombay for one day at their expense to execute a somewhat difficult and responsible errand. Though feeling scarcely equal to the journey, she was prepared to go. At the eleventh hour, the friends changed their minds, thus making the trip unnecessary. They thanked the writer for her willingness, and expressed their regret that she would now be deprived of the pleasure (?) of the trip! The psychology was clearly that, from an initial twinge of conscience at having to ask the writer to undertake the commission, they had come to persuade themselves that they were really doing her a favour.

Case 2. A young lady (graduate) trained for the teaching profession, sought a post as a teacher, but without success. Through the force of circumstances she worked for five years in a commercial firm, constantly complaining of the severity of fate in compelling her to do such mechanical and soulless work as stenography, typewriting, and translating business letters. When circumstances changed, and the young lady's time was divided between teaching and writing, (on her own account) and secretarial work for an employer, she had reluctantly to confess that, much as she really preferred the former type of work, she often felt a secret sensation of pleasure when beginning a day of purely mechanical work, as this required so much less mental exertion.

The tyranny of fashion, to which reference has been made above, is also sometimes responsible for fostering self-righteousness. Twenty years ago no self-respecting European woman or girl went

about (with the exception of "evening dress") in short frocks, low neck, or sleeves displaying more than the wrists. The phenomenon is that people persuaded themselves of their virtue and high morals in this matter of dress, and that a mother who detected any tendency in her daughter to dispense with the exceedingly uncomfortable stiff, high collars, felt serious concern at the frivolous laxity of morals this implied. Morals may indeed have suffered a change during the last few years to account for the change in fashion in this respect, but it is more plausible to attribute the above-mentioned phenomenon partly to the inherent dislike of man to think things out, and partly to his desire to put the best possible construction on his actions.

The desire to keep up appearances, and to conceal the fact of our poverty from the outside world, leads to self-deception as regards our motives. We may resort to a certain practice from reasons of economy, and, making a virtue of necessity, persuade ourselves that we are doing it from altogether different motives. It often happens, indeed, that what was at first a painful necessity becomes a pleasure, but we need not on that account delude ourselves, nor feel ashamed of our lack of worldly goods when that lack is due to no fault of our own.

On the contrary, it is the self-deception which should be abhorred.

BERTRAND RUSSELL INTERVIEWED*

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

I was at Mr. Bertrand Russell's lovely little country-house at one.

"When are you going to America Mr. Russell?" I asked.

"In September", he replied. "I have just sold my London house."

* I had the privilege of spending three days very close to Mr. Bertrand Russell and his family. I kept a record of the conversations everyday which I sent to him typed from London a fortnight later, (along with the report of a conversation of mine with Tagore) asking for his permission to publish it in a journal and later on in a book. He very kindly gave the permission and wrote thus :

Corn Voel 12. 7. 27.
Porthcurno
Cornwall

Dear Mr. Roy,

Thank you for sending the report of our talks and the very interesting account of Tagore. I have gone through your report and erased a few things I don't want to say publicly, and corrected the language here and there.

Your visit was a great pleasure.....

Yours very sincerely
BERTRAND RUSSELL

I have to thank Mr. Russell warmly for his extreme kindness in thus taking the trouble of correcting my report as well as for his granting me the permission of publication. The fact that he has personally corrected my report of his thoughts which must needs be very imperfect, he

"Don't you like London?" I asked.

"No. I hope I shall never again live there", he replied. "As a matter of fact since my return from China I spent half the year here in the country-house. London is so bad for the children too"

"When do you go to America?" I asked.

"In September next," he replied.

"Why do you go there?" I said.

"Because I want to make money?", he smiled "You see I am going to start a school for children at Petersfield and I want money for it."

being such a wonderful conversationalist enhances its value not a little. I trust therefore that thanks are due to him not only from me, but from all who admire his towering and versatile genius.

I have been particularly at pains to report him as objectively as possible, bringing out my remarks only to throw his thoughts into a bolder relief. I have purposely left out many things which I said and he agreed with, since my chief endeavour has been to focus the light on him alone. Thus I have sought to avoid the enumeration of my personal differences with him as also any comments on the soundness of his views. These would be out of place here. I have tried only to give a picture of the great man as I saw him.

D. K. R.

"In your book on Education you praised a certain school of one Miss McMillan. Do you propose to start this school of yours on similar lines?" I asked.

"Yes it is a very good school for the children I think", he replied, "but it is intended mostly for poor folks."

"And yours?"

"Mine is meant—well—for the middle-classes—that is for those who can pay for their children's education", he returned.

"Do you think that schools should be run separately like that?"

"I don't—but you see an elementary school is such an expensive undertaking that only the State can hope to tackle it successfully. A private person who is not rich cannot quite afford such a big expenditure."

"Why? Don't you think that such a school can be self-supporting?"

"Not if it is meant for the poor. So it comes to a paradox really that if one isn't rich one has to start a school for the rich."

Mr. Russell laughed and I joined. He always enjoyed his own jokes quite as much as the others.

"So that's why you go to America?"

"Yes. I should not have ever gone there otherwise."

"But can't a school for the poor be run except with the help of the State? Supposing you succeeded in getting together some rich men?"

"Ah! but there's the rub", he smiled, "if you want the rich men to come out with their donations they will like to impose their own conditions, won't they? That is to say they will insist on having their way in the regulation of the educational policy and that will be disastrous."

"Why?" I asked, "they might want sensible things too. Mightn't they?"

"No. What the rich will want will always be bad, you can depend upon it", he retorted.

We laughed.

"Besides why should the rich people come out to oblige me with their funds when I have never obliged them by standing up for their heartlessness?" he added smiling.

We laughed again.

"In Mr. Wells's latest book called the 'Undying Fire'", I said, "he too has emphasized these difficulties, namely, the difficulties that an educational reformer must encounter in a school which is run by rich men. They al-

ways will poke their nose into the scheme for education, he says, and the result will be that no substantial advance can be achieved."

"Yes, I have seen that book" said Mr. Russell, "and he is quite right I think. So I fear it will be idle for a long time to come to expect any but lip-deep sympathy from the rich in this connection. The only practicable way of effecting such reforms is therefore to stir up public opinion so much as to force the State to take up the advanced schools in the teeth of their opposition."

"You don't seem to have particular faith in the goodness of human nature, Mr. Russell", I said smiling. "I remember having read a cynical remark of yours in your 'Problem of China,' that human nature in the mass does as much good as it must and as much evil as it dares."

"I said human nature in nations, did not I", asked he smiling.

"No you had said human nature in the mass if my memory doesn't fail me."

He smiled.

"But if you have no faith in the goodness of human nature, then what hopes can there be in your advocating stable reforms in remoulding and remodelling the character of people by education?" I asked.

"Well, I don't think that human nature is either good or bad really. Man has to be egotistic like all animals for the sake of his self-preservation. He has therefore to hedge himself in with certain formulas which he thinks are likely to stand him in good stead. Hence if you can offer reform schemes which do not run counter to those formulas you may just be able to get a few things done."

The lunch-bell rang.

Mr. Russell led me into the dining-room. We sat down at the table as Mrs. Russell came in. Mr. Russell's son John (aged five) sat next to me and his little daughter Kate (aged three) sat opposite me.

Mr. Russell introduced me to John: "He is an Indian gentleman, Johnnie." The boy looked at me with deep misgivings.

"Do you know anything about India?" I asked my little friend at table to my right.

"Oh! yes" he said, "I have got a feather in my head sec, like a Red Indian."

"But that's in America Johnnie" said Mr. Russell. "Mr. Roy doesn't come from there."

"But the Red-Indians shouldn't be in

America, they should be in India!" John ejaculated incredulously.

We laughed at his evident discomfiture.

"Yes, that's rather puzzling I admit", said Mr. Russell laughing, "but Mr. Roy isn't quite red, see, is he? So how can the be a Red-Indian?"

"Then I'll be a Red-Indian", he put in with rather baffling logic, "I will put on that wicked dark coat of mine and kill him". He looked solemn as he gave expression to his invincible resolution.

Children are not exactly pacifist, are they?" said Mr. Russell laughing.

"No, I wonder why though!"

"Well, fighting has been ingrained in our blood for ages for self-preservation you see," replied Mr. Russell.

"But cannot pacifism be made to be as ingrained in the child by careful inculcation?" I asked.

"Well, it is difficult", said Mr. Russell, "you see pacifism is too sophisticated a growth—and a much too recent one at that—to be able to appeal to an unsophisticated child. So success in such a matter cannot come in a day."

"He wasn't however so militaristic before" said to me Mrs. Russell later, when we had moved into the drawing-room, "but you see we had a Bolshevik boy at our house recently—the boy of Mr. Rosengolz, the Russian Foreign Charge d'Affaires—and he preached militarism from morning till night. John has imbibed it all from him."

"So this boy got the better of your pacifism?" I asked.

"Yes, for the time being any way" said Mr. Russell. "Didn't I tell you just now that fighting is ingrained in our blood?"

"But why don't you forbid him to cherish such propensities from now?" I asked.

"Well, you see it is like this" said Mr. Russell, "if you forbid things to a child you will defeat your end in all likelihood. For he will then be almost certain to be all the more attracted by it. A forbidden fruit always has more charms for us, don't you know?"

We laughed again.

"You mean then that there is no help for it or what?" I asked.

"The best way in such cases" said he, "is to let such propensities work themselves out. I think," he replied.

Mrs. Russell went out for a walk with

the children. Mr. Russell told her we two would join them later on the sea-beach.

"What do you think of England's late rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia following close upon the heels of the Arcos raid?" I asked as soon as we were alone.

"I think it is mad."

"Do you think Russia's recent activities in China have got anything to do with it?" I pursued.

"Undoubtedly. And we might be on the brink of a War with Russia at the present moment had it not been for the fact that France does not want it just now."

"What do you mean?"

"Well, you see, England is continually inciting Poland to a war with Russia. But Poland has always looked up to France as her guardian angel, and France isn't now particularly keen on a first-class war with Russia—at least not just at the present moment."

"Your prophesy in your 'Prospects of Industrial Civilization' that the next Great War is going to be waged between Asia with Russia at its head and the West with America at its head is very sound I think" said I after a pause. "For, see how Russia is helping China now."

"Quite. And I think Russia will help India too. At least it is the only great nation that has any interest in doing so."

"Why?"

"Why, to undermine us of course. There is no love lost between modern Bolshevik Imperialism and British Imperialism, don't you see?"

"But you don't mean to say that the Bolshevik Imperialism isn't inspired by any ideals?"

"Of course, every Imperialism is inspired by very lofty ideals" said he cynically. "You don't mean to say surely that we are any behindhand in the matter of proclaiming the loftiest of ideals even when our Imperialism leads us to commit the worst of atrocities in your country?"

"No, but surely Mr. Russell, you can't put your Imperialism under the same category as that of Russia" I objected. "For, don't you believe Russia does have some real ideal—in a truer sense of the term? The proof is that she is bound to influence the world of the future more than your so-called ideals of British Imperialism. What about Communism?"

"Well, I admit your contention that Russia

is going to influence Europe and the world in the near future. In their finding out religion for example, in their crying down the Church for example and in many other things they are to-day the van-guard of progress in the West. But a real Communism I must say has failed there—at least for the present any way."

"It may have now. But don't you think that when they will have trained the new generations of boys and girls, they will change the face of the world?"

"I doubt that" said Mr. Russell dubiously. "When you inculcate overdoses of some doctrines in the boys and girls they grow up to espouse such views as run directly counter to those very doctrines. Christianity for example painted in glowing colours the charms of submissiveness didn't she?—and look at the result in Europe."

"Do you mean to say that the inculcation of definite views and beliefs cannot mend matters substantially?" I asked. "What hope is there then in your educational projects?"

"Well, there are some beliefs which do matter. Christian beliefs have been operative in the stiffening of the absurd divorce laws as well as the prejudices against birthcontrol, but have not made pacifists of us exactly, have they? The fact of the matter is that only such beliefs of religion happen to influence our action as are bad."

We laughed.

We started out for a walk.

"You mean to say Mr. Russell that beliefs don't influence conduct?" I said as we came out of the house.

"Well, you see our belief as well as conduct are mostly the result of our temperament. That is, we act in certain ways mostly because our impulses propel us in that direction according to our respective temperaments. At the same time this temperament induces us to formulate certain beliefs to justify those acts. So beliefs are in general not the motive of our actions really."

"Do you mean that if our beliefs were changed our actions, wouldn't change much?"

"Yes our actions would usually change too. Because beliefs are immensely modified by our circumstances and changed circumstances will also change our actions."

"But don't you think that some of the noblest of men and finest of personalities have been the products of religious beliefs or mystic beliefs if you will?"

"Well, I think that the finest of men are found in equal number if not in greater among the irreligious. When of course, the majority of men in any country are religious a greater number of fine men are bound to be religious by pure rules of probability". He smiled. "But that isn't because it is religion which has produced the fine men" he added, "on the contrary I should think. For, on the balance I should think that religion has rendered the world definitely unhappier than it would otherwise have been."

"What about the religious mystics who preached some of the loftiest of maxims from their mystical illuminations and ecstasies.?" I asked

"Well, I believe in the ecstasies as data of definite experience but when they imply vision I cannot accept them. For the lofty principles are by no means the results of these mystical illuminations. As a matter of fact such ecstasies render the mystics distinctly selfish"

"How?"

"Because through such mystic transports they become more and more subjective and get more and more loth to a healthy life of varied activities and lose interest in things for themselves. Consequently their joys tend to become more and more similar to the joys of the voluptuary or the drunkard."

"You don't say so Mr. Russell?" I exclaimed.

"I do really. For, I see no reason why the religious mystics should not be placed more under the category of drunkards than under the category of prophets"

"But think of the sacrifices they make for their joys—the sufferings they cheerfully accept for their goal are they nothing?"

"So does the drunkard. He undergoes a great deal of hardships too—doesn't he—often throwing his hard earned money away and making himself and even his beloved friends and relatives suffer. Doesn't he?"

We laughed.

"What would you say of Buddha then?"

"Well, his enemies said that he lived on the alms of the pious—which was rather an easy life too, wasn't it? But yet I must confess I like him better than all the other religious figures in the world put together."

"Would you prefer him to Christ?"

"Any day, I am convinced that Christ has done far more harm than good to mankind."

"But he gave so much beauty to life!" I ejaculated.

"Only to take away more beauty from it." It was he who injected Judaism into a Hellenistic world which I think was a great pity."

"You are a great admirer of the Hellenistic culture are you not, Mr. Russell?"

"Well, not a great one exactly. But I admire many things in their civilization. I am very thankful to them for their having invented geometry for instance."

"Yes, I quite understand that. You are such a great admirer of science."

"Yes, for science is a great achievement of man, very great indeed. If scientists had their way a little more as we hope they are going to have in the future, we can well expect them to change the face of humanity within a few decades even with the amount of knowledge they possess to-day".

"For example?"

"Take a very small instance. It has been found that about ten percent of the men of to-day are definitely feeble-minded. If scientists had their way these persons could be easily prevented from breeding by artificial sterilization even now. That would mean a substantial alleviation of misery here and now, wouldn't it?"

"It is only a very small instance after all of what science could do," he added. "For the more you come to think the more you see the wonderful potentialities of science in elevating humanity. Suppose for instance, scientists were to be given a free hand to-day in the matter of improving the present breed of humanity. Well, they could so order life even with the means and knowledge they have at their service to-day, that they could prevent all but the desirable and brilliant type of men from procreating. That would improve the next generation very substantially—wouldn't it?"

"How do you mean Mr. Russell? You mean they will allow only a handful of men to be fathers?"

"Well—that won't be such a great tragedy if men were allowed to have as much sex as they like, will it? I mean they won't prevent the mass of men from having sexual intercourse, of course, but they won't stand any nonsense from hysterical mothers and sentimental fathers who are not fit to perpetuate the species. Women shall not be allowed that is, to do without contraceptives

except when they and the selected fathers are pronounced fit. They shall not be allowed to have intercourse without contraceptives with their husbands in case the latter are adjudged undesirable fathers by medical and scientific men."

"Of course, it won't be really such a simple matter as all that", he continued "there are many powerful objections to it and many serious difficulties that have got to be overcome before. But I have cited this as a crude instance of the immense power of science in bringing about far-reaching reforms here and now."

We had stopped on the top of a cliff overlooking a noble vista of the sea.

He gazed at the wide expanse of the sea and said:

"I love the sea more than anything else in the world."

"Confucius has said" he added after a pause, "that men of virtue love the mountains, men of learning love the sea. I don't know what he based his observation on though."

We laughed.

"I suppose he loved both", he added.

"I think that was the doctrine he based his remark on" I commented.

"Possibly" laughed Mr. Russell.

"I suppose I have very little claim to virtue according to Confucius." He smiled.

We both laughed again as we reached the beach.

Mr. Russell ran down and then had a sea bath. It was delightful to see him take such a real delight in such activities. I remembered then that he had said to me once:

"I think it is healthy to take interest in things for themselves. If one were to be mystically religious one doesn't—that is another objection of mine to religious people. For, they are bound to lose much interest in life itself thereby."

I have said: "How can you persuade people who love religious ecstasies that their lives are less interesting than yours?"

"There's no way," he had said "once their habits have been formed and they have taken refuge under the hard crusts of dogmas. But when one takes children in hand one may do a lot by encouraging in them the proper sort of impulses which comprise the whole of life instead of insulting it by making life dwarfed, narrow and bigoted."

"For you see" he had observed, "the habits that are instilled into children very early die hard. Such deep seated habits must be the most difficult to eradicate later on once they have left their imprint on their impressionable trustful mind and body."

While Mr. Russell swam I sat on the sand near Mrs. Russell who was perched on a boulder. We talked casually about a lot of things. Incidentally I said:

"In your 'Hypatia' you have remarked Mrs. Russell, that the difference between the nature of man and woman is much less fundamental than it is made out to be. But I wonder if that is quite true. For don't you think that women need love in a sense more fundamental than men?"

"I don't think so", she said, "I admit that up-till-now women have had scarcely anything but love and motherhood to look to—since they have been debarred from taking an interest in men's work and activities. But it does not follow that given opportunities and training they may not take as keen an interest in life and thought and other disinterested activities".

"Don't you think that they want children more than men since the energy that she must expend to bear a child must be tremendous?" I asked.

"I don't think that facts of to-day tend to prove what you say", she said. "For I find daily that the modern women who don't want children are gaining tremendously in number. It is to me even disconcerting sometimes."

"But don't you think it is more due to the fact that most women have their health shattered owing to their having had to bear too many children and that often at very short intervals?" I asked.

"There is much in that", she said. "I have seen among the poorer classes that a mother often doesn't know what a good night's rest or a period of fine health is. Consequently they come to forget what joy of life means. Therefore, as often as not they come to hate children. Otherwise I think most women could be pronounced to be fond of children if they had one or two of them. Not-till-then will women be found to be able to take as much interest in so many different activities that are healthy and good."

She discussed the advisability of birth-control among other things repudiating it

as absurd that sex without children must be sinful.

A little while later Mr. Russell joined us. He sat on a boulder next to Mrs. Russell.

"I would have hated children for instance if my husband wanted me to bear children every year. I might perhaps have left him in the end for that" she added.

"I wonder why people should be so opposed to birth-control when they see and often feel pained to see their wives' health shattered by too frequent conceptions" I said.

"You see", said Mr. Russell animatedly. "We have to thank religion for that. That is why I said that religion is one of the most heartless means of making people miserable and helping those to pass for respectable who would otherwise have been castigated as criminals".

"Do you really mean it?"

"Quite, for don't you see that a man who makes his wife bear him a child every other year thus ruining her health is nothing short of the most heartless criminal?"

"But doesn't he suffer too?"

"No, most assuredly not" said he more warmly. "If he says he does I would tell him he is a liar or hypocrite. For the plain fact is that he simply forces his wife to be miserable and shattered in health for the sake of his own sexual pleasure. And it is religion which stands by him in his brutality simply because he conforms to its sleek hypocritical codes of morality and senseless dogmas."

"But you mean to say he doesn't necessarily love his wife or feel for her?"

"He loves only himself. It can be easily proved. Suppose society were to legislate that if he were to make his wife bear a single child to the detriment of her health he would be put to death by slow torture, do you think he would have forced his wife to bear him children against her will year after year?"

I was silent.

"But you see what he does in effect is simply to condemn his wife to death by slow torture—isn't it? And how does he manage it with impunity in a society of human beings? Simply because religion continues to applaud him and he thinks self-complacently that birth-control is sinful."

"But I wonder if it is religion really which is responsible for it all, as you say"

I said, "May be superstitious religion is, but I wonder if religion can be held responsible in all such cases. Tagore, for instance, is not opposed to birth-control and yet he is not what you would call an atheist?"

"Ah! But Tagore doesn't belong to any religious institution as most dogmatic religious people do," returned Mr. Russell. "For religion cannot do so much harm after all so long as its views are not promulgated or put in force through some sort of social organisation. So long as religion remains a personal affair it doesn't so much matter to society in general. For it cannot then do much harm."

"But can it ever do any good?" I asked.

"No—religion can never do any good—that much is certain," said Mr. Russell categorically.

We all laughed.

"If women were consulted," said Mrs. Russell as our laughter died down, "they would bear children only when the conditions were favorable and adopt contraceptives when they were not. It would leave their interest in children also unimpaired. I have borne two children and I think I will bear another later."

But do you know what my mother said Bertrand? she asked Mr. Russell.

"When I told her that I wanted to bear another child, she said 'Don't be a fool Dora. I have borne four children because I was one', she said laughing."

"Did she say that though?" Asked Mr. Russell.

And we all laughed.

"But I think two children should be the maximum in these days," said Mrs. Russell when our laughter subsided.

"No Dora, statistics would have us bear 24 children per couple," said Mr. Russell with a merry twinkle. "But it is rather difficult to manage". We all laughed out again.

"It is strange that Mahatma Gandhi should be opposed to birth-control on principle" I said after a while.

"Gandhi would be of course, he is very religious don't you see," said Mr. Russell. "Only I should like to ask such religious Indian nationalists as oppose birth-control thus favouring the slavery of the women whether they aim at a free community or a slavish one. For a community which makes slaves of women can hardly complain if the British make slaves of them. For when we oppress those who are in our power we can-

not at least be astonished if others treat us in the same way when they have us in their hands, can we?"

"Let's go back Bertrand," said Mrs. Russell. "We are already late for tea."

"We started back. I asked Mr. Russell on our way back if he intended coming to India in the near future."

"I fear not," he said, "For I have just taken up the serious responsibility of starting a new school you see. So I don't think it will be possible for me to go to India for some time to come—much as I should have liked to."

"But tell me why you would really like to come," I said. "You said a little while ago that the mentality of India to-day is similar to that of Europe in the Middle Ages. So is it to see the Medieval Age face to face?"

"Yes, you may put it that way too. But I like seeing things for myself to have a feel about India which I cannot have unless I go there. But I have been a little discouraged about some features of modern young India by some of the beliefs I have come across in Indian students at Cambridge and Oxford."

"Yes, I know their narrow nationalism cannot please you very much," I agreed.

"It isn't even their nationalism that I mind so much—though personally I would sooner die than teach patriotism—it is their standing up for old traditions mostly. For I have seen that old traditions are generally bad everywhere and there is no reason why they should be otherwise in India."

"I understand that Gandhi repudiated the invitation of Bolshevick Russia because she was atheist," he added, as we discussed the prospects of India's freedom in the near future. "I think India would be too foolish to act on such lines. It is senseless to say that she cannot possibly work with atheists. For only atheist Russia has now any interest in helping India."

"But do you really believe that Russia will help us?"

"I do. For Russia has to-day a real interest in championing Asia against the West. Look at China. Isn't she helping her now?"

"But," he added reflectively after a short pause "I don't think that it can all materialise here and now. No—I think in peace time India cannot avail herself fully of Russia's help."

"When then?"

"There is certain to be another big War. And then India might see her chance when England will be busily engaged. But I don't

think India will be able to free herself before that time comes."

(to be continued)

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

By NARAYAN CHANDRA ROY M. A.

Lecturer, City College, Calcutta.

IN Great Britain and other popularly governed countries, the civil service occupies only a subordinate position. The policy of the Government is shaped by the political heads of departments or the Cabinet as a whole, the initiative is taken by them and the whole responsibility for the good or bad administration devolves on their shoulders. The civil service works behind the veil. It shapes no policy, lays down no high principle and has no initiative in conducting the ship of the state. The Civil servants are only the subordinate assistants of the minister and are responsible to him in every possible way. Their duty is to carry out the policy laid down by this political chief and to advise him on any measure in case such advice is sought for. But any attempt to dictate policy is beyond the scope of their duty. The Civil servants are really servants, working under the direction of the popular ministers.

Far otherwise is the state of things out here in India. The Indian Civil Service has not been merely a service but it has constituted the Government of the country. Its members have been rulers in the true sense of the term. They have initiated the policy of the Government, worked out its details and put them into application. They have again not been children of the soil, but for a considerably long time were wholly imported from a foreign land. They have not been responsible to any authority in the country but have been only under the control of an extraneous body, the British Parliament. The Governmental machinery of the country has thus been run by a bureaucracy, irresponsible in character, and alien in composition.

The Indian Civil Servant "is successor to the clerks sent out by the company to

manage the factories." When the East India Company conquered this country "in a fit of absent-mindedness" these clerks were at once entrusted with a double duty. They had to look to the proper management of the Company's commerce and at the same time they were responsible for the management of the Company's territories. The Company, though now the ruler of millions, was still pre-eminently a commercial concern and it remained so for a good long time to come. It looked upon its conquered land really as a private estate and as a stepping-stone to its commercial supremacy. Its servants also, mostly ill-educated adventurers were quite unfit for the new work of administering a conquered country. Their education, their family tradition, and the atmosphere they lived in, were none favourable to the highly responsible functions they were now called upon to discharge. They turned out corrupt and dishonest and many of them made enormous fortune by all sorts of questionable means. They became the "Indian Nabobs" when they went back to their own land after retirement from the Indian service. Lord Clive once thought of punishing the guilty and reforming the administrative machine. But his efforts were mostly baffled and nullified. And, bribery, perjury and corruption continued to rise among the Company's servants for twenty years to come. It was not till Lord Cornwallis "cleansed the Augean stables," in the later eighties of the 18th century that better atmosphere was introduced among them. Nor was the system in favour of efficiency and good Government. Division of labour and separation of functions were not the principles yet introduced. The officials were trade-agents, revenue-collectors, magistrates, and even soldiers in one. It

is only gradually that the commercial monopoly of the Company was broken and the administration of the country became its main business. The functions of Government, however, during the East India Company's regime were limited in scope and narrow in outlook. The work of the Government consisted only in building up the administrative machinery, the collection of revenue and the maintenance of some sort of law and order. The old Governmental system had absolutely broken down and the "lack of governance" was the one pre-eminent feature of the time.

Now the country, to be of any benefit to the foreign conquerors, must be thoroughly organised and systematically governed by a well-established administrative system. And it was this system that the civil servants now set about rearing up. It was not, of course, an easy job to build up an efficient and enduring administrative structure where none existed and it bears high testimony to the organising capacity, originality of thought and driving force of the civil servants that they could fulfil their task so satisfactorily. An official hierarchy connecting the Governor-General at the top with the humblest Tahsildar and Police man at the bottom was set up. The administrative units,—the province, division and district were carved out.

Roads were opened, better facilities for communication were to a certain extent established. In fact, the back-bone of the modern Indian Administration was built up by these civil servants of the first half of the nineteenth century. This stands certainly to their credit. But the circumstances under which they worked should also be taken into account. The conquered people, at the moment, were absolutely depressed. Public opinion was conspicuous by its absence. The white officers could do whatever they thought best. New experiments could be made with impunity, even at a great cost to the people. The "natives" suffered much but suffered always in silence. They did not know how to grumble aloud. This gave the Government officers a free hand and they could bring into full play their creative originality. They imposed upon them any administrative system suited to the best interests of the foreign Government. This gave the company the right instrument for governing the conquered people and exploiting them as scientifically as possible. This also no doubt gave the people the by-product of law and protection—

protection not against the most unjust and excessive demands of the state but that against private intruders. Still when all is said, the fact remains, that the rearing of the administrative system of the introduction of the first principles of Government in British India constitute the most enduring achievement of the I. C. S.

So long the civil servants were recruited by direct nomination in England. The relatives, favourites and henchmen of the company's Directors were alone in a position to get into the Indian Civil Service. Till the end of the 18th century, they came out to India without any special preparation for their future work. Nor had they any general training in the Arts and Sciences of the West that would discipline their intellect, broaden their knowledge and outlook and enable them to pick up at short notice the special requirements for their duties in India. Of course, even this defective system of appointment produced officers like Charles Metcalfe and Mount Stuart Elphinstone. But still Lord Wellesly, the Governor-General, thought it wise in 1800 to establish a College at Fort William that would give a comprehensive training to the new recruits to the Indian Civil Service before they actually launched upon their administrative career. The Company's Directors, however, did not approve of the whole plan of the Governor-General. The College at Fort William was shorn of its important branches and it continued its existence for several decades more only in an attenuated form.

While, however, this plan was rejected, the able minute of Lord Wellesly had brought it to home to the Directors that some kind of thorough training for the Indian recruits was absolutely called for. Accordingly a well-equipped College at Hailebury was started in 1806. And all the nominees of the Directors for the Company's Civil Service must pass successfully through the course of this College before their actual appointment. The products of this College, the Hailebureans as they were called, did much of the spade work for Indian Administration and contributed more to the reconstruction of the Administrative system than any other body of men. James Thomson, John Lawrence, Richard Temple and Alfred Lyall were the chief representatives of this order. Thoroughbred bureaucrats they were all. But their efficiency in work was also unquestioned. For about half a century this mixed method of recruitment

continued. Gradually however, as the British people became interested in the Indian Service, a public feeling grew against this patronage system. And when after 1833, the commercial monopoly of the Company was absolutely abrogated and it became in the eyes of the people nothing but "a patronage bureau", the agitation became more vocal and grew in greater volume and strength. At length in 1853, when the Charter of the East India Company was for the last time renewed, the Directors were deprived of their patronage and the principle of competitive examination was initiated as the only channel of appointment to the Indian Civil Service. A commission, of which Lord Macaulay was the president and Benjamin Jowett, the late master of Balliol, the most distinguished member, worked out the details for this new system of recruitment. And from the next year, the "competition-wallas" found their opportunity to enter the most highly-paid service in the world. Patronage system was still then in vogue in the "Home" Civil Service and it continued for some fifteen years more. Unable, therefore, to enter the close preserve of their own Civil Service, many of the brilliant British youngmen fought their way into the Indian service. As however, the avenues of the British Services were thrown open, as improvement was made in their emoluments and as the commercial houses and farms also began to recruit their officers from Public School and University men, the flow of first rate merit to India was checked and for a good long time past only third rate men have come down to this country. Sir Abdur Rahim in his excellent minute of dissent in the Islington Commission Report has ably dealt with this aspect of the Indian service problem.

In 1858 when the territories of the East India Company were transferred to the crown, the Company's civil service became his Majesty's Indian Civil Service. The Secretary of State for India in council became responsible for their appointment and service conditions. Along with this transfer, an emphasis was also laid in the queen's proclamation on the question of the appointment of Indians to the higher services. Already in 1833 when the Charter of the East India Company came to be renewed, a declaration was made that the Indians would not be debarred from higher appointments. But for full twenty-five years this remained a dead letter. The Company swallowed its own words and made no effort to initiate the

"natives" into the conclave of their servant-rulers. In the sixties and the early seventies a handful of Indian youngmen ventured out to England and through the one door of competitive examination entered the civil service. This was merely a drop in the ocean and could not solve any way the wider problem of the appointment of Indians to the superior services. Accordingly in 1870, a haphazard measure was passed by the British Parliament. This because the Government of India Act, 1870. It provided for the starting of a statutory civil service in India. It was intended that Indian gentlemen, admitted to this service, would be given some high executive and judicial posts, hitherto reserved for covenanted officers. This Act, however, remained pigeonholed in the Indian secretariat for full nine years. The Government of India, influenced by the British Civil Servants, was opposed to it and kept it in abeyance. Meanwhile a step, taken by Lord Salisbury, had the effect of practically shutting out all Indians from the superior Civil Service. He brought down the age of the Civil Service probationers to nineteen. But it was simply impossible for most of the Indian candidates to compete at so low an age. Naturally a serious agitation was set on foot against this measure in India. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, meetings were organised and deprecatory resolutions passed. Now in order to take away the wind out of the sail of the Indian agitation, regulations were framed by Lord Lytton's Government in 1879 for bringing the statutory civil service into being. In the next year, some appointments were made to this service and for some years the recruitment was continued, the total number coming up to sixty-nine. The status of these officers was, however, lower, their prospectus less bright and their powers more circumscribed. Naturally this service did not meet with the full satisfaction of the people. Nor was the Government very eager to maintain it. The Public Services Commission of 1886-87 recommended its abolition and the Government of India acted up to it. This commission also recommended the reorganisation of the uncovenanted services. The name, "uncovenanted", was to be given up and the "Provincial Service" was to be the new christening. There was to be a selection grade in this Provincial Civil Service and men promoted to it should be stationed in some superior posts, set apart for them and to be commonly known as "listed posts." It

was provided that one-sixth of the total number of superior stations in India should be so filled. At the time, the Lee Commission began its work, there were 700 superior posts in all the provinces taken together. And one-sixth of these, i.e. hundred and sixteen, should have been "listed posts," occupied by men promoted from the provincial Service. But the Government had set apart only eighty-eight such posts, the remaining twenty-eight stations being also filled by I. C. S. officers. Now this principle of promoting provincial service men to superior responsible posts, meted out of course some amount of justice to them. But the method, has its drawbacks from more than one point of view. The provincial service men are promoted to these stations only at the far end of their career. Nor when promoted, are they made members of the Indian civil service. In other Indian services, e.g. Education, Forest etc., a man, raised to the All-India Service is absorbed in its cadre. He enjoys all the privileges, exercises all the rights and takes all the responsibility of the All-India Service. The promoted provincial Civil servants however, are only on a special grade. They remain provincial Civil Servants still with all its implications. Again the age at which they are raised to the selection grade handicaps their future prospects. They cannot aspire to rise higher than the positions of the District Magistrate or the District Judge. Besides, used to work for a quarter of a century only in an inferior capacity, they lose much of initiative and drive, so much needed for responsible posts. Truly a British Civil servant has observed "Responsibility is a thing you cannot exercise unless you practise when you are young." It is, therefore, a salutary principle in the British Civil Service that men qualified to be promoted from the second grade to the first grade are given this lift at the eighth or the ninth year of their service. They still remain young, energetic and vigorous and can easily accommodate themselves to the new environments. But in India, the officers are raised to a responsible post, only when they attain their senility and it is, therefore, not unnatural that they should make square pegs in round holes.

But whatever the value of these "Listed posts" the Government wanted, by their introduction, only to conciliate Indian public opinion. This was only a sop to the "agitators." The Indians have been too poorly-represented in the superior Civil Service. On the first of April 1913, out of

a total of 1511 men there were only 68 Indians and Burmans in the Indian Civil Service, the Indian representation being only five per cent. "Under the Montagu Chemsford Scheme the ratio of Indian recruitment was fixed at 33 p. c. rising by 12 per cent a year to 48 p. c." The Lee Commission has recommended that twenty p. c. of the superior posts should be set apart as "Listed posts" for the promoted provincial service men. Of the remaining 80 p. c. vacancies, 40 p. c. is to go to the whites and 40 p. c. to the Indians directly recruited to the I. C. S. This arrangement is to continue uptill 1939 when the Indians in the I. C. S. plus the Indians on the provincial selection grade would equal the European members of the superior Civil Service. As to the recommendation of setting apart twenty per cent of the superior posts as "Listed posts", no Act however has yet been passed by the Government, nor has any declaration been made to that effect.

The Indian Civil Service has not only constituted the Executive branch of the Government and controlled the Legislative wing, but has also to a considerable extent formed the judiciary in the country. To-day, excepting some "Listed posts" and some High Court Judgeships, all the higher judiciary is manned by the Indian Civil Servants. In England, the judges are appointed by the executive from among the lawyers of at least five years standing. The Islington Commission also recommended that in India forty higher judicial posts should be filled by direct recruitment from the bar. But the Government have been slow in giving effect to that recommendation. In Bengal up-till-now only three posts have been so filled. Sir Reginald Cradock has put forward some arguments in the Lee Commission Report against this principle of direct recruitment from the bar. This, he says, would prejudicially affect the prospects of the provincial judicial service which is also recruited wholly from the ranks of practising lawyers. This argument however holds little water. That only practising lawyers of some years standing should be appointed to fill the judiciary is the one principle to be adopted. Whether the district judges and Munsiffs should form the same cadre or they should be differently and separately appointed and form separate cadres is only a question of detail. From the bar to the bench is the natural elevation and lawyers in every country look upon the

Judgeship as the trophy of their career. It is high time that the Indian Civil Service men should be absolutely debarred from intruding on this reserved ground.

The introduction of the Reforms has again brought into prominence a most important constitutional question. The Act of 1919 has made the popular ministers responsible for the administration of certain departments in the provinces. It also fore-shadows complete provincial autonomy in the near future, in which the ministers alone would be responsible for the total provincial administration. The ministers are here responsible to, and removable by, the local legislative councils. The old principle of responsibility to the Secretary of State and ultimately to the British Parliament is here abandoned and the new principle of ultimate responsibility to the electorate is sought to be established. Now to discharge this responsibility, the minister must have a secretary and subordinate officials who will give him implicit obedience and unfailing loyalty. But to ensure this loyalty, the relations between the minister and his assistants should be so adjusted as to make these officials ultimately responsible to him alone. Their appointment, suspension, dismissal and promotion should be determined by him. But the relation between the minister and the Indian Civil Service which forms the back-bone of the Indian administration is the exact negation of this salutary principle.

It is the I. C. S. men that act as secretaries to almost all the departments of the provincial and central governments. As subdivisional, district and divisional officers again, they are responsible for administering not only reserved but also to a great extent, transferred subjects, but these men are appointed by the Secretary of State and are ultimately responsible to him for their official work. Now as secretaries to the transferred departments they may disagree with the minister and approach the Governor, over the head of the minister. The minister is thus placed in a most unenviable position. He is responsible for the proper administration of the department to the legislative council. But his secretary, who is responsible for his work, not to him nor to the legislature, but to the Governor and ultimately to the Secretary of State, may obstruct him in his work, far from loyally carrying

out his policy. The minister cannot enforce their obedience to him. He has practically no voice in the matter. He can only make a pathetic appeal to the Governor. But beyond it, he cannot do anything. The Indian civil servant, we thus see, with his extra-provincial and even extra-Indian loyalty and responsibility cannot make a truly efficient assistant to a popular minister. Again it might be argued that for the execution of the reserved work their service is still called for. But it must be borne in mind that total provincial autonomy will not be long to come. But the new men in the service are being recruited for a period of about 30 years. If therefore, the recruitment is totally stopped even now, for about 30 years more these obstructive officers will be in the field. The mischief is thus being done every day, and sooner the inflow of fresh recruits is stopped the better.

In these days of rapid communication, the secretariat control over the district officials has developed enormously. The divisional commissioners, and the district officers have no longer the initiative that they exercised decades ago. Faced to face with any serious situation they cannot proceed to tackle with it without previous instructions from the secretariat. This is of course quite in the fitness of things. Officers, not the least responsible to any local body, should not be given a free hand in the moffussil at this hour of the twentieth century. They now practically do only the routine work. With the growth of public opinion, their powers would be more circumscribed still. And the bit of initiative and enterprise they have to show now can easily be expected of the Deputy Magistrates. In fact, there is no distinction at present between the work of the provincial service men and that of the "Heaven-Born" officers. But there is the world of difference in pay and allowances. A first grade European I. C. S. District Officer is paid a salary over 2,800 Rupees a month, which sounds only fabulous in a country with Rs. 452 as average annual income per head. The work he does, however, can easily be discharged by a first grade Deputy magistrate with a monthly salary of 800 rupees. As to the Divisional Commissioners who under the new scheme get at once Rs. 3,250 per month, the Retrenchment Committee of Bengal has urged the abolition of their posts. They are now

simply redundant officers, acting as the post office.

The work of the Indian Civil Service has

run its course. It is now only an anachronism. It is high time that it should go lock stock and barrel.

FAILURE OF ANGLO-AMERICAN-JAPANESE NAVAL CONFERENCE

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

THE Anglo-American-Japanese Naval Limitation Conference, held in Geneva, during June 20 to August 4, 1927, failed for the reason that Great Britain and the United States could not come to an agreement. The British Government agreed in principle of parity of cruiser strength of American and British navies; but they could not find a common formula so far as the maximum tonnage for cruisers and types of cruiser and their gun power.

The original American programme was to fix the maximum tonnage for the cruisers to 250,000 to 300,000 tons for Great Britain and America and 150,000 to 180,000 for Japan, while allowing each nation full freedom of building the type of ships it needed for preserving national security, within the limit of and in accordance with the Treaty concluded at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922. America wanted to build a large number of 10,000 ton cruisers with 8 inch guns for her national defence.

Even the modified British programme required much larger total tonnage for cruisers than that indicated by the American plan. It would restrict the construction of 10,000 ton cruisers with 8 inch guns to 12 for America and England and 8 for Japan; and the rest of the cruisers of all three powers should not be larger than 7,500 tons and equipped only with 6 inch guns.

With all professions of according equality to the United States, the British plan was worked out in full conformity with Mr. Brigeman's (First Lord of British Admiralty) statement of March 1926 when he said:—"There is always a little danger in talking about a One-power standard. That only exists in regard to battleships and ships of large size. It would be a very dangerous thing for Great Britain to allow it to be thought that we would be satisfied with one-power standard in cruisers for example. In

cruisers we want to feel that we are at any rate superior to other countries and are able to protect our trade."

The British plan was worked out to insure virtual naval superiority even if parity in number of cruisers was accorded to the United States. American naval authorities point by point refuted the British programme which was supposedly drawn up to meet Britain's special need of protecting trade routes. The American position has been that, because Britain possessed large number of naval bases all over the world she will be able to use 7,500 ton cruisers with 6 inch guns more effectively than other Powers, while America should possess larger number of 10,000 ton cruisers with 8 inch guns for her own defense. Both Powers refused to recede from their respective positions and the Three Power Naval Conference came to an end without any agreement.

The most striking feature of the Anglo-American-Japanese-Naval Conference was that the Japanese Delegation from the very beginning, showed a sincere desire that there should be an agreement between the three Powers on the question of a genuine limitation of cruisers and other auxiliary crafts. This attitude of Japan was due to the full realization on the part of her statesmen that she should avoid all appearance of adopting a policy which may be regarded by England or America as aggressive and unreasonable.

Although many people expected it, Japan did not ask for parity on the strength of auxiliary surface crafts—cruisers and destroyers—and submarines with those of American and British navies; on the contrary she would have been satisfied with a little more than 5-5-3 ratio for cruisers, destroyers and submarines for America, Great Britain and Japan, as was agreed upon in the Washington

Conference (1921-1922) on the question of battleships. However, Japanese statesmen made it clear that they would not subscribe to any agreement which would involve large construction programme. This attitude of the Japanese Delegation gave them a distinct position of advantage. If an agreement could have been arrived at, it would have been advantageous for Japan, because this would have afforded a greater security to her than any programme of naval competition with the Anglo-American Powers. The failure of the Conference meant a real defeat for Japan.

Many publicists and politicians think that, as after the failure of Lord Haldane's Mission to convince the German Government not to build a navy which would challenge British naval supremacy, Anglo-German rivalry took an acute form, similarly the failure of British efforts to come to an agreement with America would result in Anglo-American rivalry with a far-reaching consequence in World Politics.

In support of the above possibility, they point out that in Great Britain a section of very influential press such as the *Morning Post*, *National Review* etc, is advocating the need of renewing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. On the other hand, they see that in America movements are on foot that larger number of cruisers would be built in conformity with the American programme of "*a Navy Second To None*."

But it is my firm conviction that there will be no serious breach in Anglo-American relations; because, for the best interests of the British Empire, British statesmen will make a compromise with America, if necessary on American terms, than creating any real possibility of Anglo-American hostility. British statesmen know well that during and after the World War, America could have out-built Great Britain if she only kept up her construction programme of 1916, which was on the way to completion; but America showed her good-will to Britain by advocating a programme of parity, while Great Britain gave up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, hoping to secure American support and co-operation in World Politics. In 1921 British statesmen fully realized that American support would be of greater value to Greater Britain than anything else; and at present the situation in World Politics is such that Britain cannot follow a policy which will alienate America.

It is true that after the failure of Lord Haldane's Mission to Germany, Britain took the leadership in bringing about isolation of Germany. She succeeded in her efforts and with her victory in the World War, *through American support*, destroyed German political and commercial ascendancy. However, if British statesmen wish to bring about destruction of the United States, they are doomed to fail in this effort, for the reason of the unassailable position of America as a World Power and the unfavorable position of the British in World Politics.

American position in World Politics is stronger than the position of Germany before the World War in every respect—in man power, industrial power, economic efficiency, strategic position and potential strength. Unlike Germany, America cannot be effectively blockaded or starved. But American financial pressure may bring about bankruptcy of Great Britain. The British Empire, single-handed cannot fight America and there is no prospect of Britain's getting support from other Powers against her. In a combat between Great Britain and America, it is safe to say that some of the British dominions, especially Canada and South Africa will refuse to fight against America. If Canada, to please Britain, pursues a hostile policy, the United States could, without much difficulty conquer her.

Today the British position in World Politics is far worse than it was at the time of failure of Lord Haldane's Mission. The existence of the Triple Entente was a great security for Britain; but that is a thing of the past. On the contrary there is a serious Anglo-Russian rivalry and breach of diplomatic relations. France is friendly to Britain and is in accord with her African and colonial policy, so long as Britain does not upset the French position in World Politics. But France does not fully trust Britain, for the reason the British are suspicious towards French air-forces and sub-marines and British statesmen are seeking Italian co-operation in the Mediterranean and the Near-East, Italian diplomacy is opportunistic and it is certain that Italy would not support Britain in an Anglo-American conflict. Britain is trying to win Germany to fight her battle against Russia, but so far she has failed. There is no reason for Germany siding with Britain against America. In fact, if ever Germany chooses that course, it will be dangerous for her for the reason that France and her

European Allies will certainly side with America against Britain. In an Anglo-American conflict Soviet Russia will attack Britain in Asia.

Today there is no Anglo-Japanese Alliance in existence. On the contrary the Japanese do not want to renew any alliance with Britain because it would seriously prejudice their relations with Russia, China, Turkey, the United States and even France. Japanese statesmen felt keenly that Britain, to win American support, voluntarily gave up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which might have led to isolation of Japan. They resent and look upon with suspicion the British policy of strengthening the *Singapore Naval Base* which might be effectively used against Japan. Japanese statesmen will prefer to adopt a neutral course in an Anglo-American conflict.

Position of Great Britain in Asia—in the region between Egypt and China—is not as secure today as it was in 1911. Because of the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the Anglo-French Entente and the Anglo-Russian Entente, Britain did not have to fear any serious situation in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India or China. But today none of these alliances exists; and on the other hand, a new spirit of independence in Asia is menacing British supremacy in that region. In an Anglo-American conflict, it is safe to conclude, that all Asian nations, especially China, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan even India will show their active sympathy towards America against Britain; for the reason that America has never directly injured these nations, while every one of the Asian peoples has suffered from British imperialism.

Under these circumstances, British attitude towards American naval policy will be to show the spirit of utmost consideration. It has been pointed out by no less important personages than Lord Balfour, Earl Grey, Lord Phillimore and others that the British should hold to the programme necessary for the need of the Empire, but should not oppose any American naval programme. It has been suggested by Mr. Garvin, the editor of the *Observer* (London) that the only solution of the present difficulty is to convince America that she should support the British programme and build in parity with that of Great Britain. Earl Grey in his letter of August 10, 1927 to the *London Times* makes the most significant suggestion

as to the future policy of Great Britain towards the United States :—

"The conclusion is that naval discussion between the two countries will prove neither wholesome nor profitable. It is impossible for any British Government to set its hand to an agreement binding us to naval inferiority; it is becoming difficult for the United States Government to bind its people to anything that is not naval superiority. This was illustrated at Geneva this summer, where the difficulty was perceptibly greater than it was a few years ago at Washington.

"Is it not possible to get back to the axiom on which the British Government tacitly acted before the war—that of not taking into account the American Navy in calculating the requirements of the British Empire? In accepting this as an axiom we were moved by two considerations. One was the belief that if we acted as if war between the United States and Britain was impossible it would, in very truth, become unthinkable on both sides of the Atlantic. The other consideration was of a lower order, but not less conclusive. It was that competition with the United States in ship-building was a race in which the other competitors must certainly lose. If this was true before the War, it is just as true, and still more demonstrable, now.

"If in calculating the naval requirements of the British Empire we avowedly rule out all contingency of war with the United States there will be more economy in both the British and the American Fleets than will ever be obtained by literal binding naval agreements. I would add there would also be no sacrifice of real security."

The above policy can be accepted by the British Government as the safest course, if they feel that by doing so they would ultimately secure Anglo-American co-operation in World Politics and promote their common interests; or if they do not find any better alternative. In spite of the fact that Great Britain has lost her commercial, financial and industrial supremacy to the United States and many Britishers resent it; yet all far-sighted British statesmen will be willing to surrender to the United States Naval Policy with the express object of "stooping to conquer" in the long run. They would feel that, if by the so-called surrender to the American policy, Britain can virtually gain full support of America that will ultimately mean British

victory in World Politics, through a virtual Anglo-American co-operation.

At times, "a wish is father to the thought". Great Britain's enemies feel that will be wonderful opportunity for them, if Britain and America become rivals in World politics and fight for supremacy. But British statesmen are too astute to allow any such fateful development which might lead to the destruction of the British Empire. In this connection, it must not be forgotten that there is not one important and responsible American statesman who ever thinks that America will be benefited by an Anglo-American rivalry and war.

The immediate consequence of the failure of the Anglo American-Japanese Naval Con-

ference would result in America's adopting a progressive building programme which would make American navy "second to none." It will strengthen French and Italian contention for stronger navies, suited to meet their national needs. *But there is no substantial reason for an immediate Anglo-American Naval Rivalry.* In 1931, the question of limitation of navies of the signatory powers of the Washington Conference - America, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy—will be reopened; and then it will be possible to determine whether the failure of the Three Power Naval Conference in Geneva, resulted in Anglo-American rivalry or not.

Munich Aug. 22, 1927.

CONGRESSES AND DURBARS

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

The Eighth Indian National Congress

THE Eighth Indian National Congress was held at Allahabad towards the end of December 1892, with W. C. Bannerjee as President. This was the second time that he was called to this distinction since he had presided at the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885. Allahabad is only a day's journey from Lahore and the Punjab was fairly well-represented at the Congress. I left Lahore somewhat early with a margin of a few days on my hands and I thought I should best utilise this time by having a peep at Agra and the Taj Mahal. I stayed at the Dak Bungalow, and after looking at the Fort, the Pearl Mosque and the palace of Jodhabai I spent the greater part of the day at the Taj, gazing for long hours at that marvellous structure from different viewpoints. In the evening I saw Itmaduddoulah. The next morning I drove to Sikandara where who should I meet but Dayaram Gidumal and Hiranand Shoukiram, both of whom I had met a few days earlier at Lahore. They insisted that I should join them at the house of Lala Baij Nath, then Subordinate Judge of Agra. Lala Baij Nath was fairly well-known. He was a great friend of Malabari, a contributor to the *Indian Spectator* and a reformer.

For some time he was Chief Justice of Indore and had written one or two books. As we had to leave for Allahabad the same night I went over to Baij Nath's place in the afternoon. Dayaram had been nominated to the Statutory Civil Service and was also a Judge in the Bombay Presidency. We were all young men, more or less, Baij Nath some years senior to the rest of us. We were naturally bubbling over with animal spirits and were laughing and jesting. Baij Nath alone was grave and held aloof, and I remember the ponderous words in which he reproved Dayaram when the latter became exceedingly hilarious. "Your levity," said the judicial-minded Baij Nath, "is perilously bordering upon uproariousness." This polysyllabic admonition threw us into raptures of mirth. "Prodigious!" we shouted, "here's the resurrection of the Dominie!" For hours afterwards and even in the railway train we plagued Baij Nath till all his gravity disappeared, and he wished his words had remained unspoken. The next morning one of us greeted Baij Nath with, "We are bordering perilously close to Allahabad", and this sent us off into another fit of laughter at the expense of the unlucky Judge.

At Allahabad I went to a hotel where I met Guru Prasad Sen of Patna and Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar, Oudh. Raja Rampal Singh was one of the most original characters I have seen. He had spent ten years in England, had an English wife and had stood as a candidate for election to the House of Commons. On his return to India he established an English and an Urdu newspaper, both of which he was supposed to edit. But neither the prolonged stay in England nor the English mode of living had produced the slightest effect upon his appearance and speech. He was a thickset, burly man, somewhat above the average height, with a plain, large face strongly pitted with marks of small-pox, he wore his hair in the Hindustani fashion down to his neck, and though he usually wore English clothes he sometimes appeared as a Talukdar, resplendent in cloth of gold. And his accent! It was as outrageous and incorrigible as his Rajput courage was undeniable and invincible. He was not the man to hide his light under a bushel, and no audience and no platform ever cowed him. Once on the Congress platform he burst out "Gentlemen, members of Council vote from which side wind blowsh!" He was himself a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council. But he was open-handed and generous, and his heart was in the right place, and he was always given an indulgent and amused hearing.

The pandal of the Congress had been erected in the grounds of Lowther Castle and tents were pitched for the delegates. Part of Lowther Castle had been thrown open for the use of the Congress and there was a large drawing-room in which a number of delegates spent some hours in the evening. I shifted from the hotel to the house of Charu Chandra Mitra, which was occupied by a few delegates. It was at this Congress that I first met Gopal Krishna Gokhale and my recollection is that it was here that he first attracted public attention. Some months earlier Mr. Hume had addressed a public meeting at Poona and in the course of his speech had made a very appreciative reference to the *Trabune*. Gokhale mentioned this to me as soon as we met and we used to have long chats at the Lowther Castle. Gokhale was then a youngman not known to fame. He was Professor of Mathematics in the Fergusson College under the vow of receiving

only a pittance as salary. He was the foremost helper of Ranade in public work and a painstaking and careful student of public affairs. Pherozezshah Mehta had also his eye upon him as a coming man. Gokhale made a most favourable impression by his speeches in the Congress. Mr. Hume praised them highly and I considered them far better than the flood of rhetoric by which we were usually deluged in the Congress. Meeting at Allahabad for the second time we recalled the stormy session of 1888 with the strong flavour of the many speeches we then heard and the tense temper of the Congress. The session of 1892 was a quiet and uneventful one. I remember a luminous address delivered by Ranade one evening in one of the pavilions and I told some friends near me that compared with so brilliant and informing an oration much that we heard in the Congress was mere twaddle. Ranade was not an orator but he spoke with perfect ease, and his speeches were as thoughtful as they were replete with information.

The evenings were fairly cold for visitors and delegates from the Bombay and Madras presidencies, though for the Punjabis the weather was quite mild. One day Lala Muralidhar of Ambala, who always assumed the role of court jester to the Congress, was so much oppressed by the heat that he fainted. He had made the mistake of continuing to wear the thick woollen clothes used in the severe Punjab winter. We had taken the precaution of putting away very thick clothes and using light warm suits. Ananda Charlu of Madras made it a habit of going on a peripatetic expedition every night after dinner. He was not very rigorous in his orthodoxy, and with a thick overcoat and a cigar in his mouth he would stroll about the camp chatting pleasantly with everybody he met. He invited me to breakfast one morning in the Madras camp and he made me sit by his side without any protest from any one. Nothing of any particular note occurred in the Congress itself. In spite of the prevailing good humour and the frank cordiality of comradeship the shadow of a great sorrow rested on this session of the Congress. This was the sudden death of Pandit Ajudhianath, the fearless and stout-hearted leader of Allahabad who was called away in the prime of life while completing the arrangements for the success of this meeting of the Congress. The

office of the Chairman of the Reception Committee was filled by the venerable Pandit Bishambharnath, a man of high character and scholarly attainments, but greatly advanced in life and without the dynamic energy and the galvanic personality of Pandit Ajudhianath.

THE NINTH NATIONAL CONGRESS

It was decided at Allahabad before the close of the session that the Punjab should invite the Congress the next year. The Congress had met eight times but the organisers had not yet thought of the Punjab for a change of venue. Of course, the Punjab could not be compared with the three Presidencies in progress and public spirit, but it was certainly not much behind the United Provinces while it had shown splendid organisation and constructive energy in the Arya Samaj movement. Sardar Dayal Singh could not attend the Congress of 1892, though he was present at the Allahabad Congress of 1888, but it was well-known that he would loyally support any decision arrived at by the Punjab delegates. After some consultation among the Punjab delegates the Congress was formally invited to Lahore for the ninth session. Raja Rampal Singh gallantly and patriotically volunteered to tour in the Punjab to rouse enthusiasm in the cause of the Congress. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a popular orator of the Congress undertook to accompany him.

For political purposes the situation at that time in the Punjab was like this: the only political organisation was the Indian Association, called after the body of that name established by Surendranath Banerjee in Calcutta. The membership of the Lahore Indian Association was fairly representative but not considerable. It filled the usual part then undertaken by public bodies of making representations mildly criticising official measures, organising occasional meetings, and so on. The largest and strongest organisation in the Punjab was the Arya Samaj movement, but its activities were mainly confined to educational and social matters. The Mahomedans left the Congress either severely alone or condemned it as a movement hostile to Government. To belittle the Congress the Anglo-Indian Press dubbed it the Hindu Congress. It was obvious that the attitude of the Arya Samaj would determine the success or failure of the Congress in the Punjab.

The uncertainty on this point was very soon dissipated. The leaders and members of the Arya Samaj readily joined the Reception Committee and the replies received from the various parts of the Province were most encouraging. Sardar Dyal Singh was unanimously elected Chairman of the Reception Committee. There were several vice-Presidents and Bakshi Jaishi Ram, pleader, Chief Court, was appointed Honorary Secretary. Work began early and subscriptions were promptly promised and paid. I was in constant correspondence with Mr. Hume who was then in England, and many leading Congressmen all over India. Public lectures were organised and delivered in different parts of the Province. I delivered a lecture on the Congress and also addressed the volunteers. Both these were printed and circulated. In fulfilment of their promise Raja Rampal Singh and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya visited several places in the Punjab and addressed public meetings. At Lahore I met Raja Rampal Singh at dinner and social gatherings. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya stayed in a house close to mine and spent much of his time with me. The response throughout the Punjab left no doubt as regards the success of the approaching Congress.

The choice of the President of the Congress rested with the Reception Committee. We put our heads together and it was decided to invite Dadabhai Naoroji to preside. He had been the President in 1886 when the Congress was held in Calcutta. He was now a member of Parliament and had achieved considerable distinction by carrying in the House of Commons a resolution affirming the desirability of holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service. Nothing came out of the resolution at the time. It was ridiculed as a motion carried at a snatch division; it was contended that the resolution did not carry with it any mandatory obligation, and the Government of India issued some ponderous tomes of official and unofficial opinion to prove that the introduction of such an innovation would be in the highest degree impolitic. If the recommendation had been carried out at the time the action of the Government would have been widely appreciated, whereas the belated introduction of simultaneous examinations, when they were given effect to a few years ago, passed utterly unnoticed, the country having taken long strides since 1893. This has ever been the wisdom of the

Government of India and the British Government in respect of India. Every half-hearted measure of reform has borne the fatal label, "Too late!" The Government has not even learned to copy from the copy-books the maxim, *Bis dat qui cito dat*. Dadabhai Naoroji agreed to come out to India for the Congress and wrote that he would arrange to pair with a member on the other side of the House. It was the Irish Home Rule Ministry of Mr. Gladstone with barely a working majority in the House of Commons and not a single vote on the Government side could be easily spared. Dadabhai had to satisfy his party that a Unionist member would stay away from the House as long as himself so that the voting balance of both parties would remain unaffected. A plot of land was secured near the Lahore railway station for the pandal, and just behind it there was a small hotel which was leased for the President, Mr. Hume the General secretary, and a few others who might choose to stay there. The Reception Committee met constantly and all details were carefully carried out so that there was no need to rush things. The idea of putting the delegates under canvas as had been done at Allahabad and elsewhere was not to be thought of not only on account of the severity of the Punjab winter, but the winter rains known as the Christmas rains and essential for wheat, the staple of the Province. The rain actually came down on the day following the Congress when the Social Conference was held in the pandal. Sardar Dyal Singh had built a number of houses in Lahore, and all those that were unoccupied were placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee. Other houses were lent by other citizens so that the house problem for the delegates was easily solved. Visitors, of course, stayed either at hotels or with friends. We had a large number of tickets printed for visitors and all these were sold out. Knowing of the carelessness of our countrymen I wrote a number of letters as the time grew near, particularly to people in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, to have heavy warm clothing made for the journey and the stay in Lahore. I also went round some of the large shops in Anarkali Bazar advising the shopkeepers to keep in stock thick ulsters, overcoats and woollen underwear as there would very likely be a brisk demand for them. As things turned out this proved to be a wise provision, for in spite of all warnings conveyed by letters,

circulars, and newspaper paragraphs delegates from outlying districts of the Madras Presidency arrived with insufficient and thin clothing, and the ready-made clothes in the shops in Lahore were snapped up in no time. There were two cases of pneumonia, the delegates were removed to the Lahore Medical College Hospital and were saved only by the unremitting care and devotion of the students and the constant attention of the physicians. G. Subramania Iyer of the *Hindu* complained bitterly of the cold, but Tilak and Gokhale stood the cold very well and often came to the *Tribune* office to look up newspaper files for the preparation of their speeches. Ranade, who had succeeded Telang as a Judge of the Bombay High Court, was perfectly unconcerned and occupied a small, bare room on the first floor of a house at the northern end of Anarkali Bazar. Tilak, Gokhale and others from the Deccan were in the same house. When, on my round of the delegates' quarters I made enquiries Ranade said he was quite comfortable and did not mind the cold.

Mr. Hume came out from England a few days before the Congress and was given a great reception. He was taken in procession through a part of the town and Anarkali, the horses were unyoked and the carriage was drawn by enthusiastic volunteers. Mr. Hume protested but had to give way to the entreaties of the young men. The pandal was approaching completion and as Mr. Hume was living quite close he spent a great deal of time in supervising the arrangements. One day some carpets, which lay folded in one corner, had to be spread out on the dais. There were no volunteers present just at that time and the coolies were killing time somewhere. The only men present were some influential members of the Reception Committee. Some one offered to go out and look for the coolies. In that impulsive way of his Mr. Hume cried out "I don't mind working as a cooly for the Congress and the nation." And he at once went and laid fold of a carpet. The restraint and dignity of respectability vanished like magic, and the lawyers, wealthy *raises* and others eagerly and almost shamefacedly set about helping Mr. Hume. It was good to see them doing an hour's honest manual work and the words of Mr. Hume sank deep into my mind.

Dadabhai Naoroji was accompanied by Dinsha Edulji Wacha from Bombay, and was

enthusiastically acclaimed all along the route. We tried to bring him in a special train from Amritsar and had telegraphed to him to halt there for that purpose. We had not, however, counted with the railway authorities. The old Sind, Punjab and Delhi Railway and the Indus Valley State Railway had been amalgamated into the North-Western Railway; the old courteous and accommodating officials of the Company had been replaced by pigheaded and snobbish Royal Engineers, whose only conception of duty and their own importance was to make themselves as disagreeable as possible. They made petty difficulties about the timing of the special train and said that only a small number of ticket-holders would be allowed on the railway platform when the President elect arrived. This was a deliberate innovation since there were no platform-tickets in those days. We broke off negotiations with the railway bosses, sent some people down to Amritsar to convey Dadabhai Naoroji to Lahore by an ordinary local train and refused to apply for any permits or passes for the railway station platform. The consequence was that when the train conveying Dadabhai steamed in there was a surging mass of humanity on the station platform, and the station staff and the railway police wisely declined to interfere. Dadabhai Naoroji received an unforgettable welcome in Lahore. There was a dense, cheering crowd all along the route. It became dark by the time the slow-moving, long crowd debouched into Anarkali Bazar and it was a torchlight procession that passed through it. All the open windows of the houses near Lohari Gate were occupied by Parsi and other Indian ladies waving handkerchiefs and throwing flowers and bouquets into the carriage of Dadabhai, who stood up and bowed and saluted with both hands. The first words that he spoke to me when we shook hands on arrival at the house where he was to stay were, "This crowns all!"

The session itself was an unparalleled success. There was a threatened rupture when a Mahomedan delegate persuaded Dadabhai Naoroji and Hume, without the knowledge of the subjects Committee to accept some resolutions granting special concessions to Mahomedans, but peace was restored by the withdrawal of the resolutions. Mr. Hume fumed and fretted, lost his temper and became ill. Sardar Dyal Singh had an attack of gout and though he

would not stay away from the Congress he could not read his speech or call on the President. Dadabhai Naoroji asked me to take him to the house of the Sardar and we drove there together. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at the time and he was one of the best Governors the Punjab ever had. Hume suggested that Dadabhai Naoroji should call upon the Lieutenant-Governor and a letter was sent off to the Private Secretary. In reply, Dadabhai Naoroji was invited to dinner at Government House and there was no conversation on political subjects. There was some stir on the Congress platform when the Maharaja of Kapurthala appeared as a visitor and sat by the President. Surendranath Banerjea, who was addressing the Congress, paused for a moment to call for three cheers for the Maharaja. The story got abroad that the Maharaja, who was then a young man, had called on the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government for permission to attend as a visitor. He was told that there was no objection but the Congress was scarcely a gathering fit for Princes. Financially, this Congress was probably the most successful of all sessions. After meeting all expenses on a liberal scale, paying the passage out and back of the President, there was a balance left of over Rs. 10,000, and this formed the nucleus of the fund out of which the Bradlaugh Hall was built.

LORD ELGIN'S DURBAR

Official Durbars are held all over the country and I have been present at several of them. It is not my intention to write much about these functions, but I should like to record my impressions of the Durbar held by Lord Elgin at Lahore in 1894, because of an almost tragic incident which created some sensation. The Durbar was held in November in a large tent close to the Chief's College to the east of Lahore. Lord Elgin made a public entry into the city of Lahore with all the pomp and paraphernalia of a victorious commander entering a vanquished city. The roads were guarded by swaggering Gurkha and other troops. In the viceregal procession, besides the Viceroy's Bodyguard in its imposing scarlet uniform and mounted troops there were some pieces of artillery and several Indian Princes brought up the rear. At the Durbar there were present the Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, Lord Harris, the well-known cricketer-Governor of

Bombay, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, prominent among whom were Sir James Westland, with his big head and Sir Anthony Macdonnell, who afterwards became Lord Macdonnell. Lord Elgin with his short, stout figure and homely features, did not look like a very august personage at all. The Princes were headed by Maharaja Pratap Singh of Kashmir, who looked very uncomfortable and scarcely martial in a Colonel's uniform with his five feet and very few odd inches of height and the familiar, huge white turban on his head. There were the Maharaja of Patiala (the father of the present Prince), the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Raja of Jhind, Raja Hira Singh of Nabha (the father of the deposed Maharaja), the Raja of Kapurthala (these there were made Maharajas later on) and several others. The incident I have mentioned took place while

the Raja of Faridkot was returning to his seat after presenting the customary *naxar* to the Viceroy. The Raja was a feeble, decrepit old man almost bent double by age and illness. To reach the viceregal dais there was a sloping plank covered with red cloth. After the presentation of *naxar* every one had to back three steps with his face to the Viceroy and then walk back to his seat. As the Raja of Faridkot was backing from the presence he stumbled and would have fallen heavily but for the presence of mind of one of the secretaries, who was standing below the platform and who caught the Raja before he fell and conducted him to his seat. It was cruel and scandalous to have compelled this man to attend the Durbar. His presence could have been easily excused on the ground of ill health and physical unfitness without any loss of prestige to the Government and certainly without any suspicion of disrespect to the Viceroy.

EDUCATION IN JAPAN

By D. C. GUPTA

IT may be said that the education of the present-day Japan has nothing to do with that which existed before 1868, or in pre-Restoration days. The truth is that both in spirit and from, the education of the present day is entirely different from that of pre-Restoration days. Of existing schools, which number about 45,000, there remain only one, the Keio Gijiku, which was established before the Restoration of the Imperial Regim., and all other schools were established after the Restoration. This means that in Japan there is practically no schools which has a history of over 60 years.

Put more plainly, the education of the present was modelled on the education of Europe and America. Of course, education was modelled entirely upon that of any one particular Western country. In the earliest days, the educational system of Holland was investigated, and then the educational systems of France, America, England and Germany.

And from all these Western systems good points have been adopted. Even at present researches and studies are being constantly and zealously made into the educational systems and teaching methods of Western countries, and if anything that may benefit our schools is found, educational authorities hasten to adopt it. In this way, within half a century education in Japan has made great progress.

In the various branches of science, education has made the greatest progress, although the fact is not much noticed on account of their being less showy than other branches of study.

WONDERFUL PROGRESS

What is the reason that education in Japan, which was started only half a century ago, has made such wonderful progress? In the preceding chapter I have mentioned the fact that the education of present-day Japan is quite unrelated to that which existed in former days. But if one thinks that the

education of pre-Restoration days proved of no use at all to present-day education, one makes a great mistake. The civilization of Japan is different from that of Europe in history, has continued unbroken during an incredibly long period of about 2,000 years since the establishment of this Island Empire. Generally speaking, the civilization of Japan was during this long time isolated, so that education seemed not to have made any note-worthy progress for a score of centuries before the Restoration of Meiji. But it must be admitted that this long time was not spent idly, but was entirely devoted to the promotion of the Oriental culture which served as motive power to establish a new civilization during the era of Meiji. In other words, Japan's wonderful progress in modern civilization is due entirely to the fact that her field of civilization had been thoroughly cultivated and was in fertile readiness for the planting of western seeds.

The schools for training members of the *samurai* class, and the elementary schools called aristocratic *terakoya* with their teachers, in the castle-towns of the three hundred or so feudal lords throughout the country all disappeared at Restoration of the Imperial Regime. All such things (including the old-fashioned teachers of calligraphy), however, proved of great service in paving the way for the praiseworthy advancement in the educational world through extracting the merits from western culture. That the Japanese nation is full of the love of culture as shown by the fact that, although the necessity of education was preached exclusively to the *samurai* class, the number of private schools where the three R's were taught, far exceeded the number of common schools of to-day. These private schools received their pupils chiefly from the families of the lower classes, of farmers, craftsmen and traders, who were then looked down upon by the *samurai* class. This fact fully illustrates the zeal of the Japanese nation in educational matters, especially since the equality of classes was recognised by the Meiji administration.

"It may sound boastful to say so, but the educational system of Japan is, I think, of a more advanced, reasonable and orderly nature. It is a system established through comparative studies by thoughtful minds in a short period of time. It is a case, but entirely different from the case in the Western countries, where education has been worked

out by gradual development. Naturally it enjoys uniformity throughout the empire, but this is a slight defect in that it means inadaptability to local conditions in some parts. For instance, those who are admitted into middle schools have to complete the primary school course, consisting of six years. In the primary schools, all boys and girls, irrespective of their parents' wealth and position are equally instructed. Educationally, it is quite democratic, with religion and education entirely independent, thus preventing any trouble arising out of religious problems.

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

To explain briefly the system of education in Japan, a primary school consists of a lower primary school of six grades and a higher primary school of two. Every child is compelled to complete the lower primary school of six grades, higher education resting on free will. Every year about 1,200,000 pupils complete the lower primary school course, and more than 80 per cent of these elect to enter either middle schools or the higher primary schools.

The length of the middle school course is five years. For the boys there are middle schools, and for the girls' higher schools, besides practical schools such as agricultural and technical schools. For the middle school graduates, there are higher schools and various technical or special schools of higher grade, which give instruction to those desiring to pursue some practical business or profession, such as industry, agriculture, commerce, medicine, etc. A university comprises several colleges such as law, economics, literature (including the departments of philosophy, history and literature), science, engineering, medicine, commerce, agriculture, etc. There are three kinds of schools, the first being those established and kept up by the state, the second by local public bodies, and the last by private bodies.

The following figures show the number of schools and students:

Year	Schools	Students
1919	41,650	8,636,853
1920	42,757	8,987,246
1921	43,820	10,425,742

As shown by the above figures, both the schools and students are on the increase.

Compulsory education is being carried on quite satisfactorily. Middle and high school education, too, are spreading year by year.

It is a peculiar phenomenon of present-day Japan that every year sees shortage of middle and high schools despite their increase in number. Such being the case, boys who desire to enter middle schools have to undergo, very severe competitive examinations, while boys who are desirous of entering schools of higher grade are obliged to sit for still more severe entrance examinations, since the number of applicants always far exceeds the number who can enter. Consequently there is an ever-increasing demand for qualified teachers, the supply of whom is far from meeting the demand. This is the most deplorable thing in the educational world of Japan to-day.

SECULAR MORALITY.

As mentioned above, Japan is making constant efforts, which sometimes looks too eager, to adopt every good thing in Western education. The Japanese people are not in the least prejudiced against learning what is good in Western culture, and are by nature exceedingly progressive in their fancy for anything novel. So all Japanese educationists are constantly paying attention to the educational progress of the world. Take the case of Miss Parkhurst, who visited Japan last year. The "Dalton plan" advocated by her was introduced here for the first time last year, and ever since critics have earnestly discussed her teaching method in the magazines and newspapers. Already more than ten books dealing with the "Dalton plan" have been published. This is only an illustration, but it will help readers to form an idea of the zeal of Japanese educationists. The

educational world in Japan is at all times alive and making progress in all directions. It must be regretted, however, that educationists in Japan being so intent upon adopting anything new and novel from the West, they are likely to be negligent in cultivating their originality. Japan's education has, however, its own characteristics, one of which is that all her schools are entirely free from troubles arising from religious problems. It has courses in "morality" instead of "religion". By morality is meant "secular morality", but it must be remembered that in Japanese schools this is based on the ethics or morality of Japan herself. That is to say, its nucleus consists of loyalty and patriotism but not by any means bigoted and perverse. Perhaps there is no other country in the world where in the hours devoted to moral lessons at schools foreign anecdotes and foreign proverbs are so liberally used. Of late the spirit of international co-operation has become one of the subjects to be taught in the moral lessons at school.

As to the other courses of study at school there is not much difference between Japan and those of western countries. Instead of Latin, Chinese classics are taught. Swedish gymnastics, sports and games of various sorts are practised. Fencing and Jujitsu are optional in middle grade schools. In all the middle grade schools one foreign language, English, is taught.

In conclusion, I should like to add that education promises most for the future of Japan and that her education will doubtless lead her nearer and nearer the ideal of international friendship.

A PLEA FOR A CHANGE IN THE HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE

By D. C. MAITRA

WHILE all over the world laws are being made and amended to suit ever-changing circumstances our Hindu law seems to remain unaltered like the proverbial laws of the Medes and the Persians. To illustrate one glaring instance of the anachronism of our law I cite the following :—

A married Hindu girl was enticed away from Kashmere to Bombay. Perhaps she was not an unwilling victim; for even Hindu girls err. But at the present moment she is sorry for her indiscretion. She is eighteen years old and wishes to return to her husband's home if he will take her back or to remarry if possible. It is almost certain

that the husband will not readmit to his home the erring wife. In the present state of the law nobody can marry her. A doctor friend of mine with an income of close upon £500 a year is willing to marry her. But the law stands in the way. The law thus stood in the way of the remarriages of Hindu widows.

The position is as follows; if she remarries she and her second husband render themselves liable to prosecution for bigamy. She cannot even by becoming a convert to Christianity get her marriage dissolved under Act XXI of 1866, since (1) she admittedly committed adultery which under section 25 of the Act bars dissolution and (2) the husband being a resident of Kashmere no suit for dissolution can be instituted in an Indian court (section 5).

What then is the remedy? Should she be forced to choose between the two alternatives of leading either a nun's life or a life of shame? It will be time enough thus to limit the number of alternatives when we prescribe similar remedies in cases of erring men.

The remedy seems to lie in passing an Act on the lines of the Act of 1866, but (1) repealing section 25 of the Act and that section of the Penal Code which makes adultery an offence, (2) giving our courts jurisdiction over marriage when petitioners are domiciled in India whether or not respondents are so domiciled, (3) empowering courts to dissolve marriages on respondents deserting or repudiating petitioners irrespective of the latter's conversion to Christianity and (4) adding a provision that in the case of the adultery of a wife a marriage shall not be dissolved unless the husband either remarries or consents to the dissolution.

As regards clause (1)—It may be argued that adultery on a wife's part is a bar to the dissolution of even an English marriage and that consequently the suggested provision goes beyond the English law, which is dangerous.

But comparison with English law on this point is fallacious. Unlike a Hindu husband, an English husband is prohibited by law from contracting a second valid marriage during the continuance of his first valid marriage. It therefore, follows that if the latter wishes to free himself of the obligations of his marriage contract on account of the faithlessness of his wife and to remarry he has to get his first marriage dissolved. Further clause (1) read with clause (4) places the Hindu wife in no better position than the English wife. Just as an errant English wife cannot remarry unless her husband divorces her so also will not an adulterous Hindu wife be able to remarry unless her husband either remarries or consents to the dissolution of their marriage.

The repeal of section 497 of the Penal Code (which makes adultery an offence) is suggested since it is thought that as in other countries an aggrieved husband should find remedy in civil action. The section prevents a fallen woman from permanently attaching herself to one man and thus inevitably forces her to a life of shame.

Clause (2) simply follows the English law of divorce by which marriages can be dissolved if only petitioners are domiciled in England.

Clause (3) does not affect the existing rights of a convert but simply extends them to other equally deserving persons.

In the case I have cited the girl cannot escape blame for her predicament. But there are many cases (some of which are never published) in which innocent girls are driven away from homes by brutal husbands or in which such girls are forsaken by their husbands and society for molestation by ruffians from whose hands their husbands or society or the State could not protect them. Will India deny these unfortunate girls opportunities of regaining their lost positions?

IF THE BRITISH WERE GONE, WOULD INDIA "RUN WITH BLOOD?"

BY REV. DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

ONE of the claims oftenest made by Englishmen—a sort of favorite claim, one in which many seem to take peculiar satisfaction—is, that the presence of Britain

in India is necessary in order to prevent the country from falling into "chaos," "anarchy" and blood-shed. Staying and maintaining their rule is something which

the British do as a "sacred duty" (unselfishly and generously bearing their share of the "whiteman's burden").

Nor is it strange that this claim is a favorite one. It is dramatic, and quickly attracts attention; people who do not know India, easily accept it as true; and it takes away something of the obloquy naturally resting upon foreign rulers, by representing them not as enemies but as friends and benefactors of an inferior and helpless people. One travelling in India is fairly startled to find how constantly the British justify their domination there by this claim—saying to him: "You see, we are here for India's safety; we are here simply because we must be. The 'natives' can't govern themselves. If we withdrew to-morrow, the barbarous or only half civilized people would fly at one another's throats, and the land would run with blood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin."

Travelling in England, one finds Englishmen there saying the same. Similar statements are made again and again in Parliament. There, however, they are not made without rebuke and denial; for not a few members of that body are reasonably intelligent about India, and refuse to listen in silence to what in their judgment is a perversion of facts. Nevertheless the claim is repeated over and over. The Master of Elibank is reported as declaring, without a blush, in a speech on the budget: "For us to abandon India would be in effect to hand her over to the most frightful anarchy." Members quote Sir Charles Elliot, who some years ago published an article in the *Imperial Review*,* in which he went into particulars and painted the following hair-raising picture:

"If we English abandoned India to-morrow, no organized government would be formed. There would follow, not a despotism under Surendranath Bannerjee, or any other leader of the advanced party, not a democratic government of elected representatives of Bengali Baboos or Mahratta Brahmins, but a prompt invasion from Afghanistan in the north-west and Nepal in the north, and the wild tribes on the frontier of Assam in the north-east. The Princes of the Native States, with their well-trained armies would re-commence their old internecine quarrels and annex adjoining territory, and there would be an orgy of murder and rapine."

This kind of thing is talked so much and written so much by the British that three-

quarters of the world actually believes it. I find it on all hands accepted as true in America. Even a man as intelligent as President Roosevelt declared in a public address:

"If English control were withdrawn from India the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence; all the weaker peoples, and the most industrious and law-abiding, would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable wrong and oppression, and, the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the baseless and blood-thirsty."

As I write these words, there lies before me an American paper that tells of a Boston man visiting the city of Calcutta and asking an Englishman what would happen if the English withdrew from the country. Pointing toward the Zoological Garden, the Englishman replied: "If you should open the cages and let out the lions, tigers and other wild animals you would see what would happen." Innocent American, knowing no better, accepted it all as true, returned to Boston, told the story, and fervently praised the British for their great service to India in keeping the benighted and barbarous people from tearing one another to pieces like wild beasts.

What is to be said in answer to this amazing claim made by so many persons interested in the perpetuation of British rule in India, and so widely believed? Is it true? Or, like so many other things which are told and believed by credulous multitudes, is it a fiction, a scare, a mere, "bugaboo," something *imagined* to be true because men *want* it to be true?

At least one thing to be said is, that if the claim is true, if after being so long under British rule, the Indian people, as a result, have sunk to such a condition of savagery as this claim implies, the fact is a most shocking *indictment of British rule*. For more than 2,500 years before the British came, the Indian nation was one of the greatest, the most influential, and most enlightened in the world. It was distinctly the leading nation of the greatest of the world's continents—the continent which has been called the mother of civilization. It produced great literatures great art, great philosophers, great religions, great legal and moral codes, great men in absolutely every department of life. Can we believe that during the domination of the British of 160 years or so, it has sunk to the condition indicated by the claim which we are considering a condition

* August, 1909.

analogous to that of wild beasts just escaped from a zoo,—a condition such that it is unable to govern itself, but must be kept under the control of foreigners to prevent its peoples from flying at one another's throats and plunging the whole land into anarchy and bloodshed? If the situation in India is such as these Englishmen assert, one would think they would hide it, cover it up, blush with shame at the thought of it, be the last persons in the world to acknowledge it. Instead of its being a reason why the British should remain in India, surely it is a most unanswerable evidence that they never should have gone there, that their rule has been nothing short of a calamity and that the only hope for India is for them to leave, and allow the Indian people once more to manage their own affairs and govern themselves, as they did for so many centuries before the British came on the scene. Plainly this is the first thing that ought to be said by honest men, concerning British rule in India, if the claims made by Sir Charles Elliott, the Master of Elibank, and the rest are true.

But are they true?

Sir Charles Elliott is more specific in his statements, goes more into details, than any other. Let us examine his statements, to see whether they prove to rest on a basis of reality, or only on one of imagination.

This eminent Englishman tells us, as we have seen, that if the British ever go away, there will be immediate "invasions of India from Afghanistan and Nepal" and by the so-called "wild tribes on the borders of Assam", and a general uprising of the "Princes of the Native States of India," with "their well-trained armies," to invade and "annex" "adjoining territory" and to create a general "orgy of murder and rapine."

Certainly this is a dark picture. Where does he get it? Just what are Afghanistan and Nepal? Are they great, powerful, and dangerous countries, invasions from which would be a peril to India? These armies of the Native Princes, are they large? And these wild tribes at the north-east, how formidable and dangerous are they? Let us see.

Afghanistan is a country located on the far-side of great and lofty ranges of mountains from which invaders can reach India only through difficult, dangerous, and easily defended passes. Its total population is about six millions, a number which does

not seem to be very alarming when placed beside India's three hundred and twenty millions. The population of Nepal is about the same, no larger. Thus the two nations compare with India in population and in strength, well, say about as six-year-old boys compare with a full grown man of twenty, or, if I may be allowed a less dignified illustration, about as Rat-terriers compare with a Mastiff, a Great Dane, or a Newfoundland dog.

As for the so-called "well-trained armies" of the Princes, which are to spread such havoc and carnage over the land, just what is their strength? If we turn to the Statesman's Year Book of 1926, we find that all the Native Princes of India (that is, the rulers of all the Native States) possess armies (well-trained or ill-trained), all combined, numbering only 27,000, or to be exact, 27,030. Is that number to be regarded as very dangerous in a great nation like India? And then as to the *character* of these Native Princes, is it such as we are given by Sir Charles and the rest to understand? We know that some of them are among the most enlightened and peace-loving rulers to be found anywhere. Where does Sir Charles get his authority for representing all of them or any of them as bandits, only restrained by British control from plunging into war with one another and inaugurating a nation-wide orgy of 'rapine and murder?' (One would like to ascertain his authority. As for ourselves, we have never been able to discover any evidence that the great majority of the Indian Princes are any less peaceful or law-abiding than the British themselves.

As for the "wild tribes on the borders of Assam," what is the truth about them? I myself happen to have a little personal knowledge bearing on this question. It was my fortune some years ago to spend two weeks on horseback travelling among two of these tribes, on a missionary journey to visit some little mission churches which existed among them. I had to travel on the back of a "pony" or else on foot) for there was not a wheeled vehicle of any kind, or a road for one, anywhere in the region; the only way of getting from one of the scattered villages to another, being by foot-trail or "pony path." What kind of people did I find? Dangerous savages? I travelled with a single companion, a member of one of the tribes, who acted as my guide and interpreter. We carried no arms more formidable than an ordinary

pocket-knife. When my journeyings were nearly at an end, I spent an evening with the British official who had charge of the region. He said to me, "You have probably wondered sometimes whether you were entirely safe-going about among the people of these wild and far-away hills. But I assure you that your only cause for fear is the tigers and leopards in the jungles and ravines; and even they will not trouble you unless you travel in the night. As regards the people, you need not have the slightest apprehension. While they are simple and in many ways seem to be lacking in civilization, they are manly and self-respecting; they know how to fight if their rights are trampled on; but when treated justly and fairly they are as kind and peaceable and trustworthy as any people in the world. I have lived here now nearly a dozen years. Before coming here, I lived in London. And I want to say to you that you are actually safer going about among these people than you would be on the streets of London."

Does it look very much as if these "wild tribes" are likely under any circumstances to rush down from their hills to the plains and cities and spread havoc and destruction over India?

Such, then, seem to be the actual facts regarding the peril which Sir Charles Elliott the Master of Elibank, and others imagine threatens India if the British go away and if the Indian people are left to rule themselves. Do the facts show that there is any reason whatever to believe that such a peril exists anywhere else except in the imagination of the men who proclaim it as a justification of British rule?

Sir Charles tells us one thing more which we have not yet considered, but which demands attention. He gives us to understand that if the British leave India, they will do so without making any provision for another government to fill their place. In other words, they will not, before leaving, he thinks, take any steps, or permit the Indian people to take any, to organize a republic or any other form of rule, under Surendranath Bannerjea or any other Indian leader or leaders; but will deliberately and intentionally leave the country without a government, thus taking the course which they believe will be most likely to produce universal anarchy and bloodshed, and wreck the country. This seems to be the clear meaning of the talk of Sir Charles and the

rest about universal bloodshed and anarchy following the departure of the British.

The British hold all power in their hands; they know that the Indian people want self-rule, and to that end desire a government of their own, under the management of their own competent leaders, of whom they believe they have no lack. The British can, if they will, make provision for such a government; they can easily arrange for a nation-wide election in which the Indian people will be able to choose their best and most trusted public men and statesmen to set up and maintain a system of rule which will be Indian, and which will serve their needs, as they believe, incomparably better than they can possibly be served by any foreign Government. Having made such provision for a reliable government to succeed them, the British can take their departure with every reason to believe that all will go on in India essentially as safely and peacefully as one king succeeds another in England, or as one political administration follows another in America. And making such preparation before they go is just what they should do, and the very least that they can do in justice or in honor. Will they not do it?

For nearly two centuries they have been holding India in subjection without her consent, exploiting the country, and in a hundred ways gaining prestige, commercial advantages and pecuniary wealth from what they have proudly called their great "Indian Empire." Surely after India has done and suffered so much for them, and after they have reaped such enormous benefits from her, if they are actuated by any principles of honor or even decency, they will desire to see her safe and prosperous when they are gone, and will gladly do all in their power to insure such safety and prosperity. To do less than this will show on their part the basest ingratitude and the most shocking injustice.

As to the matter of the British government leaving India *suddenly*, and *without making provision for any other government to take its place*, of course, that would probably be temporarily a dangerous thing; but only for the same reason that it would be dangerous for any government in the world suddenly to drop everything and go away, without providing a successor to take up its responsibilities. If the government of

the United States or Canada, or England, or France, or Germany, or any other nation, left suddenly with no successor provided for it would create confusion and more or less of temporary anarchy. The same is true if the government of New York City, of Philadelphia, or Buffalo, or Chicago, or any other city, were suddenly to abscond, with no provision for successors. But the disturbed and more or less lawless condition which would exist in the interval before a new government could be organized and put in operation, would not mean that the peoples of these nations or cities are not able to govern themselves and need to have foreigners from a distant part of the earth come and govern them. Instead of having any such meaning at all, it would mean only, as has been said, that the preceding government had been criminally neglectful in not making provision for a competent and adequate government to follow it.

Of course, if the British *want* India to fall into such a condition of bloodshed and anarchy as is portrayed, they can doubtless bring it about. How? In the way already indicated that is, by going away and leaving the nation without a government, and as inexperienced, helpless and defenseless as possible. But in that case the responsibility and the crime would rest wholly on the British. I for one cannot believe that they will for a moment contemplate such a crime.

And yet, and yet, much as one regrets to say it, it has to be confessed that there has been from the beginning a very dark side to Great Britain's management of India. It looks much as if from the very first it has been her fixed plan and policy to keep India, standing by herself, just as weak in a military way as possible, and therefore, just as unable as possible to protect herself from bloodshed and anarchy, if left to govern herself; and it looks very much as if that is her policy to-day.

Let us examine the actual situation in India as to military protection. The present strength (1926) of the Indian army maintained by the British-Indian Government (this does not include and has no relation to, the small and insignificant armies which the Native States are permitted to possess) is 187,437. This Indian army is maintained by the British for two purposes. One is to help them to guard against any possible revolts or revolutions—any possible attempts

of the Indian people to throw off their foreign yoke. The other object is, to be ready at the summons of the Empire to go abroad and help fight the Empire's battles in various parts of the world.

This Indian army is so constituted, trained and managed as to keep it strictly under British control, and make it as efficient as possible for serving British ends; but nothing beyond that. It is not permitted to learn to command or control itself, and it is kept as weak as possible for any independent operation against the Government and in favor of freedom for the people. Both when in India and when taken on campaigns abroad, it is kept strictly under British officers. There are plenty of Indians who would make as good officers as the British. Indians are not inferior to the Japanese, and it is universally recognized that Japanese military officers are equal to those of any European nation: Indian officers would be equally efficient if they were allowed like the Japanese to receive training as officers, and to hold high and independent commands. But this the British will not allow. They are not permitted any training or any experience that will make them independent of the British or enable them to command or lead or think of plans for themselves, and thus endanger the supremacy of their British masters. And not only is the Indian army kept strictly under British (or other European) officers, but certain parts of the military service are reserved solely for the British, Indians not being permitted to enter them. Thus only British men (or other Europeans) are allowed in artillery regiments. With the exception of a few light mountain batteries drawn by mules, all artillery is kept strictly in the hands of the British. The same is true of the air service. Furthermore, whether in India or serving abroad, Indian troops are not trusted by themselves: not only must they be commanded by British officers, but they must have British troops in close contact with them all the while, so that in case of any sign of disloyalty or revolt British rifles and British cannon can be turned on them, and British airplanes can drop bombs on them from the air.

Thus everything possible is done to keep India in a military sense weak, untrained, unable to stand on her own feet, wholly dependent upon British masters.

In case an Indian government were set

up in place of that which now rules, the present Indian army, if officered by trained and competent Indians, would be sufficient and much more than sufficient, to protect the country against any danger that threatens, or is likely to threaten, from Afghanistan, Nepal or any other source.

But, and this should not for a moment be forgotten, the present Indian army is only a very small part of India's possible military strength. Beyond this she has a further resource of tens of millions of men as good fighters when trained as these are in the world, who, under an Indian government, would be available as soldiers if there were need. But under British rule all these men are kept untrained; India is kept without military officers; the whole nation is deprived of arms; even the soldiers who are taken away to fight, as in Europe and Mesopotamia and Palestine in the Great war, on returning home and receiving their discharge, are disarmed. Such fear has Britain constantly that India will revolt and strike for freedom. Of course, the weaker she can keep the Indian people in a military way, the easier it is to hold them down.

Of course, if the British should leave India, and if, in connection with leaving, they should *commit the crime* of refusing to set up an Indian government or allowing the Indian people to set up one, to fill the place and take over the functions of its British predecessor, thus leaving the country without a government, and at the same time without military protection,—if the British should do that, then doubtless, as already said, there would be more or less confusion and anarchy *until the country could recover from the result of the shameful conduct of the British.*

Here we have India's only danger; and, as we have seen, it would be one wholly of Britain's creation.

What the British ought to have been doing throughout all these long years past, was, *making India strong, both civilly and militarily, instead of deliberately keeping her weak.* They ought to have put competent Indians freely into all government positions, from lowest to highest,—certainly there should have been as many Indians in these places as Britons. There should have been at least as many Indian as British officers in the army,—the highest commands should not have been withheld from Indians. The Military member of the Viceroy's Executive Council

should often, at least half the time, have been a trained and experienced Indian.

What the British Indian government should now do, is to remedy these shameful delinquencies (these persistent wrongs) of the past, as soon as possible.

I have urged elsewhere, as the best Indians and some Englishmen are urging, that only a short time is necessary for the present British masters of India to arrange for elections everywhere, and thus aid the people to set up a carefully planned and competent government. It is believed by many men of weightiest judgment that all could be accomplished in a single year's time. But if not in one year, then in two, or five; what India wants is not haste, certainly not unwise haste, but *certainly*, something which she can *depend on*, and an end to promises of pots of gold at the foot of a rainbow.

Since India has been, and still is, so shamefully deprived of trained and experienced military officers of her own, and also of higher police officers, doubtless, on obtaining self-government she would desire to engage a considerable number of British military and police officers for a time as trainers of her own men and to fill important positions of military and police command until Indians were ready. Probably, too, some would be retained permanently but of course, under India's control, as Canada's army is under Canada's control, and as Australia's and South Africa's are under control of those Dominions.

With such careful provision made for setting up a proper Indian government to take the place of the retiring British one, and with such adequate military and police arrangements made for protection in case of possible immediate need, as already has been said, there should be no more disorder or confusion or danger connected with the turning over of the control of India to the Indian people, than in turning over of the control of England to a new political party after an election. For the people of India are not less law-abiding and peaceful than the people of England.

India, once on her own feet, and free to organize and equip and officer and train an army of her own as large as necessary, would have no more reason to fear Afghanistan or Nepal or her own so-called "wild tribes" than the United States has to fear attacks from our Red Indian tribes or from Cuba or Nicaragua.

SUPPLEMENT

Englishmen manifest great concern over what they imagine is the danger of bloodshedding and blood running in India. Would it not be well if they directed their first attention to a region nearer home, namely, Europe? India has never known such vast holocausts of blood and slaughter as "civilized" and "Christian" Europe has experienced again and again and again.

Europe boasts of its superiority over India in civilization, and especially in science. But to what use does it put its civilization and particularly its science? We are told on what seems to be the best of authority that the scientists of Europe (and alas! of America too) are actually devoting more of their time, money and effort to creating inventions and instrumentalities for killing people than to any other single object. Who invented all the immensely extensive and fast-growing enginery of modern war—to make ever more and more vast and pitiless the wholesale slaughter of human beings,—improved rifles and revolvers; murderous machine guns; cannon to shoot twenty miles and more; deadly dynamite and still more deadly T. N. T.; horrible bombs; armored war tanks; battleships which are monsters of destruction and death almost beyond imagination; submarines which turn the oceans into hells;

poison gas, and germs of the most horrible diseases, to be let fall from aeroplanes and thus destroy whole cities—men, women and children, every living thing;—I say, who invented these fiendish agencies for wholesale human slaughter? Was it the people of India? No! Every one has been the creation of so-called civilized and Christian Europe (or America.)

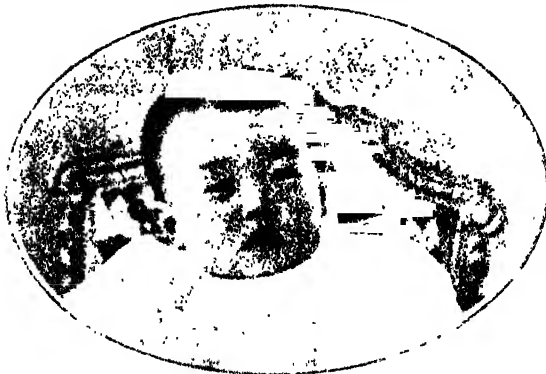
With so large a proportion of Europe's science, brain power and money devoted to the production of machinery for murder on the largest possible scale, is it any wonder that she has wars the most numerous and terrible in the world? The truth seems to be that Europe has vastly more need of foreign control to prevent bloodrunning than has India.

Englishmen liken the people of India to wild beasts of a zoo. If there is a land on earth where nations and peoples have over and over, and for long periods of time, acted like wild animals of the zoo or the jungle—springing at one another's throats and devouring one another, that land is not India, it is Europe. Then why should any European nation seek to control India for purposes of civilization and peace? If only for a century or two India could control the nations of Europe, then perhaps at last they might learn what peace and real civilization mean.

[A chapter from the Author's forthcoming work, "India's Case for Freedom."]

GLEANINGS

Japan's Infant Prince



H. I. H. Princess Teru, infant daughter of H. I. M. the Emperor at the age of one

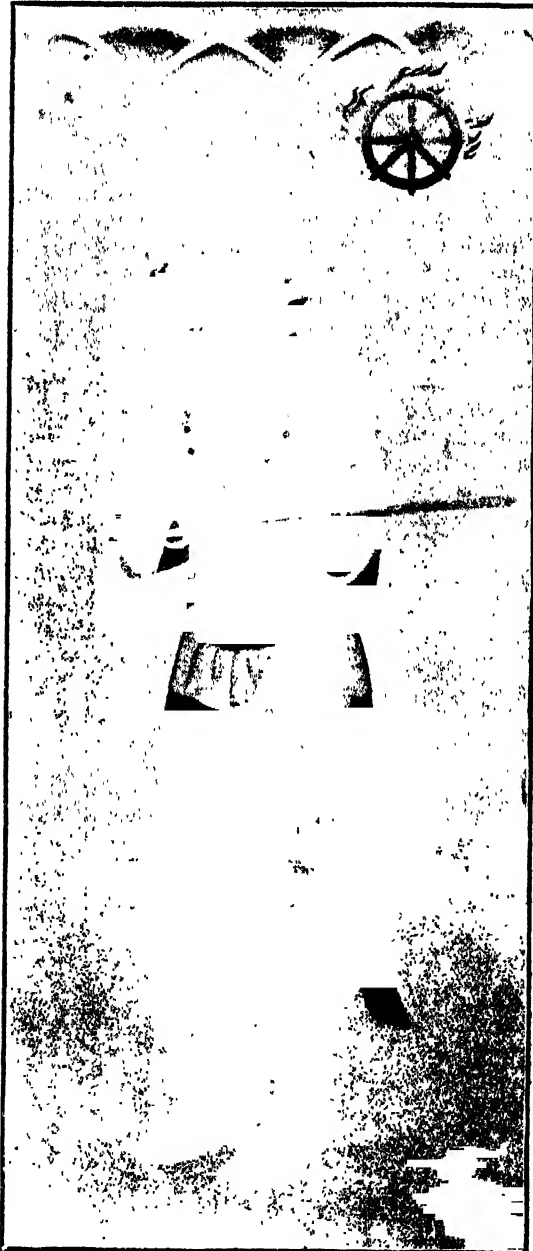
Chrysanthemum Party in Japan



Japanese boys and girls writing Poems at a Chrysanthemum Party in Tokyo; this festival is enjoyed by every body in Japan from the Mikado to the poorest village-folk.

Art In Japan

The appearance of the prefectural Gallery of Tokyo near the Imperial Museum Ueno Park opened on May, 1st by way of commemorating the life of Shotoku Taishi (621-669 A. D.), one of the great founders of Japanese fine arts is one of the



"Seki Doji" by Kikuchi Keigetsu
membre de l'Academie des Beaux-arts



"Conqueror of Waters" by Asakura Fumio
membre de l'Academie des Beaux-arts

greatest events to be recorded in the sixty years annals of modern Japanese fine arts.

Two exhibitions were simultaneously held respectively by the Japan Art Society and the Society of the Second Section, both leaders in the art world.

Mr. Seiho Takeuchi is an unrivalled master of the Kyoto school, and one of the veteran members of the Imperial Academy of Art.

In recent years, however, he has been very active in the guidance of younger painters. The landscape of Southern China at the Imperial Academy of Art annual exhibition fluently bespeak the vigour of this aged master who is now always to the front.

In fact, Seiho of Kyoto and Taikwan of Tokyo—the former encroaching upon the methods of western painting, and the latter holding to the tradition of Japanese painting—are champions in

Japanese painting circles to-day. All lovers of art are now intent, with breathless interest, on the contest of the two champions who are locked in competition in the arena of Japanese painting. It was also an encouraging fact, in comparison with the inactivity of other veterans, that Mr. Gyokudo Kawai furnished variety in displaying his "Indian Summer" at the Imperial Academy of art annual exhibition.



"The Orchid" by Fujishima Takeji
membre de l'Academie des Beaux-arts



"A Scene in Southern China" by Takeuchi Seiho
membre de l'Academie des Beaux-arts

The orchid was mentioned as one of the masterpieces among oil paintings:

Progress in sculpture is being made much more slowly.

Mr. Asakura's work, "Conqueror of Waters" may be regarded as a representative of the



"An Auspicious Bird" painted by Yokoyama Taikan
to the Order of the Imperial Household
For Her Majesty the Empress of Japan



"Indian Summer" by Kawai Gyokudo
membre de l'Academie des Beaux-arts

naturalism. Beauty of pose, such as seen in Greek sculpture, enabled this figure to outshine others. The figures stood out preeminently in the realm of sculpture in 1926.

—*Asahi Japan*

The Art of Gainsborough

Reynolds and Gainsborough flourished in the field of English art at the same time, and seem to represent the English character completely in their combination. Gainsborough, of course, representing the Unicorn in his fanciful nature. Reynolds representing the Lion. Writes an art critic in *London Times*, "The moment you begin to think about it you see that only the English artists tend to range themselves under the lion or the unicorn, but that, in history, the presence of one type is an almost certain indication of the existence of the other, with approximately equal powers. It is as if the English



Mrs. Siddons—By Gainsborough



GAINSBOROUGH'S DAUGHTER

Pronounce the painter's name "quietly but with proper delay over the first syllable, and it is like the strain and ruffle of summer wind in ash boughs." Doesn't this picture fit the name?

genius needed two men at a time for its full expression. Byron and Shelley are the most obvious examples, and there are plenty of others, and their coupling might be made the subject of a widely allusive and duly quarrelsome parlor game."



A GAINSBOROUGH PORTRAIT

"The fashionable world flocked to him to be painted," and it was fitting that one of them should be Miss Sparrow.

Gainsborough's art was indefinite in itself, pervasive rather than emphatic.

Gainsborough, indeed, seems to have had the faculty—the fatal gift, we might almost say—of externalizing for us the dream. The dream and the business well sums up the division of the world between him and Reynolds. To call his genius 'feminine' would not be exact, for only an intense, if refined, masculinity could have set such visions free. The sweetness of his work is entirely unsentimental, it is rather the sweetness that comes of intense pressure upon the raw material of life, leaving the dross behind and giving us only the life as we essence which, diffused through the affairs of know it, is too subtle for us, to perceive unaided. Feminine it is, in a sort but it is less the feminine presented to us in the actual shapes of the opposite sex than that more absolute feminine, not consciously desired and never to be experienced in life, which haunts the imagination of every fully developed man—the feminine echo of masculine personality.

—*Lit. Digest*

A Modern Medievalist

To be head of the interior decorating department of a big furniture store is, according to Miss Alma

Bigelow, to hold one of the world's most interesting jobs. She knows whereof she speaks, for her particular furniture store is one of the largest in Chicago, and that means one of the largest in the wide Middle West.

She decorates houses all over the Mississippi Valley—banks and theatres, churches, all sorts of public buildings. Sometimes she is asked to work out an entire decorative scheme, sometimes it is just a problem of details—panels, or rugs or walls and ceilings.

Here two churches were her favourite pieces of decoration. 'St. Paul's Cathedral in Marquettee and All Saints' Church in Pontiac.

"All she said decoration has some touch with tradition, either follows it, or goes flatly against it, or adapts its forms. But church decoration is more thoroughly imbued with tradition than any other kind. And you don't realize, until you start to delve into it, how many hundreds and thousands of symbols have gathered around the Christian religion."

The decorative scheme for the Pontiac Church grew normally from its name. The struggles and trials of all the Christian Saints were Miss Bigelow's inspiration. Her reredos and side screens are of wood, their panels overlaid with gold and color in the ancient manner, their carving following the fine old motives of vine and grape and pomegranate.

—*The Woman Citizen*



Some altar panel in All Saints, Pontiac, Mich.

The Autograph of a Tree

"D. J. McDougal of the Carnegie Institution has devised an apparatus, the dendrograph, to make a tree trace its own curve of growth and characteristics. This was no easy thing to do because the movements involved are extremely slow and slight and the device must be fastened to the tree, so that it must remain for a long time in the open air and exposed to the pressure of the wind.

"Nevertheless, he has succeeded; and he describes the instrument and its earlier results in *American Forests and Forest Life*. Our information is from the *Revue Internationale d'Agriculture*.

"While trees of rapid growth increase in size rapidly enough in their early years to enable us to measure their thickness successively with compasses, or their circumference with a steel tape, slow-growing trees or old ones enlarge yearly by only about $\frac{1}{10}$ inch, and some, when 200 or 300 years old, by not more than 1-25 inch. We need in these cases some kind of amplifying device.

"The dendrograph carries a polygonal frame of a metal that will not expand with heat. This fixt frame is fastened to the tree with a screw that penetrates through the bark. It carries a bent lever, pivoted on its angle, the smaller vertical arm bearing on a rod of melted quartz which is in contact with the tree by its other end. The horizontal arm, ten or twelve times as long, writes with amplification on a paper divided into millimeters, rolled on a registration cylinder that revolves very slowly. The whole dendrograph is kept firm by a belt of wooden blocks connected by metal pieces that surround the tree and are capable of adjustment.

"This apparatus has already revealed several

interesting things---for instance, daily changes in the tree's diameter. In fact, with most trees, there occurs every day, independently of their growth, a swelling and shrinking. The ascent of the sap in the vessels of the wood, produced by the transpiration of the leaves is so powerful that the trunks of most trees contract between morning and evening and then begin to swell again until early morning when they regain their normal size again.



A STORY NINE YEARS LONG

This pine has been writing its record, as seen here, since 1918.

"The daily alterations in size may vary from 1-1250 to 1-200 of the tree's diameter; they are inverse to the changes due to temperature, for the tree contracts when it is warm, by losing its moisture, and dilates when it is cold and wet. Mr. McDougal has studied especially the California red pine and the Monterey pine. A dendrograph has been in place since 1918 on one of these latter and inscribes regularly its curve of growth.

—*La Nature* (Paris)

Women up-to-date in Japan

The spirit of the new age has wrought such a change in Japanese women that during the last five or six years they have quite stripped off their

old clothes internally as well as externally. Just look at the young women in the street; most of them are accompanied by "boys," a thing rarely seen a decade ago. The only pairs seen in the street then were old couples, who wanted each other's assistance in venturing in the busy traffic or brothers and sisters who were accompanied by their parents. At that time the Japanese boys and girls felt a kind of envy and even jealousy at the sight of Western couples who were seen walking in the streets.

Looking at the attire of the women of the new age one cannot fail to perceive something "saucy" about it. Their gait sets them off distinctly from the softer sex of old Japan. Their feet with felt *zori* on gently touch the ground from the tiptoe. Their short legs, which are counted among their drawbacks are skilfully camouflaged by Japanese clothes, or they are attired in smart western garments, with opera bags in hand, and their high-heeled shoes click on the hard pavement with a sound quite different from that of *geta*.



The two types of the Japanese modern girl striding along in front of the Osaka City Hall

It was about 1910 that the new women's emancipation movement began. It was at that time that business girls began to appear, but their number was quite insignificant. In 1923, the great earthquake wrought disastrous havoc in and near the city of Tokyo. The women, having survived

the unprecedented calamity, assumed a positive attitude toward life. They were converted to epicureanism, and from that has evolved their present mood. In short, through the medium of

the earthquakes, their ideas for the liberation of women took visible shape.

—*Asahi, Japan*

COMMERCIAL DIPLOMACY

By U. K. OZA

WE have unfortunately for us no right so far of having our own ambassadors abroad. Some believe that the day is not far off when we shall have our own envoys at most of the important capitals of the world. Let us hope that their belief will come true and India will have Swaraj and will place our ablest men in foreign capitals to uphold her dignity and watch over her political interests.

But we have a right even to day to appoint commercial agents all over the world. In fact, commercial diplomacy is more important in these days than political representation. India ought to begin to see this and to exercise a right which also is a sacred duty.

Our cotton trade in East Africa is fast disappearing, our trade with South Africa needs careful development. Our friends who organised Wembley say that the Indian pavilion gave great publicity to Indian products and our artistic manufactures.

And still we have no commercial agents anywhere, neither our commercial organisations nor of the government of India. We have a Department of Commerce, we do not know what it does to further our interests abroad.

May it be pointed out here that America secured during the last four years no less than a billion dollar increase in the sale of American merchandise abroad?

How was this brought about? Certainly not by long academic discussions of the type we have in our Tariff-Board reports and the government's dissenting minutes. The increase is due to concentrated effort and organization.

It is chiefly due to the American trade envoy practising the arts of a new diplomacy.

America like ourselves has a Department of Commerce. Unlike ourselves this Department has an army of envoys.

"The trade envoy of the Department of Commerce (U. S. A) is to be found today in the farthest corners of the civilised world, hunting for purchasers of American goods, continuously on the alert for opportunities for American business to make sales,—getting constantly in touch with prospective purchasers in other lands and then bringing these purchasers into touch with merchants and manufacturers in the states."

This army of American envoys of commerce is directed and controlled by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce. Two persons constitute the brain of this new movement, Herbert Hoover, Secretary for commerce and Dr. Klein.

The latter has been described as student, economist and practical expert in foreign trade. He was formerly Professor of Latin-American History at Harvard, studied at Paris and Berlin, speaks Spanish, French, and German and is one of the representatives of U. S. A. at Geneva this year. Mr. Hoover and Dr. Keiln are assisted by Mr. Oliver P. Hopkins and 1500 agents. The pioneer in promoting the activities of the trade envoys was however Mr. Redfield, former Secretary for Commerce whose efforts succeeded in sending out the first commercial attaches in 1914. The service has since been evidently expanded greatly by Mr. Hoover.

American opinion is certain that in the face of great competition put up by Great Britain, Japan, and Germany, the export trade of America would have shrunk considerably after the war, had this army not been battling for markets for American trade.

A fourth of the force is maintained outside the United States and consists of commercial attaches, trade commissioners and their assistants and staffs and is supposed to collect up-to-date and timely information on all manners of trade problems and market and

economic conditions and to collaborate with the consular-service in every trade centre of the world.

There are forty-two foreign offices distributed all over the world and this foreign field force is in the closest touch with the Washington Bureau by "letter, cable and radio."

Dr. Klein's position is that in spite of the War, there has been a growth of world demand for manufactured goods he says—

"On the average in 1921 700 enquiries came to the Bureau daily. Now the daily average is 9000. They are mostly from small manufacturers. Farm co-operatives as well as manufacturers are showing increased interest in foreign trade. We have in fact, inquiries about everything, from prunes to brass-tacks and from pencils to automobiles."

Dr. Klein states "Out of the conflicts and uncertainties due to the war has come a great world scramble for business. In the situation that obtains today, nations seeking trade cannot go along

according to old precedents. Since 1914 there has been a revolution in trade methods. To be of service our representatives must understand the new conditions that have grown up since the war, must know the changes in buying power, must be familiar with new currencies, with new regulations affecting commerce, with new Tariffs and the like. The number of bankruptcies that followed in the wake of the war was appalling. The effect of these must be borne in mind in their relations to credit."

Do we realise all this in India? One is afraid not. Our commercial community is still wedded to old world methods, our Government is supine, probably deliberately indifferent.

We may not blame the Government, but will our commercial community realise that if we wait and sleep till Swaraj comes,—when it comes, we shall find ourselves displaced from everywhere.

POPULAR PEACE MOVEMENTS OF THE WORLD: A BRIEF SURVEY

By SATISA C. GUHA

Secretary, Santi-Sangha, Darbhanga

MEN are sick of war and strife. Although there are Governments still that wage war on a slight pretext, the people in general in almost all countries desire to avoid all sorts of war; for they know that war does them harm in any case, either in victory or in defeat. And even the Governments of most countries seem to have seriously taken in hand the question of how to amicably settle international disputes at the least possible cost, i. e., without loss of men and materials to any large extent. And hence the attempt at an establishment in Europe of a body of international representatives, known as the League of Nations, with its headquarters at Geneva. It has its defects, no doubt; but it is a new move or method with prospects of improvement.

It is a good sign of the times that we hear of some sort of peace societies being formed in almost every country nowadays. They are peoples' societies, not governments'. The Non-

co-operators in our country, as inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, are one such popular body formed on a huge scale. And although they have political aims too, their politics, so far as *orthodox* non-co-operators acknowledging the *sattvika* (popularly known today as Gandhian) principles, and acting upon them—are concerned, is not restricted to any form of narrow nationalism. Besides this huge body of non-co-operators there are also smaller peace-groups and religious bodies in the country that seek to promote human fellow feeling by their endeavours in the field of *thought* in the main and that of *action* as well, where possible. But no definite statistics are as yet available.

There is not a single country in the world today that has not within its boundary at least one group of persons striving for universal peace. If we go a little back to find how the desire for human fellow feeling and consequent universal peace and brother-

hood was felt by a large number of persons the work of early and later Theosophists will not escape our attention. Among others the Pacifists and Quakers did a great deal towards human friendship.

Pacifism is a word coined in recent times. It is applied to the doctrine that the world can and should go without war. Participation in war, either directly or in an indirect way, is considered by the Pacifists to be beneath human dignity. It is not known where this movement first arose on a large scale. For at all times there were some persons who were unwilling to render any sort of help to either of the contending parties. Previous to the last European war, it was mainly supported in Great Britain and in the continent (Europe) by the Quakers, that is, persons belonging to the Society of Friends * and as pacifists were then very small in number, no sufficient notice was taken of them by the authorities. But the result of the last war was a distinct increase in the number of those who looked on war as a crime against religion and against humanity, and the majority of these came together in two new societies, the "No Conscription Fellowship" and the "Fellowship of Reconciliation". These carried on propaganda against the war, and when conscription was introduced, a large proportion of them refused to take part in any kind of military service, even Red-cross or other non-combatant work. About 6000 were court-martialled, and imprisoned, but after a short time some 5000 agreed to do civil work under Government control. The remaining 1000 refused even this, considering it to be an indirect support of the war, as no doubt it was. They were court-martialled more than once, and kept in prison for over two years, not being released till five months after the Armistice.

After the war was over, the anti-militarist feeling steadily grew, not only in Britain but in other countries also. The Fellowship of Reconciliation continued the work without intermission, and has grown into a strong

organisation, issuing a monthly paper called "Reconciliation". The No Conscription Fellowship became defunct, but a new organisation was started, called the "No More War International Movement", which has grown rapidly and is now known as the "War Resistance International". It has a membership of many thousands distributed amongst nearly all the nations of the world. This perhaps goes deeper than any other organisation, maintaining that as the most fruitful sources of war are inequitable economic conditions, which give rise to jealousy and fear, the whole of life needs to be reconstructed on a new basis, the common good of all being recognised as the ideal which we should all try to realise.

Every member of this movement signs the following declaration: "Believing that all war is wrong, and that arming of the nations, whether by sea, land or air, is treason to the spiritual unity and intelligence of mankind, I declare it to be my intention never to take part in any war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans, or doing labour for the purpose of setting others free for war services.

"Further I declare my intention to strive for the removal of all causes of war, and to work for the establishment of a new social order based on co-operation for the common good".

Various other organisations are also working for peace. The W. C. T. U. has always had promotion of peace as one of its objects, but it has not been emphasised until the last two or three years. Also the Women's International Association has the same aim among its objects: and a strong movement has been initiated among the young people, taking different forms and names in different countries, but being generally known as the Youth Peace Movement. This is perhaps the most important of all, as it is to the next generation rather than the present that we must look for the abolition of war.

The line of work adopted by all the organisations is mainly propaganda, by means of literature, public meetings, and by approaching the educational authorities to modify the present system of education so that the benefits of peace may be emphasised rather than the glories of war, and that love of one's own country may be combined with

* They are more like a religious sect, founded by George Fox of Leicestershire, about 1650 A. D. The members call themselves Friends. They were given the name 'Quakers' first in derision. Fox's teaching was primarily a preaching of repentance. The Society of Friends is devoted to peace principles, plainness of dress, simplicity of speech and a form of priestless religious meetings, silent till some member is moved by the spirit, to say something to the gathering.

sympathy with other countries in place of the narrow patriotism which too often prevails. When occasion arises one or another organisation also approaches the Government as for example, just now a petition is being presented to the British Government by the British Section of the War Resistance International in favour of disarmament; suggested by the efforts being made by the League of Nations in that direction.

The League of Nations Unions in various countries are another organisation that calls for notice. They are quite independent of the League and in that sense may be called popular organisations. These Unions have been formed within the last five or six years. The membership of the British League of Nations Union on May 22, 1925, is at a figure as big as 467,272; while in the first year (1919) it was only 3,841. This is taken from that Union's monthly journal, called "Headway" (June 1925). The purpose of these Unions is to spread as widely as possible the knowledge of what the League of Nations is doing, which of course presupposes the study by the members of the Unions of the aims and work of the League. There is a considerable amount of literature already issued by the British League of Nations Union, besides its monthly organ.

In concluding this brief survey of the Peace Movements of the present-day world it will not be out of place to record in short the general aim of Pacifism. Generally speaking, there are two objects that are kept in view by all pacifists. One is remote and the other is comparatively immediate. The remote object is to remove the ultimate causes of war, which is the same as removing the causes of discord and strife. This, they know full well, cannot be done quickly, for it depends on the growth and evolution of humanity, and a change of heart from self-seeking and self-centredness to love and altruism, to the recognition of the importance of the whole as above the individual, and of the brotherhood and solidarity of humanity.

For the bringing about of this result, thought is the strongest force, combined with the effort to purify our own hearts and lives from selfishness. Every individual who tries his best to think love and live love is helping to bring nearer the day when love will rule the world and war will become impossible, nay unthinkable. This is the true inner way of working for peace, and of course with this must be combined individual self-purification, the effort to inspire others with the same ideal, and especially to impress it on the minds of the young.

But the establishment of this perfect peace is not the same thing as the mere ending of war, though this latter is of course included in it. This lesser end can be achieved even while the causes of strife and discord still persist. Individuals used to try to settle their quarrels by fighting them out, but they found by experience that it was a ruinous method, and did not really settle them; so nowadays though they still quarrel they resort to the courts and arbitration, and more often than not disputes are really settled. Nations are beginning to do the same and it will become a universal custom when a sufficient number of people in all countries of the world are convinced of the futility of war, even apart from the question of its rightness or wrongness. The effort to bring this about is perhaps the most important side of the work of the Pacifists, just because success will be attained more quickly.

There are three principal ways in which this work can be done:—(1) the education of public opinion by means of various kinds of propaganda; (2) the attempt at various kinds of social reforms to remove the economic disabilities, which are at the back of most modern warfare; and (3) the effort, by whatever means may present themselves, to lead the governments and peoples of the world to recognise the advantages of arbitration over warfare, and also the added security that should result from disarmament.

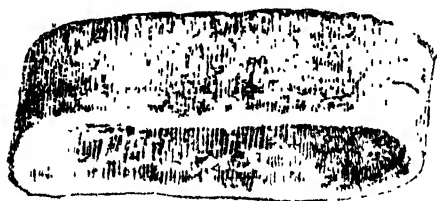
DRAVIDIAN CIVILIZATION

By R. D. BANERJI

III

CHALCOLITHIC BURIALS OF NORTHERN INDIA

SO far very little was known about the Bronze or the Copper Age of India. Discoveries of isolated copper implements have been recorded from time to time in the country lying between the Himalayas and the Godavari and Persia and Burma but up to 1922, we had found nothing that would enable us to describe Indian culture of the Copper Age. Copper Age antiquities discovered by Mockler in different parts of Beluchistan 52 years ago and by Rai Bahadur Pandit Dayaram Sahni at Harappa were not recognised to be specimens of a Copper Age civilisation until the publication of a short note on the discoveries at Mohen-jo-daro (*Illustrated London News*, Sept. 20, 1924).



Bath-tub-shaped Urn from Brahmanabad
Sindh

Copper Age burials discovered in Northern India are very few in number but they prove the Iron Age burials of South India to be a continuation and extension of the Copper Age methods of disposal of the Dead. It is perhaps well known that in India the remains of the Copper Age have not been discovered South of the Godavari but in that country Copper and Bronze were used for the manufacture of Art-ware, discovered in Iron Age coffins. The similarity of methods for disposal of the dead prove that the Iron Age culture of Southern India is the lineal descendant of the Copper Age culture of Northern India.

At the beginning of this century it was the fashion among the Archaeologists to deny the existence of a true Copper Age in India. At that time Bronze implements were prac-

tically unknown in India and the Far East. The discoveries at Mohen-jo-daro and the subsequent linking up of the antiquities previously found at Harappa has now provided us with sufficient materials for a preliminary survey of the Copper Age culture of Northern India. To these two have been added the Burials and the Antiquities of Baluchistan, such as those from Surag, Gati and Gwadar, visited by Major Mockler in the seventies of the last century. The discoveries of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in Chhota Nagpur have provided another link in this chain of evidence, though very little attention has been paid to this last class of antiquities even after the proper recognition of Mohen-jo-daro antiquities.

Beginning with the Copper Age, in Baluchistan we find in the two tombs, described by Sir John Marshall in the *Illustrated London News* (March 6th 1926), two distinct burial types; the Cist Burial and the Urn Burial of Southern India. We must remember that the whole of Baluchistan and the Kardahar valley is still a closed book to most of us. But the preliminary report of Major Mockler, though more than half a century old, gives us a glimpse of what may be expected. The tombs called "Dams"



Cist burial from Nal, Baluchistan

have yielded copper arrow-heads, flint scrapers and painted pottery along with miniature necropolitan pottery of the same type as that discovered at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa and in many places of Southern India. These dams are scattered all over Baluchistan along valleys of once mighty rivers across which there were immense stone dams, the masonry of which may be

called "Cyclopean" (Annual Report Archaeo. Survey, 1903-4, pp. 194-201, Pls. LX-LXI). At Nal, in the Jhalawan District, where beautiful painted pottery was discovered in a brick "damb" in 1903 and which could not be recognised even by Sir John Marshall as specimens of a Copper Age culture, two tombs, were discovered in 1925-26 by Mr. Hargreaves, one of which was a Cist burial in which the entire skeleton was found lying on one side and the other an Urn burial in which separate bones of the human body were buried in Jars. Painted pottery of almost the same style as was discovered at Mohen-jo-daro was found in large numbers along with Copper ornaments. This painted pottery is of the same design and style as those described by Sir John Marshall twenty-two years ago. (Annual Report,



Urn Burials, Nal, Baluchistan

Archaeo. Survey, 1904-5). The discovery of disintegrated bones in various jars and urns is significant. It brings this type of burials into a line with the urn burials of southern India in which bleached and uncalcined bones were buried with offerings, either separately or in a collection,

making up some sort of a family vault of each large Jar or Cist.

Outside Baluchistan such Jar burials are to be found in large numbers at Mohen-jo-daro, where two were discovered in 1922-23 and at least one by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in 1924-25. Such jar burials were found and described by Mr. H. Cousens at Brahmanabad but could not be recognised by him as such, though he found ashes and bones inside them (Annual Rep. Arch. Survey 1903-4, p. 134.) Our knowledge of prehistory was so backward and incomplete a quarter of a century ago that it was not possible for Mr. Cousens to link the discovery of ashes and bones inside numerous large jars and miniature pottery outside with similar discoveries by Walhouse in Mysore from published accounts in the *Indian Antiquary*.

In fact before the recognition of the Mohen-jo-daro antiquities as Copper Age antiquities it was not possible for even some of the best men of the Indian Archaeological Department to recognise antiquities older than the historical period. Harappa was excavated in 1920-21 and painted pottery, Jar-burials and flint scrapers were discovered along with seals bearing pictograms. In one case the excavator, Rai Bahadur Pandit Dayaram Sahni, records that he found smaller earthen-pots inside one of these jars at Harappa, but the learned scholar has unfortunately forgotten to record what else were found inside the smaller pots and whether they were cleaned in his presence (Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, N. Circle, Lahore, 1920-21 pp. 20-21; Nos A. 223 and A. 233). Archaeologists have learnt to be careful when the importance of the first year's discoveries at Mohen-jo-daro was forced upon them by scholars outside India. It was then that the painted pottery, the flint scrapers, the sealings and even the masonry of Harappa became equally important. Painted pottery in a much better state of preservation was discovered at Harappa in 1920-21 and had its importance been recognised at that time it would have been much easier for scholars to take up the thread. There was one fact in favour of Rai Bahadur Sahni. While not a scrap of iron has been discovered at Mohen-jo-daro, Harappa has proved to be a site which was inhabited even in the late Iron Age. It has yielded numerous finds of the historical period making it extremely difficult for the excavator to identify specimens of the Copper Age.

One discovery of the first season's excavations at Mohen-jo-daro still remains unique



Burial Jar and its contents. Site No. II, Mohen-jo-daro

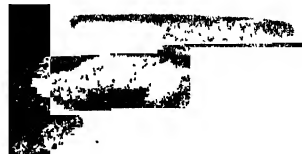
though numerous human skeletons have been discovered subsequently. The tomb of a small child buried under the foundations of the latest Copper Age buildings at this place points out to a definite connection between the Central Asiatic prehistoric people and the Indians of the Copper Age. I found the tomb of a small girl under the pavement of one of the rooms. She wore copper ornaments and her hair was slightly reddish. About the child burials Prof. J. L. Myres says: "A notable observance of these people was the burial of young children beneath housefloors."¹

Two Larnakes were discovered at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23 but they were too far disintegrated to permit of removal. Fortunately one such Larnax of the bath-tub shape was discovered by Mr. H. Cousens at Brahmanabad, though he did not recognise it as such at that time. Arch. Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey, 1908-09 Pl. XXI.) The discovery was

thought to be so insignificant that there is hardly any reference to this "Trough" as the discoverer calls it in his report. Yet this specimen recorded for us by an unknown draftsman is the only one discovered outside Mohen-jo-daro which permits us to link up the South Indian specimens with those found in Mesopotamia. Of them Prof. Myres says:

"The next class of internments is entirely different.....The coffin in this case is a clay sarcophagus rather like a small bath-tub, round at one end and square at the other."²

These Larnakes were found just above what Myres calls the Double-Urn internments. What Rea called Pyriform tombs and Evans calls Jar Burials in Crete are the same as the Kettle Burials of Mesopotamia. In Southern India these Jars are covered with a terra-cotta lid and in some cases with a stone. In Northern India two of them were



Big Jar, for burial (?) from Harappa

found with stone covers at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23 and in the Chhota Nagpur Districts

¹ Ancient Cambridge History. Vol. I. p. 87.

² Ibid. p. 549.

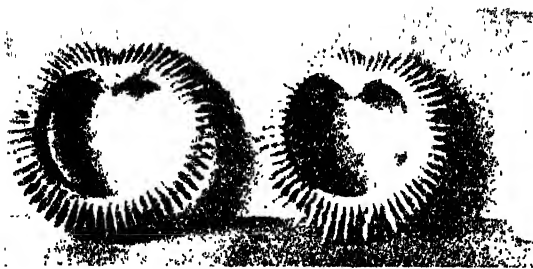
they are invariably placed under large or small stone covers.

The "Asura Burials" of Chhota Nagpur Districts recently discovered by Rai Bahadur Sarat Ch. Ray of Ranchi are still imperfectly known to us, except for the preliminary account of the discoverer. The few Asura grave-yards examined and described by Mr. Ray prove that the Asuras, whoever they may be, interned one uncalcined bone of the body in a Jar and many such Jars were always placed under one large stone which served the purpose of a family vault. Moreover they are always found with copper weapons and ornaments, but stone or iron implements have never been found inside these burial Jars. Further, modern tradition connects such Asura Burials grounds with brick ruins. These Asura Burial Jars are of a different shape from those discovered at Mohen-jo-daro or Harappa or South India, being round-bottomed but low in the neck and with a distinct neck, however narrow it may be. They therefore form a distinct part of the system of Jar Burials of the Copper Age and along with them were found some beautiful bronze Chariot wheels similar to the pottery wheels discovered at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro.

IV

MEDITERRANEAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN CULTURE

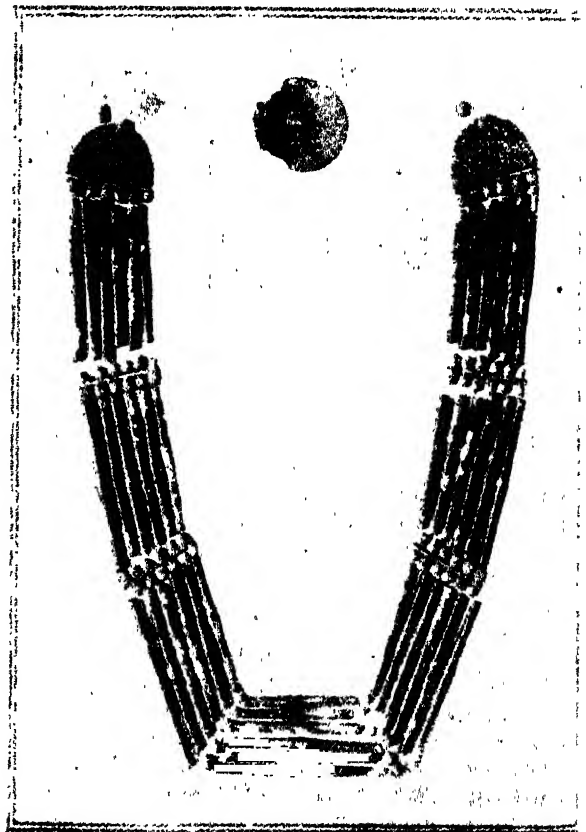
The remains of the people of the Copper and Bronze Ages described above are very definitely connected with the Bronze Age culture of Mesopotamia, Central



Faience bangles from Harappa

Asia, Asia Minor and the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean archipelago, specially that of Crete. The Cist Burials and Jar Burials of Mohen-jo-daro, Nal and Harappa, connected as they are with the Cists, Larnakes, Jars, etc., of South India,

towards the South-east, are also intimately connected with the Burial Customs of Mekran, South Persia, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean people. The nearest specimens are to be found in the island of Bahrein and near Bushire in Persia. Sir William Onseley discovered a prehistoric cemetery of this type near Bushire, consisting of Jars with pointed ends containing human bones and covered with a shallow earthen vessel.¹ Though all of the Burial Jars found at Mohen-jo-daro are round-bottomed, one at least of the Jars discovered at Harappa is pointed at the end, and the Jars of Bushire are of the same type. Another Jar of this type found at Brahmanabad came to the Indian Museum² but could not be found in 1882.³ In the island of Bahrein explorations carried out in recent times revealed the presence of Stone Cists



Carnelian necklace from Mohen-jo-daro

1. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VIII, p. 166.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 13.

3. *Anderson Catalogue and Handbook*, Pt. II pp. 393-462.

and Jars or Urns with pointed ends⁴. Similar Burial Jars were discovered in large numbers by Schlieman at Troy. The Larnakes that have been found in so many places of Southern India have been discovered at Mohen-jo-daro and Brahmanabad. In Mesopotamia "More elaborate burials in Clay Coffins are found along with the mat burials."⁵ The Bath-tub-shaped Larnakes

we find the complete series of Chamber tombs, Cist graves, the small and large elaborate Larnakes and the Jar Burial in a chronological order⁶. The burials contain vases, copper or bronze implements and knives of Obsidian or *natural glass*. In the Middle Mincan Period we find the complete custom of Jar Burials in Crete which is exactly the same as discovered at Perumbair and at Adiehanallur.

"The bodies were apparently trussed up and thrust head forward foremost into the Jars, which were then placed in the earth upside down, so that the deceased should always be head uppermost"⁷

Thus the Burial Customs which we have found in all its different forms in Southern India and in isolated cases in Northern India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, are to be found in a complete series in Crete. It is this continuity and final culmination which lead me to accept the very brilliant suggestion of Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee that the Indian terms "Tamil, Dami, Dravida" were really the same as the



Alabaster Bust from Mohen-jo-daro

and the Jar-burials of Nippur have already been referred to But it is in Crete that



Painted pottery from Baluchistan

"Termilai" of 'Herodotus' and the "Trimmili" of old Lycian Inscriptions.⁸ Now the Archaeological evidence is much stronger.

The recent discoveries prove that the Elephant and the Rhinoceros was known to the Copper Age people of Sindh. Bronze working was very familiar to them and along with the people of the same age, they were very fond of carving in Conch-shells. Like the Ancient Cretans and the Egyptians they used glass paste and made beads, chessmen, handles, etc, of this paste which is familiar to Cretan Archaeologists as "Faience". They used costly jewellery and made necklaces and many other ornaments of Cornelian, Jasper,

⁴. *Ann. Report, Arch. Survey, 1908-09 pp. 60-78.*

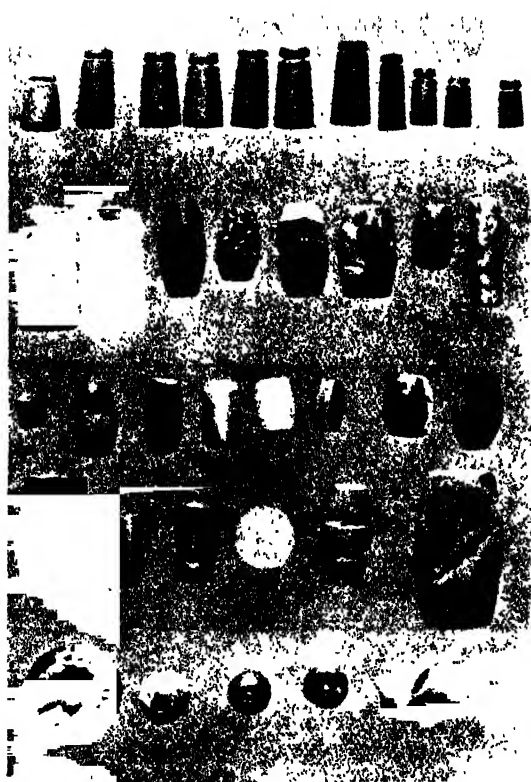
⁵. *Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. I. p. 377.*

⁶. *Ibid. p. 592.*

⁷. *Ibid. pp. 596-97.*

⁸ *Modern Review, December, 1924.*

etc. Gold was fairly common and silver was not unknown. The use of stone knives was a survival of a Neolithic custom. Sculpture had advanced a good deal, and the specimens discovered compare favourably with the contemporary sculpture of Mesopotamia. Alabaster was brought from a great distance for the use of sculptors and was also used for making vessels and tables of oblation. But the most important characteristic of this Copper Age civilisation was the use of paint-



Beads and buttons from Mohen-jo-daro

ed and egg-shell pottery and the system of writing. It was the painted pottery and the Flint scrapers of Mohen-jo-daro which made me suspicious of the date to which the ruins of Mohen-jo-daro had been assigned by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his report for 1912. Up to 1922 painted pottery was practically unknown in India and the single specimen in the Lahore Museum and the neglected specimens from Baluchistan in the Calcutta and the Quetta Museums had scarcely attracted any attention. The exceptional beauty of the fragments unearthed by me in December, 1922,



Aurignacian process of bead-cutting from L'abri Blanchard, Dordogne, France.

made me cautious about the Mohen-jo-daro finds from the very beginning. The pottery finds of Mohen-jo-daro fall into three great classes;—(A) Painted pottery, (B) Thin or egg-shell pottery and (C) the Red-ware. The earliest finds of Painted pottery at Mohen-jo-daro, though in fragments, were polychrome. The red-ware comes next in point of importance. The finds of egg-shell ware were few but subsequent finds prove that the potters were capable of turning out remarkably thin fabric. The find of the Red ware is very important, as this is the first recorded instance of such finds in India. Both monochrome and polychrome pottery have been discovered in very large numbers in the same strata indicating the simultaneous use of both forms. Both forms were used in ritualistic as well as household pottery. Miniature necropolitan pottery in polychrome was discovered for the first time at Mohen-jo-daro.

The absence of painted pottery in other parts of India and in all other periods of Indian History is extremely significant. It probably indicates the first period after the immigration of the people into Baluchistan and Indus valley, in which their habits, manners and customs were almost the same with the faience-using, copper age people who had burial customs peculiar to themselves. Then, with the near approach of the Iron age, the use of painted pottery suddenly dies out and the best forms of South Indian pottery, though carefully wheel-turned, cannot compare with the copper age products of the Indus valley and Baluchistan.

Another important advance made by the Copper Age people of the Indus valley was the discovery and manufacture of elaborate decorated textiles. The alabaster statue discovered in 1926 shows the use of an upper

covering of garment made of a beautifully designed *shawl* work. The closed trefoil was a favourite design as it is also to be found on costly mace heads of Talc or terracotta sweet-moulds. So far very few cotton or woolen fabrics have been discovered at Mohen-jo-daro or Harappa and we have to depend entirely on the statuary for our knowledge of Indian copper age textiles.

The advance in the lapidary's art was considerable and jewellery discovered in recent years shows that the people of the Indus valley were far in advance in civilization of the people called Aryans as described in the *Samhita* of the *Rigveda*. Some of the unfinished beads of Cornelian, Jasper and Agate show that their method of bead cutting from precious stones was the same as that of the Aurignacian people of the European continent.

"To begin with a cylindrical rod was prepared ; no doubt by cutting out a strip from a rein deer's horn or a mammoth's tusk with a burin and then rounding it with a spokeshave. The rod was then ringed all round at regular intervals with deep notches and the segments so produced were separated in pairs."

An exactly similar method was pursued by the lapidaries of Mohen-jo-daro, as is to be seen from one of the photographs published in the *Illustrated London News* for February 27,

1 W. J. Sollas-Ancient Hunters. pp. 366-7



Seals with picto-grams from Mohen-jo-daro

1926 by Sir John Marshall. At times fairly long beads of plain or banded agate or cornelian were made and strung together in the form of necklaces, a beautiful specimen of which was discovered in 1924-25.

On the whole the state of civilization and culture indicated by the finds of Mohen-jo-daro alone prove that from five thousand B.C. to two thousand B.C. the culture and civilization of Mesopotamia was in no way superior to that of India and Baluchistan. I have called this civilization Dravidian because the earliest examples of its peculiar burial customs were discovered in the Dravidian countries, but it is quite possible that the people who brought it from another land were quite different from the modern inhabitants of Dravida.

THE GIFT

SAROJINI NAIDU

What gift hath Fate more gracious or more tender,
What guerdon to transcend
In sweetness or in mystery and splendour
My gift to you, my Friend ?

Have I not poured my life in glad libation
Like pure, vermilion wine,
And swung the censers of my adoration
Sleepless before your shrine ?

And of my days made a mellifluous paean
To you, who dwell apart
In the untrod enchanted empyrean
Of my surrendered heart ?

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

PRACTICAL EDUCATION : By G. N. Gokhale, Principal N. E. Dinshaw Civil Engineering College, Karachi. Published by K. T. Shahani for the Educational Publishing Co., Laxmi Lodge, Garikhata, Karachi. Pp. 96.

There are 12 sections in the book under the following headings :—(i) What shall we do ? (ii) Education a preparation for life. (iii) Female Education. (iv) Scientific Education. (v) Practical Education. (vi) Manual Training. (vii) Liberal Education. (viii) and (ix) Technical Education. (x) Industrial Education. (xi) Religion in Education and (xii) The Teacher.

The subjects discussed are important. The book is worth reading.

PALESTINE : THE CHOSEN LAND : By Edward A. Annet. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp. 101 ; price 12 annas.

There have been given in this book descriptions of many places of historic importance viz—Galilee, Valley of Edraelon, lands of Samaria and Judah, Jerusalem and other places (with eight maps.)

THE ONLY PATH : By R. V. S. Manian. Published by "The Para Sakthi Ashram" Dundumilla, Periyapolaiyam P. O. Pp. 64. Price 8 annas.

Good and inspiring thoughts.

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE : By "Elma." Published by the Secretaries of the Santi Sangha Co Miss Lilian Edger, M.A., Palace Grounds, Darbhanga, Behar.

A brief sketch of the Pacific Movement. Worth reading

LITTLE ESSAYS IN THE PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF VEDANTA, OR VEDANTA FOR THE WEST : By Ganesprasad Gupta (Barber Lane, Husainganj, Lucknow) Pp. 40. Price six annas or six pence.

The title of the pamphlet is rather misleading. The principal subject of the discourse is not the Vedanta and the author's knowledge of the Vedanta is vague and imperfect.

THE INNER KINGDOM : By Eva Gore-Booth (with two portraits). Published by Longmans, Green and Co. Pp 102. Price 2s. 6d.

It contains an introduction and four chapters under the following headings :—

(i) Re-Incarnation and Transmutation in the

New Testament (ii) The Inner Kingdom, (iii) The Cry of the Dumb and (iv) Lazarus and Dives.

Devotional : edifying. But the author's interpretation in some places is forced and artificial.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIAN SCHOOLS : By Mrs. M. C. Ewart nee Chatterton, L. L. A. Published by P. R. Rama Iyar and Co., Madras. Pp. IV+280. Price Rs. 2-8.

There are two parts in the book, the first part deals with the "Theory of Education" and the second part with the "Practice of Education". Both the parts are well-written. The book will be of real value to students and teachers who have no college-training in Psychology.

A DISCOURSE ON VEERASAIVISM : By T. H. M. Sadasivayya, M. A. with a foreward by Mr. K. Subramanyam Pillai. Published by T. H. M. and Co., Harpanahally, Bellary. Pp. 58, Price not known.

This pamphlet gives in a short compass the essential doctrines of "Veera-saiva Faith." According to the author "Veera-Saivism" is a phase in the evolution of the Vedic Saivism." The philosophy of this religion has been expounded by Sri Nilakantha Sivacharya in his commentary on the Brahma-Sutras. It is the religion of the Lingayat Community of the Deccan. The author's exposition of Linga worship is very interesting. Linga is the Absolute Spirit ; and is not a phallic emblem as is popularly imagined. The religion is according to him, purely monotheistic. It does not recognise the caste system.

This discourse is very valuable and worth reading.

MAHESHCANDRA GHOSH

MURUGAN—THE TILLER : By K. S. Venkataramani. Svelaranya Ashrama, Brindaban Street, Mylapore, Madras, Price Rs. 2-8.

In "Murugan—the Tiller" Mr. Venkataramani describes his utopia, where every man is happy with his three acres and a house and a garden, and where ex-convicts, forgetting their criminal tendencies, lawyers, overcoming their itch for making money, and Government officials, not caring for promotions, live happily together. The story, though on the whole very powerful, drags heavily towards the end, where the author forgets his vocation as a novelist and dons the garb of a philosopher, talking sometimes like Tolstoy and at another time like Mahatma Gandhi. It is, thus, the intrusion of the moralist that

spoils an otherwise well-constructed novel. Nor is the hero very convincing. Rama Chandra is too good, too flawless and too perfect to be true. He seems to be a man who belongs to the world of goody-goody school-boy stories and not to the rough-and-tumble world which the author sets out to describe. Murugan, Kedari (there are two Kedaris; Kedari, the unrepentant lawyer of Madras and Kedari, the repentant, woe-begone dweller in the author's utopia. I prefer Kedari, the lawyer to Kedari the apostle of simple life.) and Thoppai are far more vital and individualised than the hero.

On the whole the story is interesting; and taking into account the fact that it is the author's first attempt, it is brilliant. The author has all the requisite qualities that go to make a successful novelist. He possesses an eye for telling incidents (Murugan's escape from the prison is done well), the capacity for manipulating a complex plot (Murugan—the Tiller could have furnished material for three novels), an ability to individualise characters, and a mastery over language which serves him equally well in dialogue (the scenes on the Alavanti River are unforgettable), description and reflection. With the help of these things he will go very far. In the meantime he will have to remember that it does not pay to be "preachy" and over-sentimental.

DIWAN CHAND SARMA

OUTLINE OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILISATION: *By Dr. Rameshchandra Majumdar, M. A. Ph D. PP. XII + 628. Price Rs. 7-8.*

By a curious irony of history, the most-used Manual of Indian history found in the hands of our students is written by an English writer Mr. Vincent Smith, who made no doubt useful compilation work but who, as was natural, could not forget that he belonged to "the imperial race." He betrays this rather *unhistorical* preoccupation by trying to emphasise the lesson on our students, as to the inevitable disintegration of India (as after the collapse of Harsha's empire) "when released from the control of a supreme authority and what she would be again, if the hands of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn."

Such an outrageous bit of political pamphleteering could get into this standard school and college handbook because of the intellectual and academic slavery of our universities. It is a sign of great hope that an accomplished and sober Indian scholar like Dr. Majumdar has come forward to write a manual of ancient Indian history and civilisation from the strictly historical point of view. He has managed to compress into this excellent handy volume precise information about the vast literature, the arts and cults (both orthodox and heterodox), the social systems and the politico-economic organisations of ancient India. In doing this he has not only indicated the claims of the Hindus as one of the foremost nations of antiquity, that could boast of a culture history, but he has at the same time, with commendable loyalty to Truth, pointed out the defects in our social structure and limitation of our historical outlook from age to age. The caste system and such other social iniquities that have ever stood in the way of a

consolidated national India have received from Dr. Majumdar, an unerring judgment which will, let us hope, make our students of history think seriously about the vital problems of our country. Another very laudable feature of this book is its fine balancing of historical materials which produced an organic picture of India as a whole, the much neglected South India and Dravidian contributions receiving as much attention as the North Indian episodes. The survey of Dr. Majumdar stops with 1200 A.D.; but a Mediaeval History of India on a similar plan should be attempted, and we hope that some Indian scholar, with experience of working in the Hindu as well as Muhammadan archives would bring out a volume soon. We congratulate Dr. Majumdar on supplying a long-felt need and recommend his book to all educational institutions of India. The historical and geographical notes together with suggestions for further study and an exhaustive index have gone to increase the usefulness of the book both to general readers as well as to regular students of our Universities. The history of ancient Indian commerce and colonisation in Greater India, receives the attention that was long overdue, enhancing the historical value of the book.

K. N.

MARATHI

DNYAN-SINDHU AND OTHER SHORT STORIES: *By Prof. V. S. Gogate, M.A., Publisher—D. G. Damle, 370 Shanwarpeth, Poona. Pages 68. Price as. 8.*

That form of fiction which goes under the name of 'Short Stories' is gaining favour nowadays with the Marathi-reading public, and the author has done well to introduce a new style of writing such stories. This innovation is not the author's own creation. He has acknowledged in the preface that he has followed in this respect the well-trodden path of Western writers like Mr. H. G. Wells. Strictly speaking the young Professor should have gone further in acknowledging the debt, since out of nine stories contained in this book, six are bodily taken from Wells's well-known book "Tales of Life and Adventure," and made a few alterations here and there to suit the requirements of Indian life, and still they are passed off as the author's own original creations. This is greatly to be regretted. The stories are well-written. The diction is specially deserving of praise.

THE MODERN POETS OF MALWA: *A compilation of select Marathi poetry of modern Marathi poets residing in Malwa. Publisher—The Marathi Sahitya Sabha of Indore. Pages 184. Price Rs. 1-8.*

Why the Sahitya Sabha of Indore has thought it proper to make and publish a collection of Marathi poetry on the territorial basis and thereby to introduce in the Marathi poets a separatist tendency, is beyond one's comprehension. Are not contributions of real merit by Malwa poets appreciated and honored by the press in the Maharashtra? Or has the Malwa poetry any special characteristic of its own which justifies its publication in a separate volume? In the absence of any such justification forthcoming from the Sabha, a hasty reader will probably run to the conclusion that

the *raison d'être* for such separatism is merely the desire of satisfying the craving of some third or fourth rate versifiers to see their metrical composition in print. But such a wild conclusion would not only be hasty but unjust to some at least of the poets in Malwa like Messrs. Tambe, Rahalkar, R. B. Khanwalkar and others. There are two Forewords to the volume!—one written by a distinguished poet (Mashir Bahadur N. S. Rahalkar) and another from the pen of the Secretary of the Sabha, Mr. N. K. Vaidya. Both are valuable in their own way. The Marathi-reading public will, it is hoped, cordially receive the volume, as coming from the pen of the Secretary of the Sabha, Mr. N. K. Vaidya. Both are valuable in their own way. The Marathi-reading public will, it is hoped, cordially receive the volume, as coming from the pen of the Secretary of the Sabha, Mr. N. K. Vaidya. Both are valuable in their own way. The Marathi-reading public will, it is hoped, cordially receive the volume, as coming from the pen of the Secretary of the Sabha, Mr. N. K. Vaidya.

TATWADNYANTIL KOOT PRASHNA OR THE RIDDLES OF PHILOSOPHY : By D. N. Apte, B.A., LL.B. Pages 153. Price Re one.

This book is 112th of the 'Shree Sayaji Sahitya-mala' series published under the patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda. It is stated by the Director, Education Department that it is a translation of an English book named 'Problems of Philosophy.' If so, it reflects great credit on the translator. For Mr. Apte has not only clearly given the outlines of Western philosophy, but has, in some places, also shown the resemblance of the Western to the Indian thought. The language is simple and can be easily understood by men, not previously acquainted with philosophical terminology.

V. G. APTE

GUJRATI

VIJNAN VINOD : By Popatlal G. Shah, M. A., B. Sc., printed at the Gandhiva Press, Surat and the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, Cloth bound Pp. 173+15. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1926).

This is a collection of writings contributed at various times to periodical publications by the author. Literature bearing on scientific subjects is very meagre in Gujarati and Mr. Shah has made it the object of his tip to try to remove that blame as much as in him lies. Though engaged as a high officer in the Imperial Audit and Accounts Service and immersed up to his shoulders, in figure-work, he still finds time to write on the subject dear to his heart and the result is a very valuable contribution in the language on the subject. He has treated such subjects as Water, Dust, Diamond, &c., in the most popular way, possible and even ordinary readers are sure to follow them easily, and if that is done, the writer's object is gained.

KAVYA VILAS : By Bhaishankar Kuberji Shukla, printed at the Oza Printing Press, Rajkot, cloth bound. Pp. 136+22. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1926).

This is a collection of long and short poems written by one who is serving the Railways of Kathiawad as a station master. For such a person, the outturn is certainly creditable. The verses about the interview of Nachiketa and Yama, for instance, are undoubtedly of a superior order.

SHAH JAHAN : By Jhaverchand Meghani, printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Rajpur, Thick card board. Pp. 172. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1926).

Dwijendra Lal Roy's play on this subject is well-known in Bengali. This is a translation thereof, remarkable in more ways than one. For instance, the introduction on Shah Jahan's *Shahjahan Shirisuti* is a fine piece of writing. The style of the whole work is simple and popular.

KUNJ-KOKIL : Written and published by students of the Rashtriya Shala Bombay, printed at the K. N. Sailor Press, Bombay. Paper cover, with illustrations. Pp. 168. Price Re. 0-14-0 (1926).

The students of the National school under the guidance of sympathetic teachers have published this collection of their contributions to their school magazine. Considering the variety of the subjects and the ability of the contributors the work they have done is certainly precious in proportion to their age and equipment. The articles are very readable and the pictures good.

SHASHI KALA AND CHOWR PANCHASHIKA : By Nagardas J. Patel printed at the Surja Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Illustrated. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1926).

This remarkable poem of fifty stanzas by Bilhan in Sanskrit has attracted many persons born in India and outside, to translate it. Sir Edwin Arnold has translated it into delightful English verse, which is given by way of parallel passages to Sanskrit and Gujarati *Shlokas* by Mr. Patel and thus enhanced the value of his own work. The introduction is exhaustive and the translation scholarly.

K. M. J.

COSMAN, LINGUE UNIVERSAL : By L. Beer, Karbitz, Czechoslovakia.

This is a small pamphlet of about 24 pages describing a new "universal language." It claims to be a sort of "new Esperanto" taking its stand upon the lessons learnt by "the catastrophe" of Esperanto and Volapuk. The dream of "universal language" has been long before the world and to my mind of all such attempts "Esperanto" (and its offspring Ido) represent the attempts nearest perfection. Having dabbled in various types of universal languages I have found Esperanto the best on the whole, inasmuch as it is the most pliable and most practicable. It takes a man of average intelligence about half an hour to master Esperanto grammar, and the rest is a matter of practice. Ido introduces certain new principles and is in certain respects an improvement upon Esperanto. But Ido introduced a schism in the ranks of Esperanto and consequently jeopardised the Esperanto movement which was going strong at that time. This schism, however, showed clearly the fundamental weakness of all artificial "universal languages". Since then there have been several new "universal languages" invented and Cosman seems to be the latest attempt. I think it introduces new complexities and consequently it defeats its own purpose. Esperanto is based upon the fundamental rules of Indo-European grammars. Cosman is more ambitious and tries to incorporate Chinese and Japanese and other languages also. The result, to my mind, is a complexity which defeats the very purpose for which the language

was invented. Simplicity is sacrificed to a desire for appeal to a wider circle. Personally I think that this attempt is not to be compared with either Esperanto or Ido from a practical point of view.

I. J. S. T.

WAKE UP INDIA !

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

(Hon Secretary of the British Committee on Indian Affairs).

IN view of the possible early appointment of a Statutory Commission to review the working of the Indian Constitution and to consider whether a further step should be taken in the direction of self-government or whether the measure of self-government, if such it might be called, already given to India should be restricted, articles are now constantly appearing in the English Press, but all practically from the British die-hard point of view. No contributions or replies sent by those of us who look at Indian self-government from a different angle of vision from that of these die-hards are allowed to see the light in the trust-owned Press of this country. Our Indian friends should realise that practically the whole of our Press is controlled by two or three such Trusts, which exist solely for the purpose of manufacturing and exploiting public opinion.

Lord Sydenham, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and others of their persuasion, are sure of a ready welcome in London newspapers and reviews because of their advocacy of the truly Conservative point of view, that we must conserve and hold all we have. Sir Reginald Craddock, the late governor of Burma, has now joined that happy band and has received a cordial welcome in the Press controlled by Lord Rothermere and his Trust. After Sir Reginald's 40 years in the I. C. S. in the Viceroy's council, and as Governor of Burma, he is held up to the British Public as a man who can really tell us the position of things in India and, from his knowledge, advise the British Public of the dangers of granting any further steps in self-government.

Some of us over here are doing all we can, in season and out of season, to educate Members of Parliament and the British Public with regard to Indian affairs and the trend of public opinion in India. But unfortunately

we get little or no assistance from Indians in India. The field is, in consequence, left fairly clear for the die-hard, sun-dried, returned bureaucrats.

Sir Reginald Craddock tells us that "impatient politicians" in India are demanding immediate dominion Home Rule. In such contemptuous fashion—in England we call a man a politician when we mean to say he is not a statesman—does he dismiss all Indian Nationalists. Yet a man of Sir Reginald's experience, who has spent long years in India, must be aware that *every* Party in India is a Home Rule Party. Why, then, does he deliberately try to mislead the British Public, who derive the vast majority of their knowledge of India from articles which appear in the Press purporting to be written by men with authority, into thinking that an Indian Nationalist is no better than an irresponsible agitator? But this is not all. So far from acknowledging that the small measure of self-government already granted to India is the first step in the fulfilment of a solemn obligation, he insists that there are many Conservative Indians who would scrap the Reforms and return to the *status quo*—"benevolent, bureaucratic government under the general supervision of the British Parliament." This latter system, he goes on, satisfied every class except one, and every aspiration except one (the fundamental, moral aspiration to be independent) and was, in his opinion, the form of government most conducive to the happiness and contentment of an overwhelming majority of the Indian people. Even if that were true, isn't emancipation too high a price to pay for "happiness and contentment"? How we lose sight of our principles when we try to rule over another people!

Sir Reginald next goes on to say that we

ourselves, having by our educational policy called into existence a class of Indian intellectuals, cannot complain if we find that the intelligentsia thus created are dissatisfied with British control and anxious to do the governing themselves. This is interesting : we now learn that the "impatient politicians" are the intelligentsia ! He admits that this aspiration is natural, but he goes on to add that that does not make it practicable now, "nor indeed in any near future." But why not ? He seems to imply that the intelligentsia are a mushroom growth, a handful of agitators misled by western theories of freedom. Indeed, one would imagine from Sir Reginald's articles that there was no education in India before the British Raj. I wonder if Sir Reginald Craddock has ever read the evidence of Sir Thomas Munro given before a Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1813 (114 years ago), in which he said, from his experience in India :

"If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, *schools established in every village for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic*, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe."

And he added that

"If civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo."

Sir Reginald tells us that, above all the warring races and jarring creeds of India, the consolidating influence of the Pax Britannica and the English language were superimposed. These English-speaking Indians, he goes on to point out, number less than one per cent of the population. He adds further that, out of these, the fraction that has any grasp of or sympathy with the principles of democracy is infinitesimal. (One has not noticed, specially in the past, that the Craddocks, O'Dwyers and Sydenhams are outstanding examples as apostles of democracy.) And then he points out that few people in England realise that the section to whom the British Government has been committing part of its authority is not one which would command the obedience of this huge population of India, were British control to be withdrawn. British control,

in his view, has decreed that the Indian pen shall start governing the Indian sword, and he gives it as his opinion that, if we depart, that sword will reassert itself and the pen will revert to its own groove. He warns the British electors that the more we surrender, the more intense will be the quarrels amongst Indians over the spoils.

It is rather interesting to find that Sir Reginald Craddock agrees with so many other die-hards in describing Dyarchy as a "hybrid system" that cannot continue. His remedy would be a single Cabinet presided over by a Governor with its personnel half British and half Indian. The object to be aimed at, he thinks, is not responsible Government but a representative form of Government in which, as under the Morley-Minto Reforms, the members represent "not numbers but classes of interests." In other words, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru points out, what Sir Reginald Craddock advises is an irresponsible Executive, partly British and partly Indian, and a powerless Legislature no better than a debating society. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru goes on to point out that Sir Reginald's views and sentiments, as expressed in his articles, are entirely contrary to his admission that the "goal before India of becoming a self-governing dominion of the Empire cannot be abandoned."

It is not surprising that, to counterbalance the views of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rothermere Press broadcasts at the same time the views of such friends of India as Lord Sydenham, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Frank Popham Young, formerly Commissioner of the Rawal-Pindi Division.

Sir Frank Young endorses Sir Reginald Craddock's opinion that the endurance of the "British cement" will be welcome to the vast majority of the Indian people. Lord Sydenham "agrees absolutely" with the views of Sir Reginald Craddock, but dissents from the view that the Indian Legislative Assembly can be described as a "dignified" body. He also is a strong believer in the "British cement" idea and its endurance, he thinks, is not only welcome to the vast majority of Indians in British India but also to the Princes and Chiefs whose rights and powers enjoyed under the British Crown are now menaced by "partly denationalised Indian politicians" !

Sir Michael O'Dwyer expresses his view that it was quite quixotic to expect that

Indian politicians (representing, he points out, only three million actual voters) would use their powers and responsibilities impartially for the benefit of *all* our Indian fellow-subjects. It is curious how these relics of past generations, who are living in a pre-war state of mind, seem to have no grasp of the state of things at home, so long as there is a sufficiently reactionary Government with which they are generally in agreement. Do they ever realise that Great Britain and the Empire are at present being governed absolutely by about 400 Conservative Members of Parliament, elected by about 7 millions out of 16 million electors who voted at the General Election—and that out of a total population of some 50 million persons in the United Kingdom. No persons outside the ranks of the Conservative Party would be inclined to say that Mr. Baldwin and his Government are using their powers and responsibilities impartially for the benefit of *all* our fellow subjects in Great Britain—and very many thousands of those who voted for them at the last General Election are so convinced of this that they have already indicated that they intend to vote against the Conservative Party at the next General Election.

It hardly lies in the mouth of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or anyone else, to single out Indian politicians for not exercising their powers and responsibilities impartially for the benefit of *all* their fellow subjects. The truth is that Indian politicians, like British politicians, are human rather than perfect, but for anyone

who cares quite impartially to study the matter the failings of British politicians are quite as apparent as those of Indian politicians. In spite of Lord Sydenham's expressed opinion, I am prepared to say that the Indian Legislative Assembly is, as a rule, a very much more dignified body than is our House of Commons, and I have visited them both on many occasions and can speak from personal experience.

Indians themselves are very greatly responsible for the lack of knowledge of Indian matters in this country. Many of them believe, of course, that propaganda in this country is of no account. But, in the end, Swaraj can only come about through a Bill passed through the British Houses of Parliament. Is it not worth while, then, for Indians to endeavour to back up and assist those of us who are giving our time, such ability as we have, and our substance, to further the cause of freedom for India, by lectures, articles in the Press, pamphlets and questions in Parliament, rather than criticise the British people for not knowing more about India? The time is ripe for intensive propaganda in Great Britain on behalf of Indian self-government and the matter is urgent. But I find great difficulty in persuading English people to help, financially or otherwise, in this work—as they, quite truly, point out that Indians themselves take little or no interest in it. It is a matter on which Indians might well ponder and, having pondered, *act*. Never was it more necessary to sound the tocsin "WAKE UP INDIA!"

THE SCHOOL OF WISDOM IN DARMSTADT

Its Meaning and its Significance in the Cultural Life of the Present-Day.

By COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING *

JUST as the idiosyncrasy of every living thing and of every work of art consists in the fact that elements identical *per se* are given a special and unique form, so do the various epochs of culture differ,

* Count Keyserling is the world-famous philosopher who intends to visit the United States next year and disseminate there his ideas, of which the present essay is a brief summary.

not in their content, but in the special adjustment of their fundamental and unchanging mental elements; for the qualitative distinction appearing from case to case, in these elements depends just upon the special meaning which animates the facts; in all spheres of life, it is the meaning that creates the actualities, not *vice versa*.

Thus, the significance of the Christianizing

of the western world lay, far less in the fact that a new faith had become prevalent, than in the fact that a new fundamental psychological attitude replaced that of the ancients. Whereas the ancients were self-contained, the Christians felt themselves rationally satisfied only when devoted to a higher being which existed outside themselves. Whereas the ancients appear, before all things, to be determined by the intellect, with the Christians the emphasis was placed upon the soul. Conformably herewith, a new hierarchy of values assumed control.

In the Renaissance and Reformation periods, nay at bottom even among the great thinkers of the late Gothic age, a new metamorphosis began in the psychical



Count Hermann Kesslering

organism of the western world. The accent of significance gravitated from the soul back to the intellect; a new masculine phase of history dawned in Europe. But as the transition was a gradual one, only few people were aware of the meaning of the change. There occurred, at the turn of this century, something similar; it was as though slowly

heating water had reached the last degree before boiling-point and was about to change its form and become steam. All at once, the previous condition appeared out of date. Hence, the destructive forces of the soul became dominant. The results, visible far and wide, were the Great War and the world revolution—not conjured up by maladroit statesmen, and not, in themselves, unaverted events, but happenings of cosmic, fatal significance.

Since those events, people have been trying to get the world into order again by approaching the task from outside. This cannot be done, because the outward chaos is merely a phenomenon produced by a crisis in the mind of humanity. As I have shown in my works "Schöpferische Erkenntnis" and "Die neuentstehende Welt", the crux of the problem lies in the fact that the accent of significance has passed from the untransferable to the transferable in the soul of man, so that all solutions hitherto valid have physiologically lost their validity. Hence, a readjustment of all questions, all problems and all solutions has become requisite. If the present chaos is to blossom into a new civilization, this readjustment must be principally just as radical as that which took place when the Christian era superseded the antique. Nothing but such a readjustment can save humanity from continually lacerating itself.

We now come to a definition of the purpose of the "School of Wisdom." Here we are concerned, only in the very last place, with the tiny, actually existing intellectual centre at Darmstadt. It is in the first degree, a question of the symbol and the radiator of just this new adjustment, of an adjustment which, expressed in the terminology of the Christian myth, is adapted to the age of the Holy Ghost in contradistinction to the Son. The School of Wisdom does not teach, or aim at teaching, anything new in content scientifically understood; it does something incomparatively more important, inasmuch as it gives to the problems of life a new form adapted to the present age. As regards the fundamental problems, it does so by means of the great congresses at Darmstadt. It does so on a small scale in every publication, in every lecture, nay, in every studental conversation. And, that it really does thereby provide something of which humanity is in need, seems to me to be proved by the fact

that it imparts its impulse everywhere in equal measure and with equal force.

In Spain, in France, and Italy, and, more recently, in Hungary, Rumania and Turkey, its doctrine found quite as full recognition as ever it has done in Germany. And so, I hope, it will be in the United States, where I expect to stay from January to May in

1928. A readjustment of life is, in critical times, the one thing needful everywhere; for readjustment means re-juvenation and, hence, new possibilities of life. Consequently, I have entitled my recently published third main work "Wiedergeburt" (Rebirth): From time to time, humanity must be reborn of the spirit, that it may continue to live.

PROF. HEINRICH LUDERS OF THE BERLIN UNIVERSITY

By DURGAPRASANNA RAYCHAUDHURI

PROF Dr. Heinrich Luders has been appointed a Reader by the University of Calcutta and invited to deliver a course of lectures on ancient Indian history and culture. He is expected here by the end of November and will stay in Calcutta for about six weeks. It may therefore interest some of the readers of the *Modern Review* to know just a little about this great scholar who will soon be with us.

Prof. Luders, probably the most distinguished German Sanskritist of our day, was born in the German town of Lubeck on the Baltic Sea on the 25th of June, 1869. He went to the Grammar School of his native town and afterwards studied at the Universities of Goettingen and Munich. At Goettingen he was a pupil of Keilhorn. In the year 1894, he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and from 1895 to 1898 he was the "Keeper" and Librarian of the Indian Institute at Oxford. In 1898 he became a Privat-dozent at Goettingen, that is to say, acquired the right of giving academic lectures as an unsalaried professor. In 1903 he was appointed *Professor adjunt* of Sanskrit and comparative philology of Indo-Germanic languages to the University of Rostock, where he became *full* Professor two years later (1905). In 1908 he was transferred to the University of Kiel and the very next year he was called to Berlin as the successor of Richard Pischel, who had died in Madras in Christmas week, 1908, during his Indian tour.

Prof Luders is a Member and the Permanent Secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin (Preussische Academic der Wissenschaften), and Corres-

ponding Member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Goettingen. His first important research-work was the prize-essay, entitled the Vyasa-Siksha, specially with reference to its bearing upon Taittiriya-Pratisakhya, which was accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Goettingen in 1895. Then appeared in 1901 Ueber die Grantharezeension des Mahabharata; 1907 das Wuerfelspiel im alten Indien (i.e., the game at dice in ancient India); in 1911 Fragments of Buddhist Dramas (Turfan finds); and in 1926 Fragments of the Kalpanamanditika of Kumaralala (Turfan finds). Prof. Luders is Co-editor of the Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. Very important also are his epigraphical publications, which are to be found partly in the fourth and the succeeding volumes of the Epigraphia Indica and partly in the reports of the proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. During the years 1913-14 Prof. Luders examined the Asoka-edicts with great minuteness and penetration and obtained very useful results. He has also made important contributions to the study of ancient Indian literature. The reports of the proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences also contain two articles by Prof. Luders on the Chhandogya Upanisad. And we expect that his great work on Varuna, treating of the Vedic mythology will come out shortly.

In 1898-99 he translated Max Muller's "Contributions to the Science of Mythology" from English into German.

Prof. Luders is a past master in the interpretation of difficult Sanskrit texts. Scholars have recognised even before him

that the language of the important Buddhist writings was originally neither Pali nor Sanskrit but a certain Magadhi dialect. But Prof. Luders was probably the first to make a practical application of this theory by employing Magadhi forms in order to clear the texts of many a difficult passage in Buddhist writings of old.

Prof. Luders is also mainly responsible for the deciphering and utilization of the famous Turfan finds as regards their bearing upon Indology.

His wife, Dr. Else Luders, executes herself the difficult task of putting together the fragments—often very small—of the Brahmi MSS. discovered in Central Asia. In 1921, she published in collaboration with her husband

a translation of Buddhist *Fairy Tales* of ancient India. In it the translation of the Pali prose-texts was done by Mrs. Luders, while the Gathas and the annotations were rendered by her husband. In 1921, the University of Rostock conferred on Mrs. Luders the honorary degree of Doctor (Dr. h. c., i. e., honoris causa) in recognition of her services to the cause of literature.

The writer of these lines had the privilege of sitting at the feet of Prof. Luders for a couple of terms at the University of Berlin. He had also the honour of partaking of his genial hospitality on more than one occasion in his home. And it is a fact that Indian students in Berlin always find in Prof. Luders a sure guide, philosopher and friend.

THE LEGALITY OF COMMUNAL DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICES

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

"Britain's Solemn Pledges"

SANCTIMONIOUS unscrupulousness is the dominant feature of imperialist psychology. Whether it has always been so, is not definitely known to us; but we have a suspicion that it has been there since the first emperor committed his first crime in the name of religion and civilisation. That being so, it is no doubt futile to demonstrate the insincerity, hypocrisy or inconsistency of imperialistic declarations. Yet we cannot say that it is entirely futile to show up lies; for are not there men ever ready to accept things at their face value? Is it not, therefore, our duty to repeat ourselves over and over again in order to disillusion the last of the credulous victims of imperialism?

No one knows it better than ourselves that British declarations and promises are mostly hollow insincerities, put in just to gain breathing time, when adverse circumstances press heavily on Britishers—empty words flung about to divert the attention of people, while they refresh their weary muscles prior to continuing their work of exploitation anew. Knowing this as we do, it is necessary that we repeatedly told ourselves how far we could trust the

British so that we might not be taken in too often. If we cannot force them to be sincere in their words and dealings by our denunciations, we can at least thereby undermine to some extent their ability to do further mischief with the help of sweet words.

As in other fields, so also in the field of communal distribution of public services, the British rulers of India have shown a phenomenal lack of consistency and honest adherence to their own solemn pledges. It was the late Dadabhai Naoroji who first put "Britain's Solemn Pledges" within inverted commas in the Introduction to his memorable book, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. He did so in a different connection altogether, but we can here use his selections to explain and support our contention, which is that *in distributing public services on a communal basis the Government of India are violating the Act of Parliament of 1833 (India) the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, Lord Lytton's declaration of Jan. 1.1877, and various other Proclamations and Pledges*. Let us quote here the lines selected by the Grand Old Man from "Britain's Solemn Pledges" and consider how far they justify or condemn the present policy of the Government.

Act of Parliament, 1833 (India):—

"That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

(The Company's duties were transferred to the Crown in 1858).

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 :—

"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be *freely* and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their *education, ability, and integrity*, duly to discharge."

"When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored it is our earnest desire to stimulate and to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

Lord Lytton (the Viceroy), on the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of Empress, 1st January 1877, at the Delhi Assemblage :—

"But you, the Natives of India, *whatever your race and whatever your creed* have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, *according to your capacity for the task*, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as *binding on its honour* and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

Lord Lytton (the Viceroy), as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, March, 1877 :—

"The Proclamation of the Queen contains Solemn Pledges, spontaneously given, and founded upon the highest justice."

Jubilee of 1887. The Queen Empress, in reply to the Jubilee Address of Congratulation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation :—

"Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct Government of India as a *charter of the liberties* of the princes and peoples of India. It has always been and will continue to be my earnest desire that the *principles of that Proclamation* should be *unswervingly maintained*."

We have italicised those words and passages

in the above quotations to which we want to draw the special attention of the reader. From the above we find that to the Government of India race, religion, caste, creed, place of birth or descent should have no importance at all in the selection of public servants and in the distribution of administrative power. Regarding the latter it may be pointed out here that the spirit in which allocation of franchise has been effected under the Government of India Act of 1919, is entirely opposed to the above-quoted "Solemn Pledges." It is capacity, education, integrity and such like individual and real qualifications that should have given a man his vote in India; not his religious faith or racial ancestry, as we find it actually in the present system. However, criticism of the Government of India Act of 1919 is not the aim of the present article, and we shall leave it at that.

That the present policy of the Government of India regarding appointments is communalistic is undoubtedly true. Lest any think that the Government is adopting the communal principle merely as a temporary measure, and not as their declared policy, let us point out that *it is the declared policy of the Government of India to distribute the All-India and other services on communal basis*. Let us study the following document for a while :—

Copy of Home Department Office Memorandum No. F-176/25-Ests., dated the 5th February 1926, to the Financial Adviser, Military Finance.

Subject :—Measures to be adopted for securing the appointment of members of minority communities in the Government of India Secretariat offices (Clerical Establishment).

The undersigned is directed to invite a reference to the Home Department Office Memorandum No. F-176/25-Ests., dated the 15th July 1925, on the subject noted above.

2. The policy of the Government of India is to prevent the preponderance of any one class or community, and they have now decided that the method laid down for the purpose of attaining this end in the case of the All-India services, namely, the reservation of one-third of all permanent vacancies for the redress of communal inequalities should be adopted generally in recruiting the clerical establishments in the Government of India Secretariat and the offices subordinate thereto. This procedure should be adopted in all future recruitment.

3. In order to give the instructions practical effect it will be necessary for each Department or office to examine the communal composition of its clerical staff from time to time with a view to ascertaining whether any community requires to be more adequately represented. Further, the head of each office should specifically consider in the case of every third vacancy which occurs whether

or not such vacancy should, having regard to the communal composition of the clerical staff of the office, go to a member of a minority community. If the decision is in the affirmative, candidate of such a community, if available and adequately qualified, should be appointed to the vacancy, the claims of the various minority communities available for service being borne in mind. If the decision is in the negative, the vacancy should go to the candidate with the best claim to it, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, and not necessarily to a member of the non-minority community. Such recruitment should of course be made through the prescribed channel where such has been laid down.

4. These orders refer to fresh recruitment only and not to Departmental promotions, which will continue to be regulated by merit.

5. It is requested that a copy of these orders may be communicated to attached and subordinate offices for information and guidance.

We have authoritative information from the Home Department, Government of India, that *some what similar instructions have been issued in regard to the All-India and Central Services generally.*

Let us next consider the following extract from the Legislative Assembly Minutes :—

No. 244.

Legislative Assembly. L. D. R. No. 2040.

Answered on the 24th August, 1927.

(Reply by the Hon'ble Mr. J. Crerar to Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim's question regarding the orders for appointment of members of minority communities in the Services.)

General instructions on the subject have been issued by the Home Department. The principles laid down are applicable to the Government of India as a whole, and Departments do not ordinarily issue independent orders on the subject, but confine themselves to bringing the general orders, where necessary, to the notice of subordinate authorities. I know of no case in which the orders have proved ineffectual.

Now the above clearly show that the Government of India do not now-a-days appoint people solely according to individual merit, but they are influenced largely by consideration of a man's religion or (in the case of Anglo-Indians) birth. This is no place to discuss the question whether or not this policy has been dictated by a desire to bring disruption into the growing nationalism of a united India, which is a menace to the British autocrats of India; we shall here judge only whether the British have any legal right to do what they are doing.

To our knowledge, the British rulers of India have never abrogated the Act and the Proclamation of 1833 and 1858. We believe they still form the basis of the British

Indian state system. How then can we accommodate the present policy of the Government with these solemn pledges?

The Government's existing policy is that of all public services, some should be reserved for one community, some for another and so on; so that if after the quota assigned to one community has been filled up a highly qualified member of that community applies for a job, he will not get it and it will go to a less qualified man of some other community whose claim on services still remains unexhausted. What, may we ask, disables the more qualified man and deprives him of his job? *Evidently his religion or descent.* Does this not go against the Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation? We believe it does.

The minority communities, who support the communal policy of the Government, do so, not on account of their minority in numbers, but because they are minors in education, ability, and general training. They look for a temporary advantage through political agitation (which is welcome to the British authorities), whereas the proper thing for them to do should have been organised effort at removing their own individual deficiencies. Just as a member of a minority community cannot become a good writer, an able scientist or a powerful athlete by pleading his religion or birth, similarly also he can not become an able officer in any department of Government through his profound faith in the Vedas, the Koran or the Bible; or through his having Portuguese, French, Dutch, English or Bedouin blood in his veins. This communal criterion of excellence is one of the worst examples of the atavistic plunge back that "statesmanship" occasionally forces "statesmen" to indulge in in the hope of achieving some selfish purpose. In the present instance the Government of India are supplying a bone of contention, in the shape of this *non-religious* communalism, in order to substitute a religious bone of contention, which was fast disappearing towards the beginning of the century under the pressure of a rapidly-growing nationalism in India. The result is that, at least temporarily, the one bone is creating a lot of trouble and the other is also recovering its solidity. But we are again digressing.

Our object in writing this article is to show that *the communal principle in the distribution of jobs as adopted by the Government of*

India IS ILLEGAL and efforts should be made to fight it legally and constitutionally. Whether or not the British are using this principle as a fruitful means of providing the people of India with too much occupation to find time to agitate against the British, the point is that they have no legal right to do so. If they desire communal disunity in India they must be more clever to gain

their objective. They must not thus openly go against India's "constitution" and "Charter of Liberties," the "Solemn Pledges" of their own ancestors. Will not some one, some one preferably who has lost a job or failed to get one inspite of possessing superior qualifications, sue the Secretary of State as a Test Case?

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Proficiency of Bengali Moslem Students in Mathematics

In your last issue, p. 491, you wrote: "Miss Fazilat-un-nessa, a Mahomedan woman student, obtained a first-class first in M. A. in mathematics. Miss Fazilat-un-nessa's achievement is a record for Bengali Muslim students as well as for Bengali women students of all sects."

This is not correct. Mr. Abdus Sobhan Mahmud, B. C. S., stood first in the first class in mixed mathematics in the M. Sc. examination, and Mr. Mujibar Rahman, I. C. S., stood first in the first class in pure mathematics in the M. A. examination.

A READER.

Recent Hindi Literature

In the October issue of the *Modern Review* Mr. L. N. Misra has endeavoured to refute all the statements of my article entitled the *Recent Hindi Literature* (published in the August issue of the Review).

My article was not a "piece of critique" as Mr. Misra thinks it to be. It was a mere informative article. It was written simply to inform the public outside the Hindi-speaking world about the miserable condition of our recent literature. I do not say that the Hindi-reading public "constitutes a nation of its own," but I do say that the spirit of provincialism (the twin brother of "nationalism" as I have ventured to call it) reigns supreme over the minds of some of our editors and literary critics. Only the other day the editor of one of the most popular Hindi weeklies and Mr. Ram Nath Lal, whom Mr. Misra has admired as one of

the greatest poets of the "New Era", expressed their feelings of suppressed indignation by asserting that the aged editor of the *Prabashi* and the *Modern Review* published my article simply because he was very narrow-minded, greatly prejudiced against the cause of the *lingua franca* of India, and unreasonably jealous of the progress our literature was making by fitstand starts. If this outburst is not the product of the venomous spirit of provincialism, what is it?

In the course of my criticism upon *Premashram* I have written, "this very work of fiction has made our men of letters realise for the first time the greatness of our literature". Mr. Misra finds fault with this statement of mine. What about Tulsi and Kabir? asks our venerable friend. One might have thought that he had sufficient brain to grasp from the very title of my article the fact that I was sneaking of the recent Hindi literature. Tulsi and Kabir require no Mr. Misra or anybody else to shed light upon their self-luminous and "radio-active" glory.

One wonders if Mr. Misra is defending Mr. Premchand or merely corroborating my views in regard to his "art." In one place he says that the true Art is quite independent of a y problem whatsoever (which is the mere echo of my view expressed indirectly in my article), while immediately in the next paragraph he asserts that the solution of social and political problems is the ultimate end which the great artists have in view. One is at an utter loss to decide what to say about these contradictory arguments. I leave this decision for the reading public. One remark, however, I cannot but explode. I never wrote in my article that "a writer in the habit of touching upon the social and political problems eventually comes down from the rank of a superb artist." What I

really said or meant to say was that the *solution* of these problems is not the *ultimate end* which a true artist has in view, and if a artist wants to solve any problem at all it is not the ephemeral problem of political and social triflings but the eternal problem of humanity, of the sufferings of an individual (or personal, whatever you may like to call it) human soul. Art deals with the *reality* of the *personal* life and not with the impersonal theories of politics, sociology and science. Great poets have, no doubt, brought problems for their works from political and social spheres. But they have brought them simply to give wider scope to their plots so that they might be able to express the sufferings of an individual human soul more beautifully and more clearly. They have always tried to show how the suffering human soul, while conforming to every political and social conventionality, has been striving to blend the rhythm of its every vibration with the harmonious music of the great Eternity. On the contrary, in Mr. Premchand's novels the political and social problems are all-in-all. Take away these problems from them and the whole theory, which the writer has tried to establish, falls to the ground, and the whole plot collapses like a house of cards. As if these problems constituted the basic factor in the evolution of the emotional energies of man. Thus Mr. Premchand's notion of Art is diametrically opposed to that of the great artists of the world.

Mr. Misra's statement that Tolstoi failed in literature and succeeded in politics is so radically false, preposterous and ridiculous that I dare not speak anything in this connection. Perhaps our respected friend is not aware of the fact that in the West Tolstoi, the preacher, has faded into insignificance before the dazzling glory of Tolstoi, the true and great artist. As regards the misrepresentation of Gorki and Tagore, Mr. Misra unsuccessfully pretends not to be aware of any such writers in the Hindi world as have tried to present the art of these two master writers in a distorted form. Perhaps he will be so honourable as not to deny that he is aware of the literary criticisms of Mr. Raghupati Sahai and Mr. Janardan Jha. Both of these famous critics have asserted that Tagore and Gorki have preached politics behind the veil of their art. And this very Mr. Raghupati Sahai it was who, after comparing Premashram to a great many greatest classics of the world, affirmed that this masterpiece of fiction was one of the brightest gems in the "vast sea of the literature of the world."

As to the information of Mr. Misra about the advent of a new era in the Hindi literature I am sincerely grateful to him. But all the same, it is evident that he corroborated my statement respecting that "art" of Mr. Maithili Saran Gupta and Mr. Ayodhya Sing Upadhyaya, the respective authors of *Bharat Bharati* and *Priyapravasa*. In my opinion these two "poets" are still leading our literary public and I see distinct marks of the footprints of Messrs. Gupta, Upadhyaya and Premchand in the writings of a great many of our young writers. However, I do not deny the talents of Mr. Pant and Mr. Prasad. But I am perfectly convinced that the "new movement" has not proved a successful one as yet. For we see that so many of the advocates of this new movement have been trying hard to oppose one another. Why is it that each of our Premchands, Tripathis

and "Sumanas" have been striving with unflagging vigour and straining every nerve to gain superiority over any other writer? Why are these master novelists and master-poets engaged in furious but at the same time ridiculous literary cock-fights? If this state of things is not "disorder and chaos" what in reality is it?

ILA CHANDRA JOSHI

Indians in Burma

In the October issue 'an Indian in Burma' has drawn the attention of Indian leaders and publicists to the problem of Indians in Burma and has earned the gratitude of the Indian community in Burma. But it appears that the writer is one of those superficial critics who care little to take stock of actualities and whose carefully collected data are used to bolster up dead programmes while trying to give an idea of the Indian position and suggesting remedies for the community. He has gone out of his way to throw mud at the Congress workers of Burma among whom one can easily recount some of the most redoubtable champions of the Indian cause. He takes exception to their desire to form an Indo-Burmese *entente* and even goes to the extent of questioning the *honesty* of Congress leaders. He says that "the separatist tendency is growing apace among the intelligentsia, certainly meaning the English-educated Burmans, and I am in full agreement with him, having had enough opportunities of mixing with them in the University and outside. But the "intelligentsia" is a very small percentage of the population and their quarrel is with the "6 per cent. Indians following trade and the professions;" it is a question of loaves and fishes of office and is similar to the cry of communal representation in the services made by the Mohamedans in India. Moreover, the General Council of the Burmese Association, the Burmese Congress, which claims the allegiance of a greater percentage of the Burmese population than the I. N. Congress does of the Indian people, is anti-separatist till the Burmans get Home-rule, fighting along with their Indian comrades. They might ask for separation then; in fact, they shall have to, in order to form a state. But that is no ground for saying that (1) the Burman is head over heels in malice and hatred to the *Kala* and (2) the Indians shall have to take a fighting attitude towards the Burmans; in fact, the latter is an impossibility, considering the vast amount of investment by Indians in Burma involved.

Burma and South Africa present dissimilar problems in many respects. The Burman and Indian bear close affinities of culture and tradition and it is because the Indian coming in the track of British conquerors have taken the position of exploiters and put on superior airs, in fact, the very things which we detest among the European trades people in general in India, that he offers grounds for ill-feeling amongst the Burmans. The Indians have done much in building up New Burma but to say, as many Indians who want to fight the Burmans say, that this had been done with a clearcut end of service to Burma in view and not in course of the exigencies of commerce is only repeating what Europeans often say to

us in India. That is not the politic attitude. What is required is, as your contributor has suggested, to organise and unite the Indian population in Burma, and also to stretch out the hand of fellowship to Burmans and say that we are trying to become good sons of the soil, not to take the role of benevolent exploiters and talk of the Buddha and the consequent *guru*-ship over Burma any more, but to become good citizens of Burma and not "birds of passage." The Burman, excluding the "intelligentsia" who exert little real influence on the people, does not hate the Indian: they are a hospitable people, they would gladly make room for Indians who talk Burmese, love the land of their adoption and not sneer at its people and put on a patronising air (which a fellow subject-nation which has found its present foothold on the favours of the conquering race from across the seas has no right to put on) any more. That is what men like Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. F. Andrews and if I am not mistaken, yourself advised the Indians in Burma to do. That is what Mr. Andrews now asks the Indians to do in South Africa also, though for reasons not alike.

Burma is a land where equality prevails as it does nowhere else on earth. Burmans cannot understand how a nation boasting of its ancient heritage and civilisation can allow its labourers (forming 94 per cent. of the Indian population) to live a life of wretchedness, when the intelligentsia among the Indians in Burma adopt the European borrowed plumes for all public appearance and at the same time talk big about their national glories and religious teachings. Indians in Burma need more of consistency: either they must stick to their position as birds of passage from a great land and prove their superiority like the British, or they must merge themselves among the Burmans with as much of their national heritage and culture as they can take there. It is no good taking the role of benevolent angels from a hallowed land and prove by the callousness of the fortunate and the educated towards their labouring countrymen the falsity of their big professions. Let the Indians unite in love and pride of their culture, and if they find Burma a land which feeds them and welcomes them they should try to be useful to the country of their adoption. That is, I believe, the position of Congressmen in Burma, and, for instance I might cite the case of Mr N. C. Banerji of the *Rangoon Mail*, who championed during his stay in Burma the cause of the Indians most successfully; earned the confidence of Burman nationalists, raised the Indian community in the eyes of Burmans by organising demonstrations during the visits of Tagore, Dr. Barua, Mr. C. F. Andrews and others; and by urging on Indians not to be ashamed of their dress and languages made Burmans feel that the Indians were not merely the coolies who had come to their land in their worst role in history as part and parcel of a foreign bureaucracy. He was a congressman: and I believe many Indians think that such work by congressmen is neither dishonest nor "their misshapen patriotism, and disingenuous propaganda have deliberately kept the Indians ignorant of their true position." Congressmen like him, instead of stifling the true and natural voice of the majority of Indians, the majority who were both dumb and indifferent and mostly ignorant," voiced their

"opinion" from the platform and through the press and thus tried valiantly to safeguard Indian interests, working in unison, wherever possible, with Burmans. Mr. S. A. S. Tyabjee is a Congressman and his success in the recent Anti-Ganja agitation is due to the co-operation of the sons of the soil. May I suggest that those who know little of the majority—both dumb and indifferent personally, except the phrase, should cease bothering about them and let earnest and noble Congressmen, Ramkrishna Mission workers and others who work for and amongst them work unhampered and with at least no un-called-for and groundless villification in a country where ardent workers have to bear the cross unaided and with little hope of encouragement?

BENAYENDRA NATH BANERJEE

The Teaching of Anthropology in the Calcutta University

In connection with the letter published in the last issue of the "Modern Review", will you allow me to mention some additional facts regarding the teaching of Anthropology in the Calcutta University.

Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee is peculiar in his behavior with the students. He does not allow them to handle the instruments nor any of the specimens that are in the Seminar. If any one, say the bearer or Mr. Tarak Chandra Roychoudhury, his assistant, is asked to give any, the only answer that the students get is "ডাক্তার বাবু বাবু, দেওয়া হবে না।" "The Doctor Babu, i.e., Mr. Chatterji, has prohibited: it can't be given". Curiously enough, these things are not generally shown in the class, whereas questions on these are asked in the examination. Thus the students are not allowed even to learn what little they can by themselves! Is not such examination a mere deceptive process! Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee, according to the timetable, should take practical classes on Saturday. But so far as we are aware, he has not turned up even for a single day in the Seminar, not to speak of taking the class!

The university has bought a few specimens of human brains and these have been kept completely sealed up in the Seminar. No attempt has been made to demonstrate them to the students. Questions regarding the comparative position of the Neanderthal Brain and such others are set in the examination—but no attempt is made to show the students what a normal human brain is like—not to speak of the cast of the Neanderthal Brain or any of the Seminar Brains.

This year, while some of the 5th year students were attending his class and could not at all follow what he dictated, they asked him, "We cannot follow you, Sir." He answered "You won't be able to follow them, you simply copy the notes, that will do." Will not the University authorities take note of this!

A large number of anthropometrical instruments have been bought by the university. But curiously enough Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee and Mr. Tarakchandra Roy Choudhury, who are in charge

of the practical classes, have not the foggiest notion as to how to handle those instruments and they have been preserved in the case with the order 'not to be taken out' and are never shown to

the students. And we should not be surprised if some students were actually placed in the M. A. and M. Sc. examinations for not knowing how to use them.

PATH TO COMMUNAL PEACE

By M. DHAR

THE Simla unity conference met and dissolved, as had been anticipated by many, after coming to the conclusion that as matters stand, Hindus and Mahomedans cannot agree on questions of "cow-killing" and "music before mosques." To the credit of the conference now stands the tragic fact that what was before the conference a mere difference in the views of individuals has now become a sharp cleavage between the two communities concerned—what was scattered and personal has now become collective, organized and "racial." Knowing fully well that all the passions and prejudices centring round the sacred cow and the sacred mosque are "political" in their origin and manipulation, it was an impossible task the conference set before itself attempting to cure symptoms without tackling the malady. There is, however, no question about the good, honourable and patriotic intention of those who called the conference into being and who took part in its deliberations. And if out of good has come evil, let us hope, out of this evil will come yet greater good. Indeed, the phenomenal outbursts of the communal tension have been so appalling that they have eclipsed the real cause behind the scenes, and fighting is going on as if for fighting's sake. This real cause is the hope of "Race" Domination. It is a "Race" War-fare in which Hindus and Mahomedans are engaged for "race" supremacy, "race" sovereignty in India, so that, even if a binding agreement on questions of "cow-killing" and "music before mosques" could be reached, whether with or without the intervention of Lord Irwin, this fighting will still go on, possibly on some other pretexts, and will not end until both sides give it up in a common conviction of its utter futility and absurdity.

There is a large volume of opinion, pre-

dominantly Hindu, in favour of abolition of communal electorates, stressing the point that this abolition will restore communal harmony. But against this view it is pointed out that communal representation and communal electorates had been the practice since 1909 without any overt disturbance to communal equilibrium. True; yet, these widespread communal riots have followed so close in the heels of the reforms, that it is impossible to dissociate the two. And should we scrutinise the Reforms for their share of responsibility for these deplorable communal upheavals, we should find it in the very heart of the Reforms, in the very promise of responsible Government contained in it.

If in a subject country, say, of two "races", the "races" are left to develop independently of each other into a free nation, small wonder if they start developing antagonistically to each other. This is what is taking place in India to-day. It is this hope of "political freedom" held out by the Reforms under conditions of separate communal electorates which has awakened race antagonisms tearing the country from end to end.

Separate electorates before the Reforms held no promise of political independence, and consequently raised no "race" ambitions and led to no "race" antagonisms. But by their promise of responsible Government, which has been understood to mean promise of political sovereignty, the Reforms have invested these communal electorates with a "race" meaning with all the rest into the bargain. Of course, the authors of the Reforms did not foresee that their generous offer was ever likely to take such a turn, but the fact that communal representations and communal electorates are incompatible with any progress towards responsible Government" was fully admitted by them.

Whatever the reasons of state, revealed and unrevealed, which must have compelled the institution of communal electorates in the Reforms, so much against the reasonings of their authors, now the plain position is that either the Reforms must go or the communal electorates must be scrapped if we want to "lay the spectre that besets the path." For both cannot co-exist and the cause of Hindu-Moslem unity, which has rightly come to be regarded as identical with the cause of Indian nationalism, will gain a thousandfold, should even both go. In any case, from the point of view of Indian nationalism, nothing can be worse than this Hindu-Moslem strife.

Should the rulers of India's political destiny decide to stand by the Reforms by substituting separate by joint electorates, this decision would not only mean a great forward step in the direction of responsible government, but what is of far greater importance in the present crisis than anything else, this will pave the way to communal peace by giving a wide berth to the spectre of "race" domination. The "opposition," "bitterness"

"strain on Mahomedan loyalty", the main professed grounds for maintenance of separate electorates, have lost their former significance now and the Indian Mahomedan of to-day is no more the Mahomedan of 1918, than modern Turkey, etc., is its former self. In fact, there are Mahomedan leaders who are gradually losing faith in separate electorates, as they are realising by experience that these communal electorates are really doing great harm to their community by keeping it in isolation with a communal outlook and thus fostering a morbid spirit of self-complacency

But before the curtain finally drops on this tragic scene of "race" antagonisms in India, there must take place "a change of heart" both in the rank and file of Britishers and in the rank and file of our countrymen : And that change of heart is easily effected in us if we concentrate on these two outstanding and obvious facts :

- (1) India is our own common country.
- (2) United, we all advance ; divided, we all go under.

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, B. A.

QUITE after the introduction of the Constitutional Reforms of 1919, the question of Provincial Contributions has become a standing one raising its head annually at the time of the presentation of the Budget and providing a copious ground for the play of interprovincial wranglings. Before the reforms, there were no Provincial Contributions as the provinces had no independent sources of revenue for themselves and had to depend for all their financial requirements upon the doles distributed by the Central Government, which had in its own hands all the means of raising and spending the revenues of India. Under those circumstances, the provinces had no financial independence and no facilities for taking the initiative in any scheme of national amelioration and development, though, at the same time it was also true that there was not

any absolute need for financial adjustment between the provinces and the Central Government as all Provincial affairs were classed reserved and Provincial Governments were entirely under the control of the Government of India in administrative affairs as well.

With the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and with the division that was made between Central and Provincial Subjects, and especially as a result of the introduction of the Dyarchical principle of Reserved and Transferred Subjects in the provinces, it became imperatively necessary that a separation should be effected between the central and provincial sources of revenue, so as to enable the Provincial legislatures and the Ministers, who were given the charge of the Transferred departments to possess independent means to effect any

improvements and carry out any schemes calculated to increase the good of the people. As such in their report on constitutional Reforms, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford clearly enunciated the principle of decentralization of Indian finances and their distribution of the Central and Provincial Governments on certain fixed principles and the allocation to the Provinces of the revenues from Land Tax, irrigation tax, Excise and duty on stamps and to the Central Government of the proceeds from Income Tax, customs, salt and opium dues and Railway receipts. Since as a result of this redistribution of revenues, it was thought that there would be a deficit in the revenues of the Central Government, the authors of the joint report suggested the covering of that deficit by a system of contributions by provinces from their newly acquired sources of revenue. It was estimated that the deficit of the Government of India would be about Rs. 14 crores and it was recommended that the amount should be distributed over the different provinces who should pay to the tune of not more than 87 per cent of their increased revenues in order to make good that expected deficit. At the same time, it was also proposed to give to the provinces the powers of independent taxation and of borrowing money on the strength of their own resources.

Intense discontent prevailed in the provinces against the arrangement proscribed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report; and the Secretary of State for India appointed, on the advice of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, a Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Meston, to investigate into the whole question of Provincial Contributions and other allied questions and to make suitable recommendations. During the time the Committee was conducting its investigations, the Government of India's deficit was found to have gone down to Rs. 6 crores owing to certain reductions in expenditure and other economies; but the Meston Committee transferred the receipts from General Stamps to the Provinces and thus showed the Imperial deficit to amount to Rs. 10 crores, which they sought to distribute over the provinces. The Committee was led to remark that the question of adjusting the provincial contributions is a very difficult one and that the policy of the Government of India should be so directed as to enable them to reduce as early as possible and to

abolish altogether in the near future the system of the Provincial Governments' Contribution to the Central revenues. The problem of making good the deficit in the revenues of the Government of India was so imperative and urgent, that the Committee could not bring themselves to consider the grievances put forward by the different provinces and finally adopted the principle that the contributions should be paid from the additional spending power acquired by the provinces after the recent financial readjustment between themselves and the Central Government. The Committee fixed the initial contributions which in seven years' time should become 'standard' contributions.

The main features of the Meston Settlement are first that agricultural provinces like Madras, the Punjab and U. P., which are supposed to receive much advantage owing to the provincialisation of Land Revenue, are made to pay the biggest contribution, Madras paying Rs. 348 Lakhs, the Punjab Rs. 175 Lakhs and the United Provinces, Rs. 240 Lakhs out of an estimated additional spending power of Rs. 576 Lakhs, Rs. 289 Lakhs and Rs. 397 Lakhs respectively. Secondly, the additional spending power was estimated too liberally and in reality it never came at all, almost all the provinces having to run their administration on the basis of deficit budgets during the first few years of the settlement. Thirdly, Bombay, a largely industrial province had to forego its receipts from income-tax, an admittedly primary source of income for that province and found itself in a very bad financial position. The result of the settlement was, of course, increased discontent and dissatisfaction among the provinces and complaints poured forth to the Government of India urging a revision of the Meston award and demanding a more equitable distribution of burdens. Inter-provincial jealousies sprang up, each province urging its own claims for exemption from payment of the contribution, Madras, for instance, saying that with a revenue and expenditure equal to that of any other province, if not more, she was made to pay the largest contribution and Bombay demanding the provincialisation of Income-Tax, a central head of revenue, if it was to balance its budgets.

The Financial Relations Committee, which went into the whole question again at the time of the consideration of the Government

of India Act, reported that it must be a definite principle that no province should start on its career of financial independence with a deficit budget likely to necessitate the imposition of additional taxation and that according to that principle those provinces which have most largely benefited by the readjustment like Madras, should be made to pay the biggest quotas. The provincial contributions thus became an irrevocable first charge on provincial revenues which they had to pay irrespective of their financial position, which, as said above, was not altogether favourable. Ever since the contributions were decided upon, there was the annual protest by the Provinces against the impost, which has been characterized as 'iniquitous' but every year for the first four years the Government of India's budgets were deficit budgets and it could not see its way to concede even an iota of the demands made for remission of contributions by provinces. The Legislative Assembly was the place where annual battles were fought over this question between provincial representatives and the representatives of the Government of India. At last in 1924-25, Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member, was able to organise the central finances on a strong footing and to present a budget which showed a surplus of Rs. 336 lakhs. This surplus was sought to be devoted to a remission in part of the provincial governments' contributions, while from the popular side came the demand that it should be used for the purposes of reducing the salt-tax to Re. 1-4-0. Sir Basil Blackett placed the Legislature on the horns of a dilemma by declaring that the surplus could be used for only one of the two things—reduction of salt-tax or reduction of Provincial Contributions and asking the popular representatives to choose between them. It was definitely asserted that the amount remitted by the Central Government to the Provinces should be utilised mainly, if not solely, for the purpose of the Transferred department to be expended by them on nation-building activities, and on this condition the legislature assented to the latter of the two alternatives stated above.

Since that year, the Central Government has been having surplus budgets and every year a part of provincial contributions is being remitted till at last this year (1927-28) owing to the fixation of the rupee at 1s 6d exchange and to an unusually favourable

monsoon, the Government of India could realise a substantial surplus which enabled it to follow up its declared policy and remit completely the contributions of all provinces. This action on the part of the Central Government was hailed with acclamation by all the provinces and the hope was expressed that it might prove a prelude to the permanent abandonment of Provincial Contributions in future. Whatever the chances of the realisation of that hope may be, it must be stated, that for the present, the Provinces are put in possession of adequate funds to enable the ministers to carry out schemes of National development, which may have been incapable of execution before or otherwise. The Provincial Contributions have always been felt as milestones round the necks of provinces and an incorrigible dead-weight rendering them wholly unable to take the initiative in pushing forward any beneficial and useful schemes in departments like sanitation, public health and education. Their remission or removal will be a great boon to the people and to the Provincial Governments and it is to be the duty of the Provincial legislatures and the Ministers to see that the accrued amounts are spent for purposes for which they are legitimately intended.

What of the future of the Provincial contributions? They have been completely remitted this year but their statutory basis has not been shaken and they may be revived if by chance, the Government of India finds the necessity for reimposing them next year. So the danger is there still, and with it are the grievances too of provinces like Bombay and Bengal, the first harping on the necessity of provincialising the income-tax and the second pleading for a part remission of the Jute-Tax. The question of reconsideration of the whole problem must probably, as has been made out by the Government of India in the Council of State recently, wait till the forthcoming visit of the Royal Statutory Commission; and though, as has been stated by Government in the same place, the Provincial Governments have been addressed by the Government of India on the subject with a view to finding out their views, nothing can be expected to come out of it. But it has to be pointed out that now that the Government of India has come to stand on its own legs, it will be in the fitness of things if the method of provincial contributions is entirely given up. Also, the

provinces should be allowed full financial independence and latitude to spend their funds as they like and as events are drifting towards the ideal of Provincial autonomy, it will be very awkward if Provinces have to go on depleting their resources, required for carrying out several important schemes, to fill up the exchequer of the Central Government. The Statutory Commission which is expected to recommend the introduction of political and administrative autonomy in the Provinces should inevitably be and as a necessary corollary to that recommendation, go in also for financial autonomy to

the provinces and the abolition of the system of provincial contributions. The Government of India should be made to depend upon its increased receipts from income tax and customs duties to make good any possible deficits in its revenues and leave the provinces to themselves; the more so because the two central heads of revenue noted above are capable of expansion and increased yield while Land Revenue, Excise and Stamps which are provincial sources are comparatively inexpansive heads of revenue. This way lies the progress and prosperity of the country.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Kodak for Good Teeth

The *Indian Dental Review*, and excellent monthly journal devoted entirely to topics of dental hygiene and dentistry, tells us :

George Eastman of the Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester N. Y. U. S. America has donated a handsome amount of about fortyfive lacs rupees for establishing a dental clinic in London. There is also to be found the Eastman Dental Clinic at Rochester, U. S. America, which is also the product of Mr Eastman's generosity. The establishment of such a clinic will materially aid to render adequate treatment to the thousands of children, working men and women and the poor, who through insufficient care of their teeth are the victims of those ailments which beset bad teeth. Such class of people will be benefited from the point of health, which will react in greater economic efficiency for the country. It is believed that the researches and investigations made at the Clinic will greatly aid the facilitation of popular preventive dentistry and the standardization of treatment of dental diseases. We have nothing but words of praise and admiration for the broad-mindedness of Mr. Eastman, and above all for his love of suffering humanity that he wishes to serve through the medium of dental clinics. We want here in India a philanthropist of the vision of Mr. Eastman.

Mexico takes Care of Baby's Mouth

It appears that Mexico is wide awake to the urgent need of enlightening people about oral hygiene. In India this, like many other important matters, is sadly

neglected. We should learn from Mexico, where we are told by the *Indian Dental Review*

An order of the Mexican Federal Department of Public Health, Mexico, prohibits the importation and manufacture of baby pacifiers on the ground that they are a menace to the health of the baby. The department has sent out instructions to mothers warning them as to the need for the perfect sterilization of nipples used by artificially fed babies. It is by such steps that the care of the babies can be taken and not by holding once-a-year-baby-week shows.

Dentistry in Japan

In the same journal we also find the following :

It is surprising to know the progress dentistry has made within so short a period in Japan. The number of dentists in Japan is at present estimated at about 10,000, and they are practising almost everywhere throughout the country. There are five colleges under the control of Department of Home Affairs, sending out about 600 graduates every year. Japan also claims two dental colleges exclusively for ladies. They are, Meika Girls' Dental College and Tokyo Girls' Dental College. Fifteen dental periodicals are published in the country.

Prof. Sarkar on Indianisation of the Intellect

Progress of Civilisation, Bombay, has some good things to say about the University

of Calcutta and its intellectual preeminence among Indian Universities in connection with Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's convocation address at Bombay in the course of which he said,

The intellectual resurrection of India was, he said, the supreme ideal of the Indian nationalist; and in realising that ideal the universities had to play the leading part. That was a duty which they could no longer ignore without failing to justify their existence in the changed world. They could no longer be glorified schools, mere workshops for turning out clerks and school-masters, mechanics and overseers, translators and copyists, they had thenceforward to add to the world's stock of knowledge. They had to achieve intellectual *swadeshi*, instead of clothing their people's mind with garments imported from Europe. Was political *swaraj* possible, he asked, could *swaraj* last if given by others, in a country which eternally looked up to foreign lands for all additions to human knowledge, for all new discoveries in medicine and science, for all new inventions in the mechanical arts and the accessories of civilised life and for every leap forward of the human mind in quest of truth?

Hindu-Muslim Riots

The *Vedic Magazine* writes:

After Bareilly, Cawnpore and Nagpur have paid their toll to communal incendiarism. The number of wounded has gone up to hundreds. Of casualties as well as deaths the majority in both the places consists of Muhammadans. The boast of *The Muslim Outlook* that "the Muslim is the better fighter" has been falsified at least in these two instances. To us the victory of either community seems in the words of Mr. Roy, whose article on a kindred subject we publish elsewhere, to be the defeat of the whole country. Whether Hindus win or Muhammadans, the intercommunal scuffles inflict losses on both, and what either section suffers in men and money is so much manhood plus so much wealth wasted out of the common stock which its single owner, single proprietor, the mother country, could have put to better use.

Punishment for Apostacy in Islam

The present craze among some Mahammadans for the assassination of Arya Samajist missionaries who probably preach against Islam and reconvert Indian Mahammadans to Hinduism has led many to think that it is probably through being urged by the teachings of Islam that the assassins prowl about with hidden daggers in search of the Arya Samajist missionaries. M. Zahur-Ud-Din and Butt proves the contrary in the *Islamic World*. We are told that violence against non-believers is absolutely forbidden in the Islamic scriptures. He quotes ex-

tensively from texts and winds up his argument as follows:

"Surely as for those who believe then disbelieve, again believe and again disbelieve, then increase in disbelieve, Allah will not forgive them, nor guide them in the right path" (4: 137). If the apostates from Islam had to meet capital punishment, how could they survive to become Muslims again and then to apostate. These are the only verses of the Holy Quran relating to apostacy. And it will be seen that in none of these is any punishment prescribed for the apostate except the suffering which they must undergo in the next life for dying in unbelief. And why should Islam prescribe punishment for those who according to its teachings die in unbelief? The answer is not far to seek. Do not our actions proceed from our beliefs? Good beliefs undoubtedly lead to good actions and bad beliefs to wrong deeds which undoubtedly bring down divine wrath. Islam wants us all to have good beliefs so that we may do righteous deeds.

It is therefore clear beyond the very shadow of doubt, that the teachings of Al-Quran do not give us any clue to the truth of the allegation which has been made by some unjust critics of Islam, that Islam prescribes death penalty for the apostates. The fact is that those who spread false reports that Islam prescribes death penalty for apostacy, are either deliberately misrepresenting the matter for interested motives, or it is due to ignorance on their part. In the latter case they are pardonable; but in the former, they richly deserve the condemnation of the whole civilized world.

Mr. Gandhi and "Mother India"

Current Thought publishes the full text of Mr. Gandhi's criticism of "Mother India." Mr. Gandhi denies having said the things put into his mouth by Miss Mayo just before he was operated upon by Col. Maddock. He then says:

The book is brimful of descriptions of incidents of which an average Indian at any rate has no knowledge. Thus she describes an ovation said to have been given to the Prince of Wales, of which Indian India has no knowledge, but which could not possibly escape it if it had happened. A crowd is reported to have fought its way to the Prince's car somewhere in Bombay. "The Police," Miss Mayo says, "tried vainly to form a hedge round the car moving at a crawl unprotected now through a solid mass of shouting humanity which won through to the railway station at last." Then at the railway station while there were three minutes for the train to steam out, the Prince is reported by Miss Mayo to have ordered the barriers to be dropped and the "mobs" to be let in. The authoress then proceeds, "like the sweep of a river in floods, the interminable multitude rolled in, and shouted and laughed and wept, and when the train started, ran along side of the Royal carriage till they could run no more." All this is supposed to have happened in 1921 on the evening of November 22, whilst the dying embers of the riots

were still hot. There is much of this kind of stuff in this romantic chapter, which is headed, "Behold a light."

The nineteenth chapter is a collection of authorities in praise of the achievements of the British Government almost every one of which has been repeatedly challenged both by English and Indian writers of unimpeachable integrity. The seventeenth chapter is written to show that we are a 'world menace.' 'If, as a result of Miss Mayo's effort, the League of Nations is moved to declare India a segregated country unfit for exploitation, I have no doubt that both the West and the East would be the gainers. We may then have our internecine wars. Hindus may be eaten up as she threatens by the hordes from the Northwest and Central Asia. That were a position infinitely superior to one of ever growing emasculation. Even as electrocution is a humaner method of killing than that of the torturous method of roasting alive, so would a sudden overwhelming swoop from Central Asia upon the unresisting, insanitary, superstitious and sexually-ridden Hindus as Miss Mayo describes us to be, be a humane deliverance from the living and ignominious death which we are going through at the present moment.

We entirely agree here with Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi then says a few words of advice to the foreign readers of this atrocious book. He says :

I warn them against believing this book. I do not remember having given the message Miss Mayo imputes to me. The only one present who took any notes at all has no recollection of the message imputed to me. But I do know what message I give every American who comes to see me. Do not believe newspapers and the catchy literature you get in America. But if you want to know anything about India, go to India as students. Study India for yourself. If you cannot go, make a study of all that is written about India, for her and against her, and then form your own conclusions. The ordinary literature you get is either exaggerated vilification of India or exaggerated praise.

But he finds at least some good in the book that Miss Mayo wrote to lower India in the eye of the world and to give an argument to India's tormentors for their acts of oppression. We are told.

Whilst we may be thankful for anything good that foreign visitors may be able honestly to say of us, if we curb our anger, we shall learn, as I have certainly learnt, more from our critics than from our patrons. Our indignation which we are bound to express against the slanderous book must not blind us to our obvious imperfections and our great limitations. Our anger will leave Miss Mayo absolutely unhurt and it will only recoil upon ourselves. We too have our due share of thoughtless readers as the West has and in seeking to disprove everything Miss Mayo has written we shall make the reading public believe that we are a race of perfect human beings against whom nothing can be said, no one can dare say one word. The agitation that has been set up

against the book is in danger of being over-done. There is no cause for fury. I would close this review which I have undertaken with the greatest reluctance and under great pressure of work with a paraphrase of a beautiful couplet from Tulsidas :

Everything created by God, animate or inanimate has its good and bad side. The wise man, like the fabled bird who, separating the cream of milk from its water, helps himself to the cream leaving the water alone, will take the good from everything leaving the bad alone."

Agriculture and Industry Go Hand in Hand

Prof. Banerwar Das B. S. Ch. E (Ill., U. S. A.) contributes a valuable article on The Importance of Chemical Technology in India, to the *Bengal Technical Institute Magazine*. He shows clearly that Industry and agriculture are closely related and not mutually opposed as some think. Bettering agriculture means the betterment of industry. A single quotation from this article will explain his view point. He writes :

India is principally an agricultural country. So the growth of industries in India should be in keeping with the requirements of Agriculture and the agricultural products. With the improvements made in the agricultural methods, the demand for fertilisers is bound to go up. Thus the fertiliser industry and the oil-industry are of great and immediate importance and are certainly worthy of the proper attention of the Indian financiers and Industrialist. The oil-industry holds a peculiarly interesting place in India. The oil-seeds are the products of Indian agriculture and they are raised in great varieties and huge quantities. The products obtained from these seeds have multifarious uses both for edible and technical purposes and they are in ready demand in India and abroad. Also this industry produces a by-product in the form of oil-cakes which are good fertilisers. So the oil-industry combines in itself the productions of both the oils, fats and allied products and the fertilisers.

The main difficulties in the way of the development of oil-industry in India along modern lines are in connection with the recovery of oils and the consumption of oil-cakes. Most primitive methods which are very wasteful are still in use in India. These methods give very low yield of oils from the seeds and produce cakes rich in oil-content which make them unsuitable for use as cattle-feed and fertiliser. So India loses both ways and she has to be content only by selling seeds to the foreign countries where they recover practically all the oils present in the seeds. India is indeed the queen of oil-seeds but the above situation prevents her from being the queen of oils. All industries using and as their principal raw materials can succeed and survive provided they can get oils at a cheap rate. As at present situated, this is a great draw-back in India for the growth of oil-industry. So the first and foremost attention should be directed in India towards the recovery of oils from their seeds by the most

up-to-date methods, all of which are quite applicable under Indian conditions with slight modifications.

The Next War

Dhangopal Mukerjea discusses the next world War in the *Forward* anniversary number. Says Mr. Mukerjea :

The present European governments are driving their respective peoples into a world conflict as surely as a butcher drives the sheep and cows to slaughter. Unless the common humanity of the nations asserts itself against the mediocre policies of their politicians, there is not a thing on God's earth that can prevent the sinister catastrophe. One does not have to quote statistics to prove the validity of the above statement. Metaphorically speaking the powers of the West love peace, and are working for peace with as much gusto as a tiger toils for vegetarianism.

Problem of the Indian States

Lord Meston's review of Mr. K. M. Panikkar's book "Indian States and the Government of India" which appeared originally in the Sunday times has been reproduced in the *Feudatory and Zemindary India*. Regarding the history and character of the Indian states we are told :

"The States" Mr. Panikkar writes, "and their relation with the British Governments afford no parallel or analogy to any institution known to history. The political system they represent is neither feudal nor federal, though in some respects it shows similarities to both....It is not an international system...nor would it be correct to consider it a political confederacy, because the constituent States have no rights of succession." By way of further complication is the variety of their types. At one end of the scale stand full powered sovereign States like Hyderabad or Gwalior, the latter nearly as big as Scotland, and the former more than twice the size of Greece; their rulers, to quote Mr. Panikkar again, "enjoy legally unrestrained powers of life and death over their subjects, and make, promulgate, and enforce their own laws and maintain their own armies." At the other extreme are petty chieftains, lords of a few thousand acres, with about the same powers as a country justice. And between them great and small, they occupy one-third of the whole Indian peninsula.

Towards the beginning of British rule in India, the East India Company absorbed such states as were weak, whenever it could do so without much risk. But :

The Mutiny of 1857 showed the dangers of a policy of absorption, such as the masterful Dalhousie had favoured; and Queen Victoria gave a solemn promise to maintain all treaties and engagements into which John Company had

entered with the States. This promise, scrupulously observed in the letter, has not always been respected in the spirit.

There was a period in which the cult of efficiency and uniformity was vigorously pressed. The older-fashioned rulers murmured; but Lord Curzon was firm. He told them that they were vassel chiefs, and that the British Crown wits their feudal suzerain. Wiser counsel subsequently prevailed; and when it fell to Lord Reading to read his recent lecture to the Nizam of Hyderabad, he took as his text the responsibility that rests on the British Government for pre-serving peace, good order, and decent administration throughout the country as a whole. After many varillations of policy, interference in the domestic affairs of the States has now been confined to strict necessity.

This does not mean liberty for the Indian princes. For, we are told :

At the same time there are very definite limits to the independence of the Princes. The British Government in India runs its own railways and telegraphs through their States; it does not as a rule, let them mint their own coins; it gives them no voice in the tariff of the country and no share in it proceeds; it refuses to let them combine or quarrel among themselves, and it allows them no status in foreign policy. To some extent these restrictions are encroachments on the old treaties of equality and alliance. But the Princes have reserved ample compensation in being sheltered from external aggression and internal revolution.

They evidently are not contented with their lot, as we can see from the following words of Lord Meston :

The Princes, or some of them took the unusual step of sending a mission to London this year in connection with their complaints of diminished sovereignty. But they do not all forgot how they and their forefathers have been protected by the power of England from the manifold risks that beset small and weak States all the world over.

At the present moment one of the major preoccupations of the princes is their future relation with a self-governing (?) India. Lord Meston tells us :

What disturbs them more than any encroachment on their rights is the future of the Nationalist movement in British India. As patriotic Indians themselves, they cannot wholly stand on of it, and they certainly cannot condemn it, a few of them have paid it the compliment of establishing dim, colourless copies of a legislative assembly in their own territories. But the prospect of a demand for the real thing among their people is by no means to their taste. Still less do they relish the possibility of India as a self-governing Dominion, from which British control has been entirely withdrawn. They have neither the machinery nor the experience for international relations with democratic neighbours, and sympathy with Nationalism in the abstract is a different proposition from daily co-operation of equal terms with Nationalist leaders. Thus it is with the keenest vigilance that the Princes are watching the development of the new constitution in India, and seeking for safeguards.

Histrionic art in Germany

Bernard Held writes on *The Modern Theatre and Histrionic Art in Germany in Shama'a*. He says :

German histrionic art is young. It is scarcely 200 years old. It has no such great traditions as the English theatre has inherited from Elizabethan times or the French theatre from the days of Moliere; but it has with energy shaken off the shackles of foreign influence and developed a vigorous line of its own. It has traversed some long stages in its journey: first, from the days of Caroline Neuber to Goethe's theatre in Weimar; thence to Laube's Burg Theatre and the Court Theatrical Company of Meiningen which gave birth to stage management; afterwards came the liberation from the mannerisms of the 19th century which had to make way for freedom of gesture and of speech. The close of the last century saw a fresh development under Brahms which paved the way for Max Reinhardt who, in the opening years of the present century, consolidated the preceding styles. Reinhardt combined delight in colour and sound and the love of truth to nature so characteristic of the Meiningen school with Brahms's veneration for the text of the poet and his severe naturalness. Like Brahms he tolerated no false artificiality of tone or gesture: but he also banned false scenery and made it harmonize with the human elements of the stage.

However, there is no lack of creative minds in the German theatrical world at the present time. Among the managers who have inspired the stage with new life, the most prominent is Herr Leopold Jessner of the Berlin State Theatre. Though benefiting to the full by Reinhardt's pioneer work, he nevertheless goes his own road. Whereas Reinhardt, with his inexhaustible and untamable fancy, ignores all bounds, Jessner, urged by a desire to reduce everything to the simplest formula seeks to set limits and to condense stage ideas, both in scenic effect and in linguistic expression. Continuing the decanonization of poets begun by Gerhart Hauptmann in his production of Wilhelm Tell, he claims, for the stage manager the most unfettered liberty to adapt the poet's work to the ideas of the living generation. In contradistinction to Reinhardt, for whom art is its own end and aim, Jessner regards the stage as the arena of philosophy—as the political instrument of the State and of its constitution. In doing so, he can cite as a prototype the theatre of Shakespeare's time, whose stage reflected the political life of the Elizabethan period. In this matter, indeed, Jessner is outstripped by Erwin Piscator, an exceptionally capable histrionic artist who goes so far as to turn the stage into a tribunal and enlist it in the service of a political doctrine.

In order to promote histrionic research and the study of the theory of dramatic art, chairs have been established at several Universities, e.g. Berlin, Kiel, Cologne, Munich and Frankfurt: they serve to produce thoroughly trained experts. Thus everywhere life and development are visible. The projected Histrionic Exhibition at Magdeburg is intended to provide an epitome of every phase of theatrical life at the present-day.

The consolidation of economic conditions, upon which the theatre depends, will lead to a consolidation of the theatre itself. The future belongs, not to any merely liberated, ecstatic or constructive theatre, but to the theatre which is most deeply human. It is this living human element which, like a magnet, has ever attracted humanity to the theatre; and it is this direct, human magnetism, this irreplaceable something which makes the theatre imperishable; and just for this reason, broadcasting and filming, wonderful and indeterminable as their possibilities unquestionably are, can never seriously jeopardize the stage and its living cast.

A Buddhist Vihara for Britain

The following appears in the *Maha-Bodhi* :

Negotiations are being carried on for the purchase of a suitable plot of land in London for the purpose of building the first Buddhist Temple for the use of the Buddhists of Europe. For over a hundred years the different Christian missionary societies have been working in Ceylon to propagate the religion of Jesus among Sinhalese Buddhists. The result of their labours has been fruitful. Children of Buddhist parents by the thousands have been baptized and converted to the Galilean religion during the last century. The poor Buddhist parents did not anticipate that their children would be converted by the missionaries when they let their sons attend the missionary schools. A hundred years ago there were a few thousand converts who accepted Christianity for the sake of worldly gain. The late Colonel Olcott arrived in Ceylon in 1880 and accepted Buddhism along with the late Madame Blavatsky, and the result of his conversion was that he opened the eyes of the Buddhists and pointed out the danger of sending Buddhist children to missionary schools. The Catholics have their schools and the Baptists, Wesleyans, Church Missionary Society Church of England have their denominational schools, which are attended by Buddhist youths. Each mission tries to convert the Buddhist youths, and the result is that thousands of them have joined different denominations. The Buddhist Bhikkhus were the custodians of Buddhist youth for 2178 years. But in 1870 the Christian government began establishing vernacular schools in different parts of the island and compelled Buddhist parents to send their children to them. The Temple schools had to be closed, and the Buddhist youths passed thenceforward, under Christian influence. The missionaries found the opportunity to sow the seeds of their faith through schools, and they got permission to open their denominational schools throughout the island from Government. By diplomatic means the Temple schools were closed and the Buddhist Bhikkhu teachers were warned that they dare not try to get Buddhist boys back to their temple schools. It was an outrage but the simple minded, unsophisticated Buddhist Bhikkhus through fear of Government censure let the Buddhist children go out of their control. It was a shameful trick the missionaries played knowing the harmless

nature of the Buddhist priesthood. Government officials helped the white-skinned missionary to open more schools for the conversion of Buddhist children, a procedure which would not be tolerated in any Christian country.

The time is come now to give the sublime teachings of the Lord Buddha to the natives of England, and enlighten them about Buddhism, and expose the missionary fraud.

The enlightenment of the natives of England regarding Buddhism has become a necessity. To preach the Dhamma to the English people it is necessary that Buddhists should have a temple in some part of London for the present. Science is in favour of the noble Religion of the Lord Buddha. In fact, Buddhism is Science. When the people of England listen to the Doctrine of the Lord Buddha they will understand the difference between the Aryan Doctrine and the Jewish religion of Jesus.

There are Buddhists in China, Japan, Korea, Siam, Burma, Tibet, and Ceylon. In all these countries there are thousands of missionaries preaching the Jewish religion to the un-sophisticated natives. The time is now come for Buddhists to establish a Buddhist Mission in London. For the first time the Maha Bodhi Society has established a centre in London, and operations are going on since July 1926.

To build a Buddhist Temple in a suitable quarter in London we have to purchase a vacant plot of land. The cost of land will come to about £7,000. To put up the necessary buildings another £10,000 would have to be spent. We do not attempt to compete with the various Christian denominations in converting the English people to the Aryan religion. But we do want to present the Doctrine of the Lord for comparison. Jesus was an Asiatic, the Apostles were all Asiatics, and speaking psychologically Christians have an Asiatic orientation.

The British since the third decade of the 19th century have come in contact with Buddhism. It was an Englishman by the name of George Turnour who translated the Pali Mahavamsa into English. It was an Englishman—Brain Houghton Hodgson—who presented the complete Sanskrit collection of Buddhist scriptures to European libraries.

"The gift of the Dhamma excels all other gifts," said the Lord Buddha. To preach the Dhamma a Vihara Hall is a necessity. We require £10,000 to begin work.

We hope Buddhists all over the world will respond to this request of the British Maha Bodhi Society. There are millions upon millions of Buddhists who would like to give the supreme gift of the Dhamma to the people of England.

Sabba Danam Dhamma Danam jinati.

How Calcutta's Health is Looked After

The following facts supplied by Dr. T. N. Mazumdar, the Health Officer to the Calcutta Corporation are taken from the *Calcutta Medical Journal* organ of the Calcutta Medical Club :

1. For the supply of a pure and wholesome water, the water is examined daily in Calcutta and Pulta by analysts who make a chemical and bacteriological examination.

2. A staff of 15 Assistant Sanitary Officers enquires into all the deaths occurring in Calcutta and in cases of infectious diseases takes preventive measures regarding isolation, vaccination, inoculation and removal of patients to Hospitals, etc.

3. A staff of Disinfecting Inspectors disinfects the premises after recovery or death of patients in case of infectious diseases. The beddings, clothings, etc., are disinfected at the Steam Disinfecting Station.

4. Fifteen charitable dispensaries started by the Corporation are doing very useful work in giving free medical relief.

5. There are now seven maternity centres, 4 in Calcutta proper and 3 in the added areas. There is a staff of 5 lady Health Visitors and 22 midwives. They attend to the poor people in bustees free of charge. About 5,000 deliveries are performed by these midwives. There are two Maternity homes with 32 beds and more than 500 cases are delivered annually in these homes. This Maternity and Child Welfare Work started by the Corporation about 15 years ago has proved a great boon to the poor bustee people and has helped to reduce the maternal and infantile mortality.

6. There is a staff of 20 Sanitary Officers who attend to the nuisance, insanitary buildings, cattle-sheds stables, etc.

7. There is a staff of 10 Food Inspectors and this is totally inadequate for Calcutta. At present 6,000 samples are collected annually by the Food Inspectors of which about 15 per cent., are found to be adulterated. About 1,700 prosecutions are being instituted in a year by the Food Inspectors and Slaughter House Inspectors for selling adulterated and unwholesome food. The scheme for increasing the number of Food Inspectors, Analysts for reorganisation of the Food Inspectors Department and Laboratory is under the consideration of the Public Health Committee. With an increased number of Food Inspectors' adulteration will be effectually checked.

8. In the 5 Corporation Slaughter Houses, the Superintendents are Veterinary Doctors and all animals which are diseased are rejected and diseased meat is destroyed.

9. A fleet of 12 Ambulances is available by day and night to remove patients suffering from infectious diseases or accident cases to Hospitals free of charge. A grant of about 2½ lakhs is given annually to the different Hospitals by the Corporation. Recently a grant of Rs. 7,500 has been given to the National Medical Institute for opening a venereal disease ward. A long-felt want of the city has been removed by the opening of a home for the incurable with 30 beds this month in Manicktolla.

The conservancy of the city is under the Engineering Department. Roughly about 13 lakhs of rupees are spent annually on the Health Department. Including about 27 lakhs of rupees, which are spent annually on conservancy and drainage system—the total annual cost amounts to about 40 lakhs of rupees on "Health and Sanitation of Calcutta," which is about 17 per cent., of the income of the Corporation.

Science of Motherhood in India

Man in India a journal of anthropology publishes an account of popular beliefs in West Bengal regarding conditions influencing the birth and growth of beautiful children. We quote portions from it.

Ladies believe in prenatal influences in the making of the child. The ladies do not prescribe heavy, spicy and heating diets for a woman big with child. Light and healthy foods are said to be good for the child in the womb. Above all, a mother's cheerful frame of mind conduces to the health of the child in the womb. A pregnant woman is required to take special care of her health from after the fifth month of pregnancy. She should take moderate exercise every day, otherwise the delivery will be painful and the child sickly and idle. Ladies believe that if a woman occupies herself with reading good books like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* after the fifth month of pregnancy, the child born of her womb will keep an unsullied character throughout life. The belief is fairly common that the mother's food and the mother's thoughts during pregnancy contribute to the making of the child, both physically and mentally.

Regarding beautifying children that are born ugly we are told many things. One is :

A snub nose is a very great disfigurement in this country. Old matrons believe that this defect can be remedied if steps are taken immediately after birth and their belief stands to reason. Stretch your legs straight and put the child on them, lying on its back. Apply mustard oil slowly on the nose and raise it up lightly so that the child may not feel the pinch. This process repeated day after day for a month or so cures the defect. Matronly ladies say that a snub nose is often the result of giving the baby suck in a lying posture, so that the pressure of the mother's body falls on the end of the baby's nose. This is perhaps, to some extent, correct.

A good deal of science is found in the above as well as in the following :

Elderly matrons fully believe in the efficacy of sunshine on the health of the babies. They make it a point to expose them for sometime everyday to sunshine. The belief is quite in keeping with the modern theory about the healing effect of the sun's rays.

Readers of Miss Mayo's "Mother India" will find something of interest in the above strictly anthropological findings. They show that commonsense and (empirical) science grows in all soils, not on the American kind alone. It will also show that illiterate people are often educated in their beliefs and conduct.

Mussolini, the Iron Man

Jayanta Kumar Das Gupta writes on Mussolini in *The Indian Educator*. He

finds a similarity between the *Duce* and Napoleon.

The mantle of Napoleon, some people think, has fallen upon the shoulders of his Italian prototype Signor Benito Mussolini. Indeed, there is a remarkable resemblance between the two. Both are Italians by birth, both have risen from the ranks to the highest position in the sphere of their activities, both have magnetic personalities and there is also a physical similarity between them. They are men of superhuman energies whom the world cannot easily forget, and history bears the impress of their names. The career of Mussolini reads like a romance. The son of a village blacksmith and innkeeper, he occupies to-day the most responsible office under the Italian Government. Workman, Schoolmaster, Journalist, Socialist thinker, Soldier and Scholar, he is now one of the foremost statesmen in the west. A life full of adventures, a life of ceaseless work, dedicated to the service of his motherland, a life which has experienced numerous difficulties and passed through great dangers, the Duce is the centre of all activities of Italy, and is a man at once loved and hated.

Mussolini is autocratic.

He makes his own laws and dreams of a greater Italy such as Dante dreamed in the 13th century in "De Monarchia." The big talks and high sounding promises of clever diplomats do not in the least delude him. His one ambition is to make Italy powerful in the political arena of Europe and supreme on the Mediterranean Sea and his mind goes back to the golden age of the Imperial Caesars.

His sole political philosophy is as follows.

"I have no politics" he said, "I have only one message—Love your land." In the face of the gravest dangers, Mussolini is composed and self-controlled. "My path lies through the terrible" he said.

Regarding detractor of Mussolini the author says :

But little do they think that he works not for any personal gain, but for the good of his country. If patriotism be a vice, then all patriots alike are to be condemned unequivocally. The Fascist methods may be somewhat cruel, but perhaps Italy needs Fascism today. Elsewhere in Europe there is chaos and unrest. The political equilibrium of Europe would be in a state of convulsion at the slightest sign of unrest. He holds Italy in his firm grasp and is the ironman of Europe and fears nobody. There is a story that his son Bruno was asked by his teacher as to whom the imperative mood should not be used. "Why the King and my father" was the prompt reply.

Also :

He is accused of suppressing the liberty of the Press, of free speech and freedom of thought. But are there not governments today which are forging fresh fetters for strangling freedom of utterance, discussion and faction? Perhaps his greatest fault in the eyes of his enemies is that there is no cant or nonsense about him. He does not play that game of hide and seek which in

polite circles goes by the name of diplomacy. He would not call a gentleman a rascal behind his back. He would say it to his very face. When Mr. Baldwin declared that Britain did not require a dictator like Mussolini the Italian Premier boldly retorted that it was unbecoming on the part of a man holding the most exalted office under the British crown to speak ill of another and he did not expect so from a gentleman.

He sums up :

He is one of the makers of history like Bismarck, Cavour, Lenin and Sun-Yat-Sen and the world watches his achievements with interest.

A Christian Reviews "Mother India"

The following are quotations from a review of "Mother India" appearing in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Two facts that struck me immediately on opening this book gave at once an unfavourable impression. The first was this passage in a review from the *New Statesman*, quoted on the dust cover : 'She makes the claim for swaraj seem nonsense and the will to grant it almost a crime.' The second was this sentence, describing Calcutta—the second in the first chapter—'In the courts and alleys and bazaars many little bookstalls, where narrow-chested, near-sighted, anaemic young Indian students, in native dress, brood over piles of fly-blown Russian pamphlets.' The former of these produced an unfavourable impression, for the reason that it was evident that this book was being seized upon—with or without the goodwill of the authoress—for purposes of political propaganda, and that this was being done by such a reviewer as the one quoted with a shout of exultation and relief. Further, the second passage quoted—so obviously untrue and ill-natured—gave plain warning that the writer was bent on discovering the worst things discoverable about India and then parading them with something like gusto. These 'fly-blown Russian pamphlets' obviously exist only in her inflamed anti-Bolshevist imagination.

The bias may be subconscious, but a quite virulent bias lurks behind every page, with the result that the picture that the whole book presents is untrue. Her attitude is indicated in the sneer that underlies the very title of the book, and all through she gives the impression of inspecting a colony of mud-beetles. What 'complexes' in Miss Mayo's mind lie behind this approach I cannot determine, but perhaps one is the feeling that America has been 'taken in' by smooth-tongued *shadhus* and *swamis*, with their 'egregiously false allegations about conditions in India' (p. 273). If so, Miss Mayo has reacted with unnecessary violence in an opposite direction.

"Mother India" Again

In the editorial notes of the same journal (Editors : Rev. N. Macnicol, D. Litt, and Rev. P. O. Philip, B. A.) we find another

reference to the charges brought against India by Miss Mayo. It runs as follows :

This book, *Mother India*, brings charges of this kind, based upon wholly inadequate knowledge of the people ; and in bringing these charges, it does grave injustice, we believe, to India and to those who, from among her people, have long been labouring for the removal of evil customs that hinder her progress. There is no evidence that this book was produced in any sense in the interest of Christian Missions. The interest of Christian Missions can never be served by ignorance or by exaggeration.

A Lady gives Miss Mayo her Due

Margaret E. Cousins, B. Mus., writes in the *Young-men of India* :

I have lived in India for twelve years in intimate friendship with the women of India, with its students and with its political and social reformers. I am neither a Government servant, nor connected with official or missionary circles. I am a lover of humanity, and work for it through seeking the advancement of womanhood to an equality of honour and opportunity with manhood. My work along those lines was viewed so favourably that I was the first woman honorary magistrate appointed in India. These facts give me the power to pass judgment on Miss Mayo's book, and, while my experience corroborates a large number of her facts and illustrations regarding sex, health, untouchability, and the treatment of animals, I aver that the total impression she conveys to any reader, either inside or outside India, is cruelly and wickedly untrue. Unless read in conjunction with supplementary books on other aspects of India's life and culture, or unless it is withdrawn from circulation outside India, it will create nothing but race-resentment and a fortune for its cleverly stupid authoress.

A few quotations from her discussion of "Mother India" will be interesting :

The awakened women of India have, for the past ten years, through their organisations, been asking the Government to raise the Age of Consent ; the Social Reform Conferences have been doing the same since Raja Ram Mohan Roy's day. Ten thousand women from one district alone have sent a petition to Government to raise the Age of Consent. The representatives of over 7,000 more women, who had assembled to discuss educational reform, also asked Government to enact legislation making marriage before 16 years old for a girl a penal offence. All these facts Miss Mayo fails to note. Instead she descends to untruthful invention, when she says, 'The Bill for raising the Age of Consent to fourteen was finally thrown out, buried under an avalanche of popular disapproval.' There was not a meeting held all over India to express disapproval of the raising of the Age of Consent. The facts of the matter were that on the first voting on the Bill the section referring specifically to the raised age was passed by a majority of two, against Government opposition, and it was disagreement regarding the amount of punishment and

assembly tactics that broke the majority for the Bill as a whole. If the British members of the Assembly had supported the Bill, girls of 14 would not now be legally approved mothers. We women definitely charge the British Government with delaying social reforms for which the people of the country are ripe.

Even despite inaccuracies I thought Miss Mayo was sincere till I read the chapter on the Prince and the Untouchables. That showed her hand; it proved to me that yellow journalism, sentimental gullibility, and a bias in favour of British domination over-ruled her vaunted open-mindedness. The latter half of the book I leave more to politicians and economists to set right. She deals with problems sentimentally and superficially which cannot be separated from philosophy, religion, and the great ethics of the right to self-determination. One feels that where she allows herself to show discontent with Britain's rule it is only where she thinks that America would manage India better! This comes out especially in her review of education.

Miss Mayo uses the "Sob Stuff" to rouse a feeling of horror in the mind of her readers by describing animal sacrifice in the temple of Kali. She uses this to prove the necessity of British rule in India. Says Mrs. Cousins:

She omits to tell that, while Britain allows blood sacrifices in British India, the Manarani-Regent of Travancore, an Indian State, prohibited

all animal sacrifices in her State as her first administrative act on becoming Regent.

Then we are told:

She omits all good points in India's favour, such as the fact that lunacy is fourteen times less prevalent in India than in England, that India's expenditure on drink is only a fraction proportionately compared with the one million pounds spent daily in Great Britain on alcoholic drink.

Defects can be found in all nations, but that would not justify foreign rule anywhere. Says Mrs. Cousins:

On the same analogy America should govern Japan, because of Japan's geisha system and more repellant sanitary system than even poor India's; Holland should govern America, because of America's political graft system and its record of being the most crime-ridden country in the world, and so on round the world, and only then might people sleep easy in their beds secure from 'world-menace.' Her argument has only to be stated thus to see how stupid it is, but people are so credulous and so ignorant that they will believe she has drawn an accurate picture. Those who are stimulated by the strong feelings that the book is raising to judge truly for themselves should read also *The Web of Indian Life*, by Sister Nivedita (Longmans Green, London); *India: Bound or Free*, by Mrs. Besant (Th. P. House, Madras); Radhakrishna's *The Hindu View of Life*; and my own, *The Awakening of Asian Womanhood* (Ganesh & Co., Madras, price Rs. 2).

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Mussolini Prophet of the Pragmatic Era

Under the above caption W. Y. Elliot of the Harvard University analyses the Political Philosophy of Fascism in the *Political Science Quarterly*. The article is of academic importance and does not deal with popular likes and dislikes regarding fascist deeds. We are told:

Fascism is a repudiation of the old logical Utilitarianism of the English Radicals of 1832 in favour of the older psychological pragmatism of Machiavelli. "Liberalism," says Mussolini, "is not the last word; it does not represent any final and decisive formula in the art of government. In this difficult and delicate art which deals with the most refractory of materials, not stationary, but always in movement since it deals with the living and not with the dead; in this art of politics there is no Aristotelian unity of time, of place, and of action. Men have been governed, more or less fortunately, in a thousand different ways. Liberalism is the contribution, the method, of the nine-

teenth century.....It cannot be said that Liberalism a method of government good for the nineteenth century, for a century that is to say, dominated by two essential phenomena like the development of capitalism and the growth of nationality, should be necessarily good for the twentieth century, which already betrays, characteristics differing considerably from those of its predecessor. Facts outweigh books; experience is worth more than theory. To-day the most striking of post-war experiences, those that are taking place before our eyes, are marked by the defeat of Liberalism. Events in Russia and in Italy demonstrate the possibility of governing altogether outside the ideology of liberalism and in a manner entirely opposed to it. Communism and Fascism have nothing to do with Liberalism."

Fascism is pure utilitarianism. We read:

To parallel Lenin's "Democracy is a mere bourgeois superstition," Mussolini concluded the attack on Liberalism quoted above: "Know them once and for all, that Fascism recognizes no idols, adores no fetishes; it has already passed over the more or less decayed body of the goddess Liberty,

and is quite prepared, if necessary, to do so once more."

In Fascism we find an undeclared adherence to political pragmatism and to nothing else.

Although they have not always so named it, and although only its protagonists attribute to the movement a profound underlying idea, Fascism has come to mean to the popular imagination just this application of pragmatism to politics. Mussolini attributes his own intellectual shaping to William James, on equal terms with three great pragmatists in politics: Machiavelli, Nietzsche, and the syndicalist, Georges Sorel.

This is nothing new or original; it is.

The practice of politics has never been other than pragmatic. A stand on principle may be the nobler gesture, may even be a necessary sop to man's compensatory desire to idealize his pursuit of deeply rooted, instinctive interests. But rationalism too often serves only as a cloak for imperative and unreasoned desire. That, at least is the way the matter looks to the political pragmatists of our own day.

The Nineteenth Century was prolific of ideas, ideas and all else that is mere smoke, not the real thing, achievement and the sinking of all theory as means to the great end. What got the upper hand then were the "*doctrinaire*" efforts of an idealism which attempted to put a curb on the play of interests". Hence the reaction

For *populi* had spoken: the Lord's face was turned against "points" and such abstractions. The political prophets preached a new gospel—pragmatism, the reasoned distrust of rationalized solutions.

And:

The very Mahomet of this worship is Mussolini. Ideological programs and a superstitious reverence for the formal democracy of the ballot box had led his Italy to a state of anarchy approximating that before which the medieval republics of the cities had bowed.

A little knowledge of Italian affairs is necessary to appreciate Fascism:

After the war, an Italy badly divided, sabotaged by Communism, grew sicker and sicker under government by blocs, government by unreal coalitions, by log-rolling, and finally by "*diretti-leggi*." It all amounted to no government at all. Machiavelli's *Prince* was not more needed, when he wrote, to raise Italy from her divided weakness, than was a dictator, now—one strong enough to seize the reins of government power from the lax hands which refused to tighten them on syndicalistic violence. Under such conditions it was natural that Fascism, symbol of united power in a single hand, should gather strength until it swept the slate clean of timid parliamentary equations and inscribed in a bold hand the single word *Force*!

The demand of the present age is not theory but deeds. If one profess good things

but fail to achieve any good, he should be put second to one who professes nothing but does a lot of good.

Parliamentary government—we have the high authority of Lloyd George for it—means "government by talk." But, as ex-Ambassador Child put it. "When a spirited people cannot stand it any longer, they act. Talk and party conferences and social theories and sentimentality are luxuries enjoyed by these people who do not face intolerable situations.....When a people face an intolerable situation the real ravenous hunger is not for a program, but for a man." This apology for Fascism, broadcast through the columns of the *Saturday Evening Post*, is accurate enough. Yet it is perhaps worth nothing that it is only these peoples who insist on the luxury of party systems and the sentimentality of social theories who arrive but rarely at "intolerable situations"; on the other hand, nations who are forever in search of the man, not the program, seem to find almost all situations equally and chronically intolerable after a trial more or less brief.

As for programs, apparently Ambassador Child was sufficiently interested in the Meaning of Fascism to make some inquiries of Mussolini, even when the Black Shirt was still a bravado gesture. This is his report of the interview:

"Well," I said, "what is the Fascist program?" It is easier to snath the tiller than to steer the boat....."

"Program?" he said. "My program is work, discipline, unity." He shot another look at me and saw that I was doubtful about vague slogans. He said with tremendous conviction, "Programs are endless. It is the organization—it is the men—it is action, not talk—it is men!"

There you are: the program of the politics of the period is—*action*—not talk, not theory.

The "Common Front against Bolshevism"

When England broke off diplomatic relations with Russia, it was bawled out by the Empire criers, the press, that this was the beginning of the end of Bolshevism. Now would we see a general rising against Russia among all capitalistic countries. But what happened actually was comic to the extreme. Instead of copying Britain's heroic gesture, other nations concentrated on capturing the trade with Russia that was given up by the former country. Thus, one reads in the *Living Age*.

Standard Oil, an all-powerful American corporation, has concluded a contract with the Soviet Commercial Agent to market Russia's petroleum abroad. Just now that is the only commodity the Soviet Government is able to export in large quantities, and if she could be prevented from selling that she would soon be bankrupt. But the Americans have taken advantage of the elimination of their British competitors to strike a bargain with the Soviets. They put up the money; the Russians put up the oil. Thus Standard Oil

jealous defender of private property though it may be in Mexico, is buying petroleum in Russia from wells expropriated by the Soviets from the Royal Dutch Company.

Something similar has happened in case of Italy and Russia. Italy, to be sure, recognized the Moscow Government some time ago, but since then relations between the two countries have been anything but cordial. Only the other day, for example, Rome recognized Rumania's title to Bessarabia, whereupon the indignant Russians began to boycott Italian goods. One would suppose moreover, in view of the agreement upon general policies which seems to exist between Italy and England, that Mussolini would keep step with Sir Austen Chamberlain in this matter. But Italy must find markets for her products and manufactures; she wants more territory, and she needs even more urgently outlets for her goods. Now Great Britain's break with Russia promises to produce a market vacuum in the latter country for Italian manufactures to fill. So the Fascist press now advocates closer commercial relations between the two countries, and Italian financiers propose to found an institution at Rome to subsidize exports to Russia. Simultaneously Moscow has tripled its deposits in Italian banks for buying Italian merchandise. We know definitely that the Russian Government promptly transferred to Rome the five million dollars gold more or less that it had in London banks, in order to pay for goods that it originally intended to buy in England but has now decided to buy in Italy.

So much for the common front against Bolshevism.

Newer Methods of Cancer Treatment

We find the following in the *Literary Digest*:

New hope for sufferers from certain forms of cancer heretofore regarded as incurable was held out by Dr. Joseph Muir of New York recently at a demonstration before the Cancer Research Congress in Vienna, of a new type of radioactive "seed" for implantation in diseased tissues. Says the Vienna correspondent of the *New York Times*:

"While Dr. Muir said his method was of too recent development to claim permanent cures, he expressed confidence that it would prove more efficient in destroying the malignant process than the hit-or-miss methods which were all that were possible under the old conditions." The seeds, each no longer than the head of a pin, contain radon, a radioactive gas far less costly than the forms of radium previously employed, and therefore may be made available to practically every sufferer. The containers, he explained, are so devised as to overcome two great drawbacks which have heretofore lessened the usefulness of the method—burning, with subsequent necrosis of the tissues exposed to the radium, and the necessity of leaving the seeds permanently in the radiated area. The new seeds are screened with platinum, which cuts off all caustic rays, and attached threads make it possible to withdraw the containers as soon as their usefulness is ended. The seed particularly lends itself, he

said, to treatment of cancer of the esophagus, one of the most deadly of all forms of cancer. Dr. Muir was for several years physician-in-chief at the New York Throat, Nose, and Lung Hospital. Abandoning the field of medicine for a few years, he served as Consul-General at Stockholm and later as Secretary of the Legation to Norway and Sweden. Returning to medicine, he has devoted himself to radium therapy. On leaving Vienna, Dr. Muir will take his "seeds" to cancer centers in Berlin, Paris and London."

When King Sisowath Went to Paris

In the same journal there is an account of the visit of the late King Sisowath of Cambodia to Paris. We are told:

The King of Cambodia arrived as a real potentate from ancient Asia should. The jewels worn by him and his entourage were worth 100,000,000 francs, and the French police temporarily suspended all other activities to guard the wearers of this treasure.

The King also brought with him the Sacred Sword of Cambodia, reputed to be 3,000 years old, and studded with jewels valued at \$3,000,000, and the Three Bakous, guardians of the sword, whom rumor soon invested with all the mystery and glamour of fabled giants.

The 100 dancing girls were covered with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, topazes, carbuncles, tourmalines and sapphires, and those who saw them heartily approve of King Sisowath's name for them: The Living Jewels.

But their costume for the Sacred Dance was as unique as it was costly. For it consisted of gold wire fitting tight to the figure and more concealing than silk, and President Fallières and Madame Fallières, who were pious folk and hesitated before allowing the Cambodian ballet to appear before them, later admitted their scruples had been unfounded.

In addition to the gold-wire costume, the dancers wore a gold helmet incrustated with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies set in a design which dated back to 1000 B. C.

Rodin, the famous sculptor, was among those invited to see the ballet dance. And he went crazy over the dancing girls. He spent many days watching and sketching them, winning their confidence by giving them little presents as if they were small children: candies, toys, beads, fruit and other trilles. They pouted and sulked unless he came to them with his pockets bulging with these gifts. But Rodin was happy, and even thought for a while of traveling back to Cambodia with them.

Rodin writes about these dancing girls in his reminiscences as follows:

"Never was the human form carried to greater perfection. These Cambodians have movements I had never seen—never would have thought possible to the human body. Antique sculpture in its interminable richness has not revealed these movements to us.

"They are full of movement: there is a rhythmic shudder that passes along them from

the tips of the right-hand fingers to the tips of the left-hand fingers, undulating through the shoulders, that is a veritable joy, an undreamed of delight to the artist. From their earliest childhood they are trained to use muscles that we never use, to make, in perfect harmony with their ancient music, exquisite movements whose secret springs are hidden from our knowledge.

"In their forms these dancing women are beautiful—admirably, wonderfully beautiful. Their lines astonish. I think of the noble, severe simplicity of the Egyptian granite. The costumes are most beautiful in themselves: they reveal every line of the body. It is a complicated beauty of adornment through which the beauty of the human line shows superbly, unspoiled."

Race Decay and Infant Mortality

The following is from the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*

Mr. G. H. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, in his *Clash of Culture and the contact of races*, has set forth some interesting conclusions he has drawn from data collected by him as to infant mortality and the decline of races. The first thing to be noticed, is that a high infant mortality by no means implies decay. Half the Chinese infants that are born perish in infancy and there is a very high infant mortality in Japan. But neither the Chinese nor the Japanese show any decline in vitality. The average infantile mortality for the white races is said to be 150 per thousand, while for the Indians it is 360 and for the negroes of the United States somewhere about 225. As Mr. Pitt-Rivers shows the contention that the infantile death-rate is an index of the health of a nation does not bear examination. In fact, it may be said that those races which show the largest infantile death-rate display the greatest health and the strongest constitutions. Primitive tribes, which, besides the natural mortality arising from carelessness and mismanagement in nursing practised infanticide, showed robust health and extreme longevity. Both the North and the South American Indians were fine races of men, and the same may be said of the Maories of New Zealand and many other primitive races. Yet all the evidence goes to show that infantile mortality was very heavy among these people. As Mr. Pitt-Rivers points out, the lowering of the infantile death-rate has had other consequences. Thus in New Zealand, where the infantile death-rate is only 42 per thousand, there has been an actual increased mortality in infantile diarrhoea and enteritis, congenital debility, malformations and cancer. In both New Zealand and Australia, which lead the world in a low infantile mortality rate cancer is responsible for more deaths than any other cause except disease of the heart. "Comparing the cancer mortality rates in England, Australia and New Zealand, the actual annual rate, as well as the rate of increase during the ten-year period, is higher in the same order than the infant death-rate is lower. Chili, on the other hand, with the highest infant mortality rate of any white country, has one of the lowest rates of cancer mortality. The next highest cause of mortality in Australia and New Zealand is assigned to congenital debility and

malformations; here again there is no sign of decrease. Since 1920 nearly half the deaths of children under one year of age in Australia have been due to congenital causes, but the mortality figures do not adequately represent the gravity of the hygienic or eugenic aspect of the question, since for every infant death due to congenital causes there are many survivors who, if they reach maturity, suffer permanently from the handicap of a congenital defect." Thus, in return for a low infantile death-rate, other evils have to be faced. This brings out the reason why a high infantile death-rate should be accompanied by general good health and vitality. It is a case of the survival of the fittest. It was only the infants of specially strong constitutions which were able to go through the ordeal of insanitary conditions, carelessness and mismanagement. They grew up to be strong healthy men and women, while the congenitally diseased and the weak perished in infancy. Improved sanitary conditions and knowledge of hygiene have enabled us to save a good many more of the infants, but many of these fall victims sooner or later to the weakness of their constitutions laying them open to disease, while many others go through life having to bear the cross of congenital debility or malformation. The assumption that all children are born equally strong, and that it is only lack of care and knowledge which prevents all children not growing up into healthy men and women is not born out by the facts. What we have to recognise is that there is a perpetual variety in constitutions, and that we cannot guarantee health and strength to a child simply because we prevent it from dying in infancy. This, it may be noted, is one of the weak points of the theory of birth, control,—it provides for the proper nutrition and care of children by decreasing their number, but it cannot guarantee that the child that is allowed to see the light of day shall be constitutionally sound. In preventing natural selection from playing its part we run the risk of breeding weaklings.

The above of course, takes into account only that aspect of the science of life which treats of keeping infants alive at all costs, i. e., making it easy for as many as possible to survive. Survival of the fittest or weeding out may be nature's way to give humanity, health and vigour, but there is also the scientific, the eugenic way: Keeping all children alive or even birth-control is not eugenics. Eugenics stands for selection of parents, selection proper breeding conditions of health, age etc., in parents; for prenatal care, for post-natal care and stimulation of health and strength in babies and so on and so forth. Engenics has not yet been given a fair trial. It is therefore not wise to pronounce a judgment on it, even by suggestion. As to the value of infant mortality and high birth-rate it is biologically an extremely wasteful method of procuring social health. It assigns to women a very low place in the scheme of things and

it entails an enormous mental suffering and unhappiness. If civilisation is a race towards a happier state of things, infant mortality must slow up with its progress and social vigour obtained in a more, beautiful, economical and sensible way.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams on "Mother India"

Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams reviews Miss Mayo's "Mother India" in *The Asiatic Review*. He welcomes the boldness of Miss Mayo on writing on an aspect of the Indian question which others always leave untouched. Prof. Rushbrook Williams does not appear in his review to have guessed the sinister motive of the authoress in writing a book whose sole object is to lower India in the eye of the world. Very strange for one of his erudition and intellect; but very natural also for other reasons. Miss Mayo's undemocratic spirit seems to have pleased Prof. Rushbrook Williams. He says:

Unlike the majority of her countrymen, Miss Mayo regards democracy with little favour. So far from considering it the panacea for all ills, whether social or political, she seems to be an upholder of the heretical doctrine that it is a highly specialized form of government, depending for its success upon certain factors that are by no means universally present.

The learned professor would probably discuss liberty or the right to keep one's money in one's own cash-box in the same vein.

But even he fails to admire Miss Mayo's logic. He says:

Where Miss Mayo cites chapter and verse for her statements, she proceeds to generalize from a few dozen examples, and to apply this generalization to hundreds of millions. For some of her most startling assertions, she cites no statistics at all. How does she know "that from one end of the land to the other the average male Hindu of thirty years, provided he has means to command his pleasures, is an old man; and that from seven to eight out of every ten such males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty are impotent"? I am quite at a loss here. I should have thought that the decennial statistics of the population, to say nothing of common observation, would have suffered to give the lie direct to any such assertion. Miss Mayo may have unchallengeable authority for her statement. If so, she should surely quote it.

He sums up though in a different strain.

She has illuminated one side of the Indian problem in such fashion that it can hardly succeed for the future in evading the attention which it deserves but does not invite.

No mention however of her "illumination" of many things that do not exist at all or only in a very small way. No mention of the overlooking of all good points of Indian life. No mention again of the contempt expressed throughout for India and of the inordinate admiration of the British whose mis-deeds are conscientiously painted over with exaggerated praise all through.

Yet another Condemnation of "Mother India"

M. M. Underhill reviews the above book in the *International Review of Missions*: She writes forcefully against Miss Mayo's silly generalisations and blindness to most vital things connected with India. The reviewer, who is a lady, says:

She was warned, before starting for India, not to generalize. And it is possible that she honestly tried not to generalize; but she has, nevertheless, done so, and has produced some quite appalling statements. That 'the Indian girl, in common practice, looks for motherhood nine months after reaching puberty—or anywhere between the ages of fourteen and eight,' is simply not true. Had Miss Mayo given herself but a few years to live in India and to watch the family life of even a small circle of her neighbours, she would have known better. Religion in the West forbids much which is, nevertheless, sometimes done. Hindu custom sanctions much which is, nevertheless, usually not done.

She also condemns Miss Mayo's strict exclusion of all references to the many Indian individuals and institutions working for the betterment of Indian life.

It is hardly fair to report unsavoury details of the breach of hygienic laws, or revolting deeds of cruelty, whether to man, woman, child or beast, with never a word of those who are spending their lives in fighting just those very evils. The passing mention of 'Indian volunteer associations, partially pledged against Untouchability,' which include the Servants of India, avowedly political; Lord Sinha's society for the help of the outcastes of Bengal and Assam; the Brahmo Samaj, and others' is, as far as we can find, the only reference to the existence of societies, promoted and carried on by Indians, for the social, moral and spiritual uplift of their fellows; unless the vague statement in the concluding chapter 'that there are other facts' is meant to cover them. Did Miss Mayo really meet no kind-hearted, decent, loving husbands and fathers in India?

Then there is a general valuation of Miss Mayo's "original" discoveries and great insight into Indian thought and feeling.

In a book announced as 'totally unlike any other book on India' one would not expect to come across that hackneyed statement of the hypothetical

disappearance from Bengal—given certain circumstances—of virgins and rupees, yet here it is, quoted in all sincerity as original. The book shows throughout a lack of any background knowledge of India; and, what is more serious, it shows a lack of appreciation—one might almost say of power to appreciate—in face of a civilization foreign to previous experience. For example, Miss Mayo quotes freely from Mahatma Gandhi, but has completely failed to understand either the man or what he stands for in India. One cannot help asking: Does Miss Mayo know even now much more of India than she did before going? We doubt it.

Her admiration of British rule is as great as her admiration of India is small, in fact, the former depends upon the latter. It is ungracious to accept appreciation grudgingly, but we think in this case the price is too great.

America Advised

A writer in the *New York Herald Tribune*, quoted in *East and West* asks America :

"When over 1,200 young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four take their own lives in one year (in America); when with the present rate of statistics, every marriage will end in divorce in eleven years; when 80 per cent of all crimes are committed by children under eighteen; when 42 per cent of unmarried mothers are school-girls under sixteen, is it not time to ring the changes on self-denial instead of self-expression?"

Intellectual Leaders of China's Revolution

Current History gives an account of the intellectual leaders of Modern China. We are quoting from this account below :

Liang Chi-chao

Liang Chi-chao, dean of Chinese letters and father of constitutional reform, is now almost sixty. His name comes first among the reformers of the pen. Mr. Liang was a pupil of the noted scholar Kang Yu-wei. They were the leaders in the reforms of 1898, which were so blindly opposed by the old Manchu Dowager. Driven out as an exile, Liang became an agitator for progress and moderate reform. He edited the first daily newspaper in Peking. He was editor of a number of reform papers: *Political Opinion*, *Justice* and *Hsin Wen Magazine*. Traveling in Japan, America and Europe, writing continually, Liang returned after the revolution of 1911 to take part in the organization of the Government. He was leader of the Progressive Party, holding office in a number of cabinets. His influence was demonstrated in 1914 and 1915 when he attacked the twenty-one demands of Japan, and again in 1917 when he influenced the Chinese Government to join with the Allied Powers in the World War. Mr. Liang attended the Paris Peace Conference. Since 1916 he has given his time to writing and lecturing. He is a member of the International Writers' Club, lecturer

at Tsing Hua College, Peking, contributing editor to a number of periodicals, and a busy public speaker and writer. Every educated Chinese has read Liang Ching-chao's *Yen Ping Shih*, a collection of essays, and other lectures and opinions of this scholar.

Now known as a conservative liberal Mr. Liang in 1898 was a radical. The tremendous changes since then have left him somewhat behind the times. He now leads the Yen Chao Hsi, a party committed to political moderation and educational reform. His opposition to the Kuomintang and Soviet Russia has given him the name of ultra-conservative. Despite all this he is one of the leaders in the New Thought movement, a writer of beautiful Chinese style, a friend of new ideas and a genuine reformer. If Mr. Liang is not an original thinker, he is an important popularizer of new ideas. Writing on "Revolution and Reform" he says :

"Revolution is the law of nature ** Reform must begin with the people, not with the officials. We must not wait for their reforms. We must begin ourselves and save ourselves. We must not fear revolution. We must succeed in changing the present condition. In China not merely politics need reform; all institutions need the spirit of change. We must make a sincere effort to lift the common welfare!" (*Yen Ping Shih*, Vol. III.)

In an essay entitled, "Educating the People Is China's Most Urgent Need," he writes :

"China is now in a most dangerous position, because she lacks universal education. People are masters of a land, the source from which a nation gets her strength and stability. There are many young people today who worry about China's condition, and realize there is a crisis. But it is useless if we give attention only to diplomatic relations and neglect the fundamental reform of the nation. Imperialism prevails everywhere. Is it not because China lacks reform from the inner side?"

This is the tone of Mr. Liang's numerous articles, editorials and lectures. He is an optimist, a progressive, who has been promoting for the last thirty years a program of nationalism, constitutional reform, popular education, holding before his nation the story of the development of the modern West and the example of men of courage and initiative. Among the impressions I gained when I first saw Mr. Liang in June, 1926, in his home at Tsing Hua College, are these: He is a Buddhist of a low scientific order, an enemy of the Marxian view of life, a kind of poetic rationalist who has place for religious faith, a champion of sane nationalism, an advocate of science, the critical method, an admirer of Bertrand Russell, an advocate of popular education as the basis of the New China and a scholar who has the skill to make popular ancient Chinese culture and new Western thought.

Chen Tu-sin

Mr. Chen is now known as an old man, but he is still in spirit a revolutionist. Contrasted with Liang Chi-chao he is an iconoclast, who has consistently opposed the "Old Culture". "Confucian standards must go, filial piety and these conservative ethics are fetters which must be broken; away with superstition, abolish the idols of the past. Destroy the old style of writing and with it

the old style of thought, and follow science and material forces."

Reading a few sections of Mr. Chen's *Wen Tsun* (*Collected Essays*), the spirit of the man is soon discovered. For example, in his essay, "The Destruction of Idols":

"May I ask why we should destroy the idols? There are many persons and things that are useless, but are venerated just like idols. A thing which is useless, even though it receives honor, should be destroyed. * * * All the gods and devils in heaven and earth cannot be proved to be real. These pretenses in religion are like the idols which deceive men. The term *amita Buddha*, or the word "Jehovah," or the term "Emperor of Heaven" may deceive people. All the spirits which the theologians worship are useless idols which should be broken. In the ancient days folks were ignorant and believed that a King was the Son of Heaven. They worshiped and honored him, believing that his power was greater than any one in his country. This idea of divinity permitted the King to reign. As a matter of fact, Kings and Emperors are all idols. They cannot work miracles; they depend entirely on the people. The Emperor Pu Yi, in China, and Emperor Nicholas, in Russia, are more pitiful than the ordinary citizens today, because they have lost their kingdoms. These Emperors, like the idols of clay and wood, have been destroyed and thrown into the rubbish heap."

Speaking also of the idols of the nation, family and ethics, Mr. Chen ends thus:

"Destruction! Destroy the idols! Destroy false idols! Our faith should take the standard of real truth. The vain, traditional glory of religion, politics and morality are all idols which ought to be destroyed. The reality of the universe and our own faith can never combine if these idols are not swept away!"

Writing on "The Revolution of Literature," Mr. Chen says:

"Three principles may be written on the banner of our revolution: First, to overthrow the ornate, flattering, noble literature, and create the simple, lyrical, people's literature; second, to overthrow the antiquated, extravagant, classical literature and create a new, truthful, realistic literature; third, to overthrow the complex, difficult and scenic literature and create the simple, ordinary, social literature. * * * European civilization is not only gifted with politics and science, but also has great literature. I love Rousseau, Zola, Kant, Bacon, Darwin, and many I cannot here mention. Is any one in China as great as one of these men? If there is any one who will disregard his own honor and reputation to join in the fight against the eighteen devils (the classical scholars who oppose the progress and reform in literature) I will drag the biggest cannon and be a forerunner in the fight against these enemies!"

In the recent *Controversy Between Science and Philosophy of Life*, Mr. Chen championed science and attacked metaphysics. He states in his preface to the collected essays, which make up this controversy that science is more fundamental than metaphysics:

"Comte divided the progress of human society into three periods: we are still in the period of religious superstition. Do not the great majority of our people still believe in witches, fortune-telling

and foolish things? Among the educated class there are many who believe in metaphysics."

In another short essay Mr. Chen says:

"Some one has made the remark that China needs three forces—the Russian spirit, German science and American capital. I think we do not need American money, but do need to combine the Russian spirit and German science. At present, people welcome American wealth, but they are indifferent to German science, and their greatest terror is the Russian spirit."

Wu Chih-hui

Along with Chen Tu-siu goes Wu Chih-hui, author, materialist and radical. Mr. Wu, who is now also among the older generation, has become one of the boldest of reformers. He is an anarchist, a revolutionist, who has suffered exile for his beliefs; but a teacher and warm-hearted democrat who is respected for his character and earnest life. This touch of autobiography is found in his representative essays:

WU CHIH-HUI'S CAREER

"I am now sixty years old; when the Emperor of Japan determined to reform his empire I was seven. From that year I began to learn Chinese characters, to memorize the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*, and stuff my memory with the famous essays. When twenty I became interested in critical study of the classics, and a great admirer of the Uan Dynasty scholars. I had an ambition to write critical studies, and felt exceedingly proud to have the opportunity to study these noble works of our "Middle-Flowery-Kinadom." At that time I wrote inflammatory articles to denounce the foreign church and instigated people to burn these churches. I refuted republicanism by quoting the classics, and argued that a great empire must have a king. * * * When I was thirty, I came to Peking for the examinations, but failed. I lived at that time with a successful candidate, Wang Ying-mien. One day Chang Chien came to my place to talk with Mr. Wang. Chang Chien was a student of the Premier, Wong Tasing-ho, and agreed with the scholars of the time that they should help the Premier to fight the dwarfish Japanese. A few months later the emperor issued an edict and ordered "give the enemies a decisive blow." Every one thought that the three islands of Japan would be crushed in a few days. But the war news became more and more disappointing. Four months later a General who was responsible for the loss of the frontier of Manchuria was beheaded. Then Kang Yu-Wei presented his famous memorial to the Emperor, and Liang Chi-chao published lists of foreign books for the students of China. At this time I followed these great men and tried to play a humble part. But how disappointing it is that after thirty years have passed our education is still ornamental, our industry is still undeveloped, the reforms are but changed sign-boards! And now people are taking Chinese curios, classical criticism and so forth as the spiritual civilization of the East, digging up rubbish from the past to eat as divine ambrosia! And today I am still obliged to write articles such as Liang Chi-chao wrote thirty years ago! Ah, you sick man of the East, your sickness has really become incurable!"

Mr. Wu has been an outspoken opponent of Tagore, and during the Indian poet's visit to

Peking, Wu Chis-hui's rough satire was too much for his delicate sensibilities. Mr. Wu's style is characterized by the use of common language, slang, vulgar comparisons, keen humor, bold satire and audacity.

Lu Sin

Lu-Sin, China's most eminent fiction writer, is a pillar in the New Culture movement. The bearer of this well-known pen name, Chou Shu-jen, spent ten years studying in Japan. Although interested in medicine he spent most of his time, he tells me, in reading Russian literature and the literature of submerged nationalities. He and his brother, Chou Tso-jen, who has been almost as equally prominent as his brother and is considered by some to be the master of the prose essay in China today, collected and translated a number of stories from Russia, Poland and Southern Europe, while they were studying in Japan. The two brothers returned to China to give their lives to literary work. Lu Sin, like Chekhov, Schnitzler and Oliver Wendell Holmes, left medicine for creative literature. He is now 46 and is generally recognized as the great realist of contemporary Chinese literature and a master of the short story.

Kuo Moh-joh

Kuo Moh-joh, the fighting poet and novelist, is another example of the man of letters as revolutionist. He, like all those previously mentioned, obtained his ideas while studying Western thought in Japan. Returning to China, he became the leader of the "Creative Society" and a prominent poet and story-writer. He is an active member of the Canton revolutionary party and recently has entered the People's Army.

Hu Shih

Hu Shih, Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, is one of the youngest heroes of the pen, but an outstanding influence among the student class. Dr. Hu's English book, *An Outline of the Logical Method in China*, represents his careful scholarship. He is the most prominent of the Western-trained men.

The Government of Bengal is much behind its sister Presidency Provinces in this matter. The Excise Minister of Madras, speaking last week at Ootacamund, claimed that his province led India in an enlightened Excise policy. It has definitely declared for the ideal of Prohibition. Bombay five years ago voted for Prohibition in twenty years. Bombay City is to-day under the Prohibition policy of its Government, the drink of the city is rationed, and the ration is diminished each year, the Minister of Excise informed the Legislative Council at its last session that this policy had been so successful that five years had seen a decrease in 40 per cent. of consumption of country liquor.

Can Calcutta afford to ignore what is happening in Bombay? The majority of those who drink in both cities are the labouring classes. Their wages do not permit of anything being spent on any commodity that is not an actual necessity. In the interests of their commercial prosperity, the cities of Bombay and Madras have already pledge themselves to help their labourers to become total abstainers. Calcutta must follow or lose its proud pre-eminence in the life of India.

Bengal is abstemious and Calcutta hardly so. Why? Evidently because there are an immense number of Europeans, Eurasians and other non-Bengalis in Calcutta to push up the drink bill. Says the Rev. Herbert Anderson:

It is a remarkable fact, showing what an abstemious province Bengal is, that it has only one country spirit shop to every 86 square miles of its area, and less than two shops for every 100,000 of its population. That is practical prohibition. While Calcutta, with a million and a quarter people, drinks nearly three lakhs of bulk gallons of country spirit, the whole of the rest of the province, with 40,000,000, drinks only eight lakhs of gallons. And in the matter of revenue Calcutta pays to Government the huge sum of 55 lakhs of rupees out of the total for the whole province of 128 lakhs or rather less than half.

Calcutta's Drink Problem

The following extracts are from *Abkari*:

During the twelve months April, 1925 to March 1926, citizens of Calcutta, including Howrah, drank in round figures—

- 2,80,000 bulk gallons of country-liquor.
- 1,10,000 bulk gallons of imported foreign spirits.
- 31,000 bulk gallons of wine.
- 3,00,000 bulk gallons of beer.
- 7,000 bulk gallons of medicated wines.

A total of seven and a-quarter lakhs bulk gallons of alcoholic liquor. There are no figures for tari. The tari vendors are not required to maintain accounts of sales. But it has been computed that 40,000 maunds of tari were sold in the same period.

Bengal is falling back in the race for prohibition, says the Rev. Herbert Anderson, whose speech before the Rotary club is reproduced in *Abkari*,

Selling Human flesh

The Japan Weekly Chronicle publishes the following in the course of a criticism of Japan's system of making virtual slaves of Geishas and girl workers generally. We read:

Past experience and recent revelations show that the girls practically become the slaves of the masters of the houses and can be sold from one house to another as slaves were sold from one master to another in America in the times of the slave trade. The arrangement is that the purchaser of the girl pays so much down to her parents for the use of her body. The girl is supposed to be a willing agent in such transactions, but in view of the stress laid on filial piety and the strength of public opinion, the only alternative to meeting the greed or need of her parents is suicide. She is therefore only a willing agent to this extent. The law against the sale of human flesh is overcome

by the pretence that the master of the house provides her with a room for the reception of guests, and that the money that she makes goes to pay for her keep and her clothes, for the provision of which the original loan was contracted. A girl who once finds her way into these houses very seldom makes her escape as long as she is of value to her master, whether for his own house or for sale to another. Legally there are means whereby she can be freed, but they are so complicated and require so much strength of character on the part of the girls, surrounded as they are by bullies, that they are virtually a dead letter. The girls are only flung out when they are diseased and worthless, with the flower of their youth gone. The system is so far officially recognised that the police are prepared to protect the owners of the houses against any loss that they may suffer from the attempts of the girls to run away. In a recent case some girls who found their way to Tokyo were arrested by the metropolitan police as they stepped from the train, and were sent back to servitude. The metropolitan police disclaimed any responsibility, since they only acted on instructions from the police of the town where the girls had come from, but their action plainly indicates that they regard the girls as the property of their master, who had applied to the local police for their return. If there had been anything illegal in the matter the master of the house would not have gone to the police, to demand that his property should be returned to him, nor would the police have been so prompt in responding to his request.

This sale of human flesh is not confined to the licensed quarters. There are other quarters where women are regarded as mere chattels which can be bought and sold. The girls who sell themselves to the mills experience a better fate than their unhappy sisters, it is to be hoped, although many tales are told of their hardships and of the disease which lies in the train of these hardships. Here again there is a trade in human flesh. The girls sell their services in order to relieve their parents and thus bind themselves down to a state of servitude for a number of years. The mill-owners always protest that they are willing workers, but guard them with a strictness which seems to show that they are not. In the event of any trouble in the mill they can be locked into the dormitories by the owners, much as if they were their property, and it is very exceptional that they should be turned out of the dormitories, as happened in a recent strike, where the masters, knowing that the girls had nowhere to go to, resorted to this end in order to break the strike. Times are bad now, and the owners no doubt thought that they could dispense with the girls' services. In other directions there is also traffic in human flesh. Girls are sold to cheap eatinghouses, where they become the property of the owner, who can pass them on to other houses when he is in need of money or even dispose of them to the brothels. Here again there seems no chance for the escape of the bird once it has got into the net. The men into whose hands she has fallen are violent characters who would think nothing of killing her rather than let her escape. And the law seems powerless to protect her against the passions of evil men. Rather the administrators of the law seem to be

against her. Public feeling also seems to be against her. The debt is regarded as a matter of honour which has to be repaid, and if it cannot be repaid the girl has to suffer. Even where the master of the girl has cheated her, as he always does, and got his money back many times over, still the original money has to be repaid. And when the original money is forthcoming the girl runs a great risk, if she is worth keeping, of being forcibly restrained and bullied into refusing to accept assistance.

This practice of dealing in women's flesh, whether it be for prostitutes, geisha, mill girls, or waitresses, goes on all over the country and is a reproach against the nation. It is stated that an Imperial Ordinance was issued in the early days forbidding the practice, but old established practice has triumphed even over an Imperial Ordinance. Whether the law could be revised to prevent it is a matter for lawyers to decide. We cannot prevent people entering into contracts for the sale of their services. This is a practice common in all countries and is to some extent a safeguard for the worker. But the peculiarity in Japan is that it is only the women workers who have such contracts. The men workers are liable to be dismissed at any time. This raises the question whether it would be possible to forbid contracts which provide for an advance of the wages paid. To appeal to the moral sense of parents who sell their daughters means little relief for the present situation. The law must be appealed to for present relief, and the only way to do this seems to be to make any advance on wages at the time of engagement illegal.

Lord Olivier on Indian Reforms

The Right Honourable Lord Olivier of Ramsden, P. C., K. C. M. G., C. B., former Secretary of State for India, writes on the Indian Reform (question in the *Review of Nations*, Geneva. He says at one place :

It is presumed that the Commission to be appointed not later than 1929 is to judge whether Indians have shown themselves capable of being entrusted with further responsibilities, or deserving of that indulgence, by amiable and responsive co-operation with the Government in working the Dyarchical constitution. The presumption is offensive and exasperating to self-respecting reformers. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and other responsible Labour Party sympathisers with the Indian Nationalist Movement, have never minced words in criticising the futile political tactics of the Swarajist Party in their attitude towards the constitution ; but those tactics form no demonstration of incapacity for public administration, which is a different thing from political tactics. And although we should have advised public-spirited Indians to make the best of a bad job by entering and taking office in the Councils, unquestionably their doing so would have often placed them in most unsatisfactory and humiliating positions, to which they might well say it was not worth their while to expose themselves. For the central fact about the Dyarchical system is that an elected

member, by accepting Ministerial office, both accepts responsibility or at least inevitably has it imputed to him, for things for which he is not responsible, and becomes identified with the Government which he is bound to support and accordingly exposed to the criticism of his own Party members, who must necessarily under existing conditions act as an opposition.

Then he criticises the Indian attitude of distrust in the British. Says he:

There still prevails among the foremost Nationalists of all sections in India an unconquered scepticism as to the sincerity of British statesmanship in its professed purpose of guiding India into the position of a self-governing Dominion. The causes of this scepticism are many and various; but, in so far as the corporate and continuous intentions of British Governments can be regarded as representing the will of this country, it is not warrantable. The purpose has been declared on behalf of all political parties, and all that impedes its progressive achievement is the difficulties involved in transition to self-governing machinery.* Those difficulties no doubt appear more formidable to Conservatism than to Labour or Liberalism. But no intelligent or well-informed man in this country can possibly doubt the good faith in which the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution was set up: the Die-Hards bewail and denounce it because they know it was genuine, and its effects irrevocable. And yet that constitution was denounced in the manifesto of the Swarajist Party for the elections of 1923 as knowingly intended to secure the continuance of the subjection of India to British exploitation. The charge is intrinsically absurd, and Indians weaken their power by this misunderstanding. But it is important to under-

stand why it is made. From the point of view of Indian Nationalists the constitution is seen as a fantastic invention elaborated by academic publicists for the purpose of affording the appearance without any reality of an advance towards responsible Government. I have pointed out the most conspicuous aspect in which it appears illusory, and, as Lord Brikenhead has explained in Parliament, where in certain Provinces it was worked with comparative success and in the least illusory manner this was only achieved by ignoring the letter and the intentions of the constitution as framed. But the more general aspect in which the constitution is viewed, and quite justly, is this. Here, its framers appear to have said, is a constitution which will allow the Ministers of certain departments the appearance of pursuing a popular policy with the support of elected representatives, subject (as has been observed) to limitations of finance over which they have no control, and also so long as the elected Councils do not vote in a manner which embarrasses the Government. So soon as they do this, the Government has power to take its own course, both in provincial affairs and also in any conflict in the Legislative Assembly. That is to say the constitution was devised to enable the Government, wherever it considered it necessary, to go on exactly as it had gone on before, executing the policy determined upon by its official advisers. And even if it is not expressly made, by the conditions laid down in the Act, a condition of further advance towards a more democratic system that elected Members of Councils shall have humbly and complaisantly worked this constitution precisely as the Government desires, at any rate that is the impression produced by the writings and speeches not only of the journalists of the Die-Hard Press, but even of Conservative Ministers in their references to the duty of "co-operation".

In fact, one has to go deeper and farther back into British-Indian history to unearth the many causes that have contributed to the growth of this quite warrantable feeling of distrust.

* But is it impossible for all the British political parties to be insincere in relation to India? The transitional difficulties, too, are very much exaggerated. Editor, *M. R.*

INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

News and Portraits

In every sphere of activity—educational, political, social and civic—Indian women have been gradually taking their rightful place. We give below further information regarding MISS FAZILAT-UN-NESSA and MISS SARALA GHOSH, to whose high academic attainments we referred last month.

MISS FAZILAT-UN-NESSA was born in 1905 at Kumullinamdar, near Karatia, in Tangail, in the district of Mymensingh. Her father's name is Mr. Wahed Ali Khan. She passed the Matriculation Examination in the 1st

division in 1921 and got a scholarship of Rs. 15, and also I.A. in 1923, and was awarded a special scholarship of Rs. 15. She passed both the examinations from Eden Girls' College at Dacca. She read for the B.A. in Bethune College, but appeared in the examination as a non-collegiate student, and passed with distinction. She has won a first-class first in Mathematics in the M.A. Examination of the Dacca University.

MISS SARALA GHOSH, a graduate of Bethune



Miss Fazilat-un-nessa
Photo by courtesy of Al-Mamun Club, Moslem
Hall, Dacca University



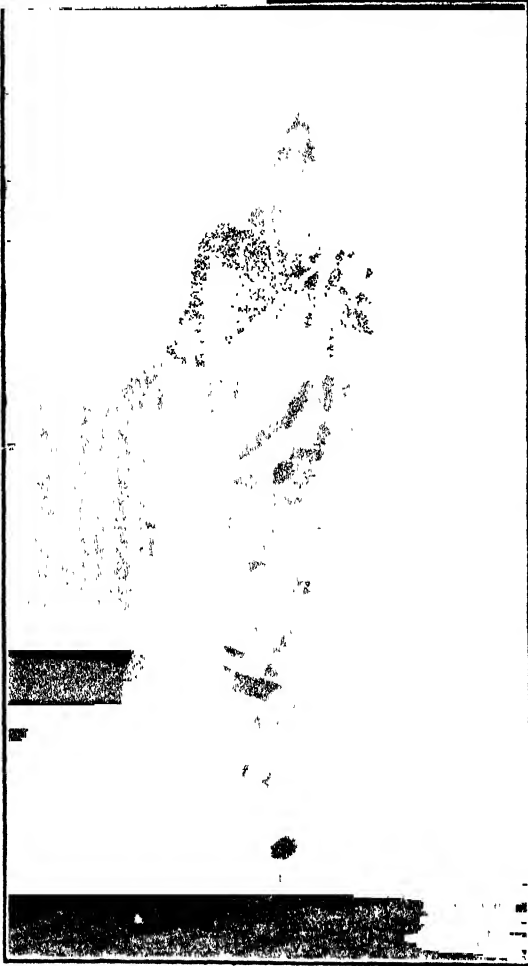
Miss Sarala Ghose
Photo sent by Sivatoshi Gupta, U.S.A.



Dr. P. Muthulakshmi Ammal
[Photo sent by Indian News Agency



Miss Sarah Pothan
[Photo sent by I.N.A.



Dr. Miss Jamila Mary Sirajud-Din
[Photo sent by Prof. R. Sirajud-Din

College, Calcutta, has this year received her Master's Degree from Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, one of the finest institutions of learning for women in America. She is one of the most brilliant of students ; her high scholastic attainments throughout her college career have been a credit to her country. Her amiable and sweet disposition and proverbial eastern modesty combined with a certain western aggressiveness, writes Mr. Sivatosh Gupta, have helped her fellow-students to realize 'that Indian girls are equal, nay often superior, to their western sisters in intellectual qualities and human attributes which constitute the making of the best type of women. Having received her Master's Degree in Economics and Sociology last June, Miss Ghose is planning to spend the winter

at Columbia University, New York City, where she will take courses in Psychology and Pedagogy, work that will fit her to be of even greater usefulness to the cause of woman's education in India when she returns home. This summer Miss Ghose is spending most of her time in visiting social welfare organizations of New York City and gathering

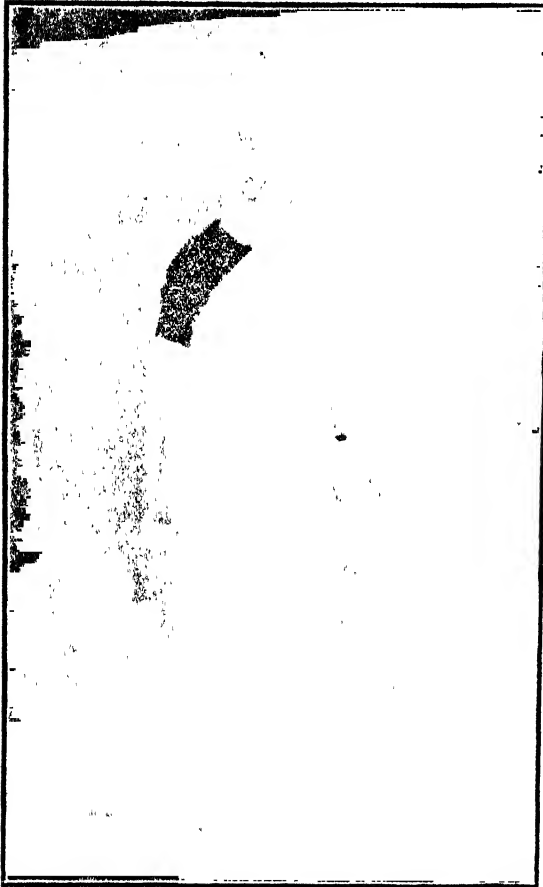


Srimati Suhasini Devi
[Photo sent by Prof. K. M. Gupta

information. She is also keen about factory labor. Miss Ghose has not only evoked popular sentiments among her friends for Indian girls, but she has aroused the sympathy of American educationalists in the problem of the Indian woman's education. She has been instrumental in securing a donation of \$1000 from Wellesley College for the Maharani Girls' High School at Darjeeling, of which she is a matriculate.

SRIMATI SUHASINI DEVI, daughter of Srijut Kailash Chandra Dutt of Tipperah (Bengal), has, it is reported, achieved the distinction of being the first lady science graduate from the Bethune College, Calcutta. She passed the last B.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University with distinction and has taken up Botany in her M. Sc. course at the University College of Science. Sreemati Suhasini became a widow shortly after her marriage at the age of 17.

MISS SARAH POTHAN, B.A., daughter of Mr. Jacob Pothan, editor, *The Trivandrum Daily*

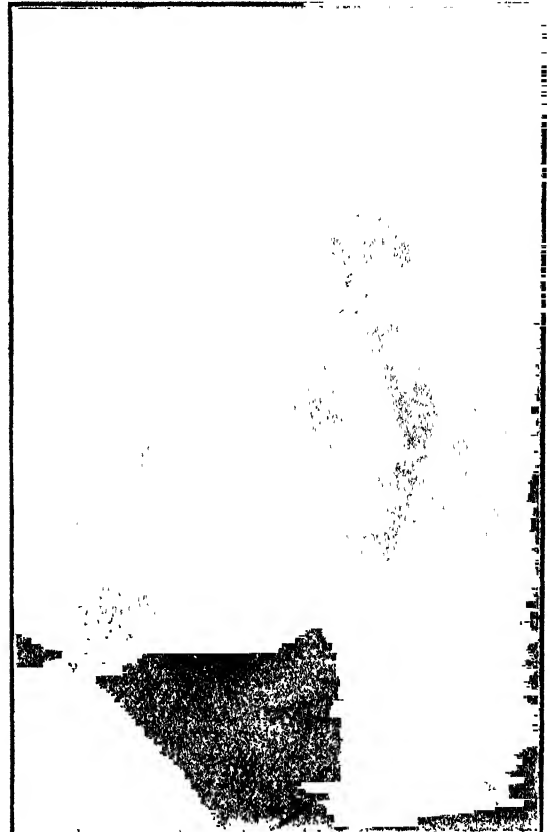


Mrs. Hamsa Ammal Doraikannu Mudaliyar

[Photo sent by R. V. Rao]

News, is the first lady graduate of Trivandrum to go in for the law degree.

The academic distinction of MISS JAMILA MARY SIRAJUD-DIN, daughter of Prof. R. Sirajud-Din of Lahore Forman Christian College deserves special mention in this connection.



Mrs. G. Linn Ure

[Photo sent by I. N. A.]

Miss Sirajud-Din proceeded to England after taking her M.A. degree of the Punjab University. There she received the diploma of Technical Education (Dip. Tech.) from the London University and was subsequently admitted to the Ph. D. degree of the University of Edinburgh. At present she has been visiting Domestic Science Institutions in France, Germany and Switzerland. She has been appointed as Industrial Instructress for women by the Government of the Punjab.

In British India, Indian ladies are not considered fit for holding responsible administrative offices. But a progressive Indian state has led the way in this direction by appointing a qualified Indian lady in the political department. We learn that the Maharajah Thakore Shaheb of Gondal has appointed SRIMATI JAMNABAI DEVI SINGH RATHOD, B.A., as his Political Secretary.

This month we have received the news of the appointment of some ladies on the Municipal boards in different provinces. Mrs.

PETER AUSTIN VAS has been nominated as a member of the Tellichery Municipal Council. MRS. HANNA AMMAL DORAICKANNU MUDALIYAR, an earnest social worker among the Vellala (Non Brhamin) community, has been nominated as councillor of the Madura Municipality



Srimati Jamnabai Devi Singh Rathod
[Photo sent by R. V. Rao

and Mrs. G. LINN URE, O. B. E., has been elected to the Rangoon Municipal Corporation. Social workers all over India would be glad to learn that DR. MUTHULAKSHMI AMMAL,



Mrs. Peter Austin Vas
[Photo sent by I. N. A.

M.B., C.M., M.L.C., Deputy President, Madras Legislative Council, has been unanimously elected chairman of the Reception Committee at the ensuing session of the Indian National Social Conference to be held at Madras in December next. She is a well-known social worker of the province and represented India at the International Women's Conference,

INDIANS ABROAD

• Mr. Andrews' Statement

Our readers will remember the attack made by the *African Chronicle* on Mr. Andrews, about which we wrote in this section last month. The following is Mr. Andrews' answer to the same :

"I have apologised, both by cable and letter, to the "Star" news-paper, Johannesburg; and I have expressed at the same time my deep regret for the unfortunate interview, which was given at Lorenzo Marques, when I was tired out even to the point of exhaustion. For I was very deeply grieved to find, that it has conveyed a wrong impression to Indians, in the Transvaal, who are my friends. My immediate reference, in the interview, was to the condition of the trading class in Lorenzo Marques

itself, where (just before the interview) the leading members of the Indian community had told me that 95 per cent were men, living without their families. I had in mind other parts of Africa also, which I had recently visited, where the proportion was very nearly as excessive. It is true my words referred to certain features in the Transvaal as well, but not so immediately.

In my apology, I very gladly accepted the fact (pointed out to me) that in the Transvaal, there had been a great improvement in this proportion of men to women in recent years. Further, I stated that I had used the word "demoralisation," in the interview, in a general sense, as referring to the deterioration, which inevitably takes place in habits of life when large groups of men live for a long period in a foreign land without the amenities of the family.

Since the matter has been brought to the notice of the press in this country, I would ask leave to make my own position clear. During the past thirteen years, in every possible way, I have been endeavouring to expose the wrong done to humanity, whenever, either by a system,—such as that of Government indentured labour to Fiji; or Government recruited labour to Malaya,—or by private individual recruiting unregulated, the family life is not upheld as sacred. On the whole, public opinion, and Government opinion also has not been slow to recognise this wrong, when once it has been pointed out. As far as I am aware, I have never made any distinction either in my own mind or in the press, as to the persons or races among whom this principle of the family life (in emigration) was in danger of being infringed. For instance, I have often written and spoken very strongly of the wrong done in the tea plantations of Assam, when young Englishmen are induced to come out from England on salaries which do not enable them to live a proper family life. I have also written to the English newspapers, in England, about the same evil in North Rhodesia and Malaya. Furthermore, I have referred to the evil which has ensued in Malaya and Singapore, with regard to a form of Chinese immigration, which (up to quite a recent date) was destructive of the family life.

Every time that I have gone over to Africa, I have tried to encourage the family life among those who reside there as traders. Whenever the family life has been encouraged, as among the Ismailia Community, all along the coast; the Arya Samaj members in Nairobi; the Goanese Community at Lorenzo Marques; the Parsee Community and others, the effect has been immediately to enhance the idea of Indian national dignity and respect. For nothing is more beautiful to witness than the love of Indian fathers for their children and their homes; and this continually wins a true appreciation from those who are only too ready to criticise the Indian Community otherwise. I have lived in such Indian homes, and know the pure joy of it. I have also lived in homes, where there are no mother and children to give me their unspeakably precious welcome, and I have noticed the difference.

It is true (and it is one of the best answers to Miss Mayo's book) that Indians have shown in Tropical Africa remarkable powers of self-restraint, while living under these disproportionate conditions. It may be remembered, that I collected

irresistible evidence on this point, especially in Uganda, to rebut the charges of Lord Delamere, Major Grogan and others, which were published in the Economic Commission Report of 1919. But such self-restraint must not be counted on to last for all time, so as never at any point to break down. We surely ought not to put such a strain on average human nature. Besides, there is an inevitable deterioration that takes place; and this prevents the best features of Indian civilisation from being brought into evidence.

If I am asked, finally, whether I would say exactly the same things about Englishmen in India, I would unhesitatingly say "Yes". It is a principle of humanity for which I am struggling and pleading.

P. S. I note, in "Young India" of October 6th, 1927, that Mahatma Gandhi has recently made the same appeal to the Chetty traders, in Tamil Nadu, to take their families with them when they go out to Malaya and Singapore.

Lord Bishop of Natal on Indian Question

Indian Opinion, Natal, writes

We are deeply grateful to His Lordship the Bishop of Natal for the righteous lead he has given on the Indian question. In his Charge to the clergy and the laity at the recent Diocesan Synod at Maritzburg, an extract from which we publish elsewhere, he put the finger on the spot when he said in the words of the Rev. C. F. Andrews that the Indian in South Africa suffered from "the inferiority complex." "the constant reminder that they were despised, and counted of no account by those of another race with whom they were brought in close contact everyday." No greater wrong can be done to a people than the destruction of its self-respect. Any other wrong is easier of repair than this, the loss of self respect. It destroys all the finer and ennobling qualities of the people, their righteous ambition, self-help, public spirit and clean-living, and inevitably degrades them. If the Indians in South Africa have not sunk very low, it was not because there was anything in their surroundings that discouraged it, but because of the traditions of their own ancient civilisation. Only the other day the *Natal Mercury*, which seems to have made a speciality of creating and maintaining an atmosphere of hostility towards the Indian community, gave prominence to the complaint of a European that an Indian who was occupying the front seat among the three back seats allotted to non-European passengers on the Durban trams and was, therefore, well within his rights, did not in all humility vacate his seat in favour of the standing European passengers and retreat to a seat more to the rear. And the European correspondent accused the Indian of "insolent pride!" This is a typical instance of the way the self-respect of the Indian is being attacked, and it also indicates that the Indian has resisted the attack.

Impressions of Kenya

Mr. R. D. Karve writes in the *Democrat* his impressions of Kenya, which will interest all who desire to know about the conditions prevailing in that Colony. He writes :

The first thing that strikes the visitors to Kenya is that wherever Indians exist in sufficient numbers, they cannot help being sectarian. It is part of their nature. In Nairobi, the capital, for instance, there is not a single club or other institution where all Indians can meet but there is a Cutchi Gu, rathi Union, a Patel Brotherhood, a Goan Institute, an Indian Christian (non-Goan) Union, a Punjebhai Club, and there are besides Punjabi Hindus, either followers of the Sanatan Dharma or the Arya Samaj, these latter being in two camps, vegeterians and meat-eaters. The railway administration has provided three separate Railway Institutes : Indian, Goan and European. Some of these institutions admit a limited number of outsiders as a concession, but without full rights. It is perhaps natural to form groups according to languages, but any further subdivision seems very undesirable. Even the elections to the Municipality are contested on religious grounds. I have not heard of any religion giving special training in Municipal administration, and it is absurd to introduce it everywhere. Apart from this, however, the relations of different sections of Indians between themselves and with Goans seem to be cordial enough. But why should it be necessary to speak of different sections at all ?

The relations between Indians and Europeans in Kenya are, however, anything but cordial. The Europeans, principally British settlers, official and commercial employees, try their best as usual to behave as if they were supermen, the official class being perhaps the least ill-disposed towards Indians. One is surprised to find all kinds of things reserved for Europeans. Not only are railway compartments so reserved, but cafes, restaurants, hotels, hair-cutting saloons, theatres, even rickshaws are. There is a dentist in Nairobi who will take Indian patients by the back door only. There is a doctor who will not go out at night except for European patients, though of course he does not announce this. In a European shop an Indian customer will never be attended to if there is a European customer in the shop, and the Indian has not the spirit to retaliate in Indian shops. He is out to make money and keeps his dignity aside if he has any.

In fact, the principal reason why the Indian in Kenya is disliked so much by the European is that he carries his low standard of living with him wherever he goes, and this enables him to undersell the European.

Even rich Indians will crowd together in insanitary tenements. If they build houses at all, it will be for rent, not for residence. The Indian does not go out to settle there. He wants to make his

pile and return to his native place. The result has been that while European settlers and even Goans acquired vast properties when land was to be had almost for the asking, the Indian did not care to take it. What is the use of land in a country where you do not want to live ? And if you want to return to your country, the sooner you can do it the better. So expenditure must be reduced to a minimum, and we find even the richest Indians taking the cheapest seats at a cinema, the only one, by the way which admits non-Europeans, and the only place where other people can sit by the side of Europeans.

Of course, a few exceptional Indians like Mr. Phadke, Bar-at-Law, member of the executive Council, may be admitted anywhere, even in European hotels, because, in a small place, he is known to everybody, but that only proves the rule. Indians are there on sufferance, but they are in a way indispensable. Attempts have been made to get on without them, in the Railway, the Post office and elsewhere. But it has always been found that when Indians are not there, the administration becomes more expensive and less efficient. The Indians who had been sent away from these services had actually to be taken back. One notable instance of this attempt to do without Indians is a War Memorial which was ostensibly erected by Africans and Europeans only. This show is said to have cost about three times the amount it should have if Indians had not been excluded from taking any visible part in it. And the something happened everywhere. But the Indians who were taken back into the services went back on smaller pay. The supply of Indians being unlimited they have to make themselves cheap. Every fortnightly steamer carries a fresh lot of Indians looking for jobs. All except first class accommodation on these steamers is booked for months ahead, and the labour market there is being rapidly overcrowded. At present Indian employees are making a fairly decent living, but the future is not at all bright for the mere service-seeker.

Politically, Indians in Nairobi secured a great triumph in being able to prevent the reservation of the better areas for European residence. I am told they went so far as to refuse to pay taxes, and even went to prison, and ultimately the European community had to yield. At present, theoretically at any rate, there is no European Residential Area in Nairobi, as became clear the other day when the Government approved of a plot in the midst of the disputed area for the proposed Indian Hospital. The European community made a row and sent a big petition to stop it and the matter is still undecided, but the principle is proved. Indians can and some do buy or build bungalows in that area, but the state of feeling may be judged by the fact that when an Indian does occupy a bungalow near a European, the European will vacate it and make room for another Indian.

TO SIAM

(Translated from the Original Bengali)

When the thunder-voiced Prayer of the Three Refuges
rang from sky to sky across deserts and hills and distant shores,
the awakened countries poured their rejoicings
in great deeds, and noble temples,
in the rapture of self-dedication,
in mighty words,
in the breaking of the bond of self.

At an unheeded, unconscious moment,
that prayer, wafted by some sudden wandering breeze,
touched thy heart, O Siam, lived in thy life
and shaded it with a branching wealth of well-being.

A centre to thy revolving centuries,
an end to thy endeavours, which is Freedom of Spirit,—
it helped to bind thy people in a common bond of hope,
to strengthen them with the power of a single-pointed devotion
to one Dharma, one Sangha, and one immortal Teacher.

Let those words, potent with an inexhaustible creative urge,
ever direct thee to the adventures of new ages,
light up new truths with their own radiant meaning,
and in one single garland string all the gems of knowledge,
newly gathered.

I come to-day to the living temple that is one with thee,—
to the altar of united hearts
in which is seated on his lotus-seat Lord Buddha,
whose silence is peace, whose voice consolation.

I come from a land where the Master's words
lie dumb in desultory ruins, in the desolate dust,
where oblivious ages smudged the meaning of the letters
written on the pages of pillared stones,
the records of a triumphant devotion.

I come, a pilgrim, at thy gate, O Siam,
to offer my verse to the endless glory of India
sheltered in thy home, away from her own deserted shrine,
to bathe in the living stream that flows in thy heart,
whose water descends from the snowy height of a sacred time
on which arose, from the deep of my country's being,
the Sun of Love and Righteousness.

NOTES

Constitutions for India

We have shown more than once in this Review that in federal constitutions where there are two legislative chambers, the upper house generally consists of an equal number of representatives from each state or province of the federated commonwealth, and the lower house consists of numbers of members returned by the provinces or states according to their population. We have also shown that in the constitution which India has at present, neither in the Council of State nor in the Legislative Assembly have the principles, indicated above, been followed.

We have been repeatedly dealing with this topic, because, for the welfare and contentment of India and the provinces, it is necessary that the inhabitants of all the provinces should enjoy the honour, privilege and right of serving the whole country and their respective provinces according to their numbers, which they do not do under the present constitution. If it be thought undesirable or impracticable at present to assign to each province a number of representatives in the lower house proportionate to its population, then the spread of education in it, or even the total revenues collected in it, may be made the basis of representation. What we contend is that some consistent and easily comprehensible principle or principles should be followed in assigning the number of members to each province. We have shown that this has not been done.

And in consequence the inhabitants of the more populous provinces are represented inadequately and count comparatively for less as citizens. Such a state of things cannot be good for the country.

There are at present two draft constitutions before the country. One is to be found in the Commonwealth of India Bill, presented by Mr. Rennie Smith and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11 February 1927. It has been approved in substance by the Indian National Convention, and is popularly known as Dr. Annie Besant's Bill. The other is the draft constitution for India which a number of members of the Independent Labour Party have prepared in consultation with Indian friends, and which was

sent some time ago by Mr. A. Fenner Brockway to some Indian publicists for their advice and opinion.

Besides these two, the Congress party, it is said, are preparing a constitution. It is not known whether the persons entrusted with the task have finished it.

—

Representation in Dr. Annie Besant's Bill

Clause 11 of Dr. Besant's Bill states that "The Legislative Power of the Commonwealth [of India] shall be vested in a Parliament which shall consist of the king, a Senate and a Legislative Assembly, herein called the Parliament."

In the fourth schedule of this Bill it is stated that "the number of members assigned to the Provinces for the various legislative bodies shall be as follows :—

Province	Senate	Legislative Assembly
Assam	8	Assam 16
Bengal	20	Bengal 40
Bihar and Orissa	20	Bihar and Orissa 40
Bombay	20	Bombay 40
Burma	16	Burma 32
Central Provinces	10	Central Provinces 20
Madras	20	Madras 40
Punjab	16	Punjab 32
United Provinces	20	United Provinces 40

It is not clear on what basis or principle the number of members has been assigned to the provinces in the two legislative chambers of "Parliament." The principle followed in the United States of America, which is the most powerful federated commonwealth in the world, is to be found in the following extract from the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* :

"In 1787 all the states but three had bicameral legislatures—it was therefore natural that the new national government should follow this example, not to add that the division into two branches seems calculated to reduce the chances of reckless haste, and to increase the chances of finding wisdom in a multitude of counsellors. There was, however, another reason. Much controversy had raged over the conflicting principles of the equal representation of states and of representation on the basis of numbers, the larger states advocating the latter, the smaller states the former principle; and those who made themselves champions of the rights of the states professed to dread the tyrannical power which an

assembly representing population might exert. The adoption of a bicameral system made it possible to give due recognition to both principles. One house, the Senate, contains the representatives of the states, every state sending two: the other, the House of Representatives, contains members elected on a basis of population. The two taken together are called Congress, and form the national legislature of the United States."

In Dr. Besant's Bill, the Indian Senate, unlike the U. S. Senate, does not contain an equal number of representatives from the provinces, nor has the number been assigned according to population. The Legislative Assembly, too, has not been constituted according any consistent principle that we can make out. The following table shows the population of the provinces and the number of representatives assigned to them in the Besant Bill:—

Province	Population	Senate	Legislative Assembly
Assam	7,606,230	8	16
Bengal	46,695,536	20	40
Bihar & Orissa	34,002,189	20	40
Bombay	19,348,219	20	40
Burma	13,212,192	16	32
Central Provinces	13,912,760	10	20
Madras	42,318,985	20	40
Punjab	20,685,024	16	32
United Provinces	45,375,787	20	40

The table makes it clear that the basis of population has not been followed in the representation given to the provinces in the Senate and the Legislative Assembly.

Moreover, the minority of the population of British India, inhabiting Assam, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Burma, Central Provinces and the Punjab, has been given a far larger number of representatives than the majority, inhabiting Bengal, the United Provinces and Madras, as the following two tables will show:—

THE MAJORITY

Province	Population	Senate	Legislative Assembly
Madras	42,318,985	20	40
U. P.	45,375,787	20	40
Bengal	46,695,536	20	40
Total	134,390,308	60	120

THE MINORITY

Province	Population	Senate	I. A.
Assam	7,606,230	8	16
Bihar and Orissa	34,002,189	20	40
Bombay	19,348,219	20	40
Burma	13,212,192	16	32
Central Provinces	13,912,760	10	20
Punjab	20,685,024	16	32
Total	108,766,614	90	180

It is clear from these tables that in both

the Senate and the Legislative Assembly Dr. Besant's Bill gives the minority of the inhabitants of British India 50 per cent. more representatives than the majority. In India's present constitution the group of provinces containing the minority of the inhabitants of British India have 18 per cent. more Indian elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly than the group containing the majority. Therefore the Besant Bill discriminates far more against the majority than the present constitution. In the United States of America the framers of the constitution tried to counteract "the tyrannical power" of the majority. In India both the bureaucratic and the pro-people framers of constitutions have invested the minority with preponderant power. What is the reason?

From the statistical publications of the Government of India, it is not possible to state accurately how much revenue is collected in each province. For this reason we are unable to *prove* what is a fact, *viz.*, that neither in the present constitution of India nor in that contained in the Commonwealth of India Bill have the total revenue collections in each province been made the basis of representation. What can be demonstrated is that the basis of the number of literates in each province has not been followed. In previous issues we have shown that this basis has not been followed in India's present constitution. The following table proves our statement as regards the Besant Bill:—

Province	Literates	Literates in English	Senate	Legislative Assembly
Assam	483,105	70,809	8	16
Bengal	4,254,601	773,161	20	40
Bihar & Orissa	1,586,257	132,062	20	40
Bombay	1,645,533	276,333	20	40
Burma	3,652,043	113,413	16	32
Central Provinces	633,293	62,736	10	20
Madras	3,621,908	398,883	20	40
Punjab	833,492	139,535	16	32
United Provinces	1,688,872	175,239	20	40

Representation in the I. L. P. Bill

Though the Independent Labour Party as a whole is not responsible for the Bill sent to some publicists in India by Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, we have called it the I. L. P. Bill for brevity's sake. In this Bill, too, neither in the Senate nor in the Legislative Assembly has either the basis of total

population, the basis of total revenue collections. or the basis of the total number of literates (in the Vernacular or in English) been followed, as the following figures will show :—

Province	Senate	Legislative Assembly
Assam	13	26
Bengal	33	66
Bihar & Orissa	33	66
Bombay	33	66
Burma	26	52
Central Provinces	17	34
Madras	33	66
Punjab	26	52
United Provinces	33	66

In this draft constitution, too, the minority has been given 50 per cent. more representation than the majority, and it is, therefore, far more unfavorable to the majority than the present constitution, as the following tables prove :

THE MAJORITY		
Province	Senate	Legislative Assembly
Madras	33	66
U. P.	33	66
Bengal	33	66
	99	198
The Minority		
Assam	13	26
Bihar & Orissa	33	66
Bombay	33	66
Burma	26	52
Central Provinces	17	34
Punjab	26	52
	—	—
Total	148	296

Local Bodies

There are some 750 municipalities in India, about 1500 district and local boards, and from twelve to fifteen thousand village *panchayats* under various names—all under statutory provision. The municipalities and the district and local boards altogether administer about 25 crores of rupees annually. How much the village bodies spend every year is not to be found in the reports. The amounts must come up to crores in the aggregate.

The powers and functions of these local

bodies differ from province to province. The laws under which they have been constituted are available. It would do much good if some one compared their constitutions, powers and functions in different provinces. We should be glad to publish an article of moderate length on the subject. All our attention is given to high politics. We should not be blind to the fact that parochial politics has much to do with the welfare of the country.

Another interesting and instructive article would be a comparative one dealing with what local bodies have been able to achieve for sanitation, drainage, water-supply, education, etc., in the rural areas in different provinces. We should welcome such an article also.

Dr. Seal At the Mysore Economic Conference

At the Mysore Economic Conference, before presenting his report as chairman of the Board of Education, Sir Brajendranath Seal made an important speech. He said in part :—

What is principally to be borne in mind in organizing a State system of education is that the primary grade of general education should lead up, either to the primary technical training, or, in the case of those who have the means or the aptitude, to the secondary grade of general education; that this last, again, should lead up either to the secondary technical course, or in the case of those who have the means or the aptitude, to the undergraduate grade of general education; and finally, that this university undergraduate grade should lead either to university technological or professional training or to graduate and post-graduate training in pure science or humanities. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the last year (or last two years) of every grade of general education, whether the primary, the secondary or the university grade, should comprise as optional courses, certain special technical (or vocational) studies or mixed courses which may be preparatory to the next following grade of technical education.

He then outlined the complete scheme as follows:

There will be for the present, under our existing conditions, six different types and levels of vocational training:—(1) Type 1, which will provide mixed vocational and general education of an elementary grade, in post-primary continuation schools, or in practical classes of middle schools, for training pupils who will grow up to be handicraftsmen, agricultural labourers, industrials engaged in cottage industries, unskilled mechanics.

(2) Type 2, mainly vocational, for skilled trades and industries,—in trade schools, industrial schools

agricultural schools, etc., to turn out skilled artisans who will grow up to be master workmen. These should, properly speaking, be post-middle continuation schools, and should devote some part of the working time to general education : (3) Type 3, prevocational training or vocational bias, added as a subsidiary and correlated element to liberal education in high schools,—to train students who after leaving school may desire to enter on callings in life, in the first instance as apprentices (more or less) in the vocations or callings concerned or to continue their vocational preparation in polytechnics, or commercial or sub-professional schools, or in the technology departments of a university : (4) Type 4, mainly vocational, with instruction in applied science, in technical institutes or engineering or medical, commercial or other sub-professional schools or colleges, outside a university—to turn out foremen, sub-overseers, sub-assistant surgeons, sanitary inspectors, clerks and lower-grade accountants, etc. : (5) Type 5, a mixed liberal and technological type, such as diploma courses in technology or commerce in the intermediate and post-intermediate stages of a university followed by workshop or farm training for a number of smaller chemical or other scientific industries (agricultural or manufacturing), or for subjects like commerce, teaching, etc. This type will turn out men who will run small industrial or business concerns on a proprietary basis, or be overseers and supervisors in mills, farms or factories, and will be eventually fitted to be entrepreneurs and captains of industry : (6) Type 6, technological or professional—of the university graduate or post-graduate stage—to turn out men for the learned professions, or advisers or scientific experts in mills and factories, or superintendents of Government farms and workshops, researchers, etc.

Dr. Seal concluded by observing :

I have in every case characterised both the type of training, the level of efficiency, and the place in the social economy kept in view, but these various grades are to be considered, not as unconnected with or independent of one another : they are mutually filiated as grades of one continuous and integrated national system of educational organisation, at once cultural and vocational, and it will be a main object of that organisation, when it is ready, to devise easy lines of transition from one stage to the next higher one, by means of tutorial classes, summer schools, evening classes, one-year classes, or adult schools, with the help of University Extension Movements, Workers' Educational Associations, Trade Unions, Educational Settlements, Social Survey Groups, and similar other voluntary associations that spring up in modern progressive society.

This scheme, which Dr. Seal had outlined in his Bombay Convocation Address also, should engage the attention of the holders of the education postfolios of the Governments of India and the Provincial Governments, and of those in charge of education in the Indian States.

The Revival of Hinduism

The prescribed formula for the revival

of Hinduism is Shuddhi, Sangathan and the removal of untouchability. In the Punjab Bhai Parmanand has started the Hindu Samyavad or Hindu Equality movement, which is more thorough-going and aims at the abolition of all distinctions of caste. Even in Modern India, this is an old idea, on which part of the social reform activities of the Brahmo Samaj is based. The Brahmo Samaj also advocates the worship of one God, instead of the worship of many gods and goddesses. The Arya Samaj, too, advocates the worship of one Supreme Being, adding to it a belief in Vedic infallibility and retaining the Hindu ceremony of *homa*. Some years ago Mahatma Gandhi declared that he was not a worshipper of images or idols, which did not rouse the feeling of reverence in his mind. He also published in *Young India* verses from Hindu Shastras in support of monotheistic worship, compiled for him by Principal Dhruva of Benares. He did this probably because he felt that the worship of one deity, in addition to being philosophically true and spiritually on a higher level than polytheism, makes for national unity and strength. He has enjoined the abolition of the purdah, advocated the marriage of child-widows and condemned child-marriage. These are all points of contact with what the Brahmo Samaj has professed and practised. But he is a believer in Varnashram Dharma according to his own interpretation. These "ideal" four castes, however, do not and cannot exist. On the whole, the religious and social principles for which the Brahmo Samaj stands have been finding favour with Indian leaders of various groups.

The League of Nations and "Weaker Nations"

The Leader opines :—

In a world where the weaker nations do not often get justice against the stronger ones, where people of one nation live in constant dread of another, where nations are groaning under the burden of armaments and other martial preparations, the importance of an organization like the League cannot be over-emphasized.

This is true. But we have to consider which are the weakest nations. Among the peoples of the world some are independent and some are in a state of subjection. A country which is in a state

of subjection, even if its area and population are large, is really weaker than small independent countries. We have shown in previous issues of this Review that the greater portion of the habitable surface of the earth and its inhabitants are under subjection to foreign peoples. It is these enslaved weak peoples who require to be protected against wrong and injustice and oppression at the hands of their masters more than the small and weak independent nations, who also undoubtedly require protection. But we are not aware that there is anything in the articles of the covenant of the League or in the constitution and rules of any League body which can give subject peoples any hope of redress. If anybody knows of such things, we shall be glad to learn from him. Needless to say, we are not referring to the so-called mandated territories whose population is not large and which possess the right of representation of grievances on paper.

Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd

The speech of the chairman of this Company, Mr. Narottam Morarjee, delivered at its recent 8th ordinary general meeting, contains many interesting items of information. It has been adding to the number of steamers owned by it, and also trying to man its boats with competent and qualified Indians. On this latter point Mr. Morarjee said :

The policy of manning your steamers with officers and engineers recruited in India has been receiving the careful attention of your Directors. Last year out of the 63 officers and engineers employed on your seven steamers, 30 were brought out from England and 33 were appointed in India. This year we have at present in our fleet 23 officers and engineers brought out from England and 41 selected from this country. We are trying to engage, as far as possible, men in this country possessing the necessary qualifications.

With a view to encourage our countrymen to man our steamers as officers and engineers, you will be glad to learn that, as indicated by me in my speech last year, six engineers were sent to England to enable them to undergo further training in the schools and marine workshops there for the purpose of qualifying for higher certificates of competency as engineers. We hope when they return to India duly qualified, they will be able to fill higher posts in the steamers of the Company.

I told you last year that two of our apprentices who obtained their certificates of competency of the Board of Trade as second mate were appointed as junior officers on the steamers of the Company.

Two more apprentices will shortly be sitting for their examination as second mate. Seven more apprentices are undergoing their period of apprenticeship on our steamers. We have been receiving a number of applications from young lads from different parts of the country requesting us to take them as apprentices on our steamers. Owing to the limited number of our steamers, we regret, it is not possible for us to take them all on our boats. We, however, propose to increase the accommodation on some of our steamers for taking such apprentices and when all our three new steamers will be in commission, we hope to increase the number of apprentices.

All the maritime provinces of India ought to help this Company with cargo as well as with officers to man its steamers. The young men of Bengal along with those of other maritime provinces should apply for apprenticeships. Those who can afford to go abroad should learn ship-building, marine engineering, etc., in foreign countries.

A Strange Coincidence

As an example of how presumably the minds of great persons think alike, we offer the following instance of remarkable coincidence to our readers.

On page 67 of the recently published (1927) brochure on "The Hos of Seraikella" by Anathnath Chatterjee, M. B., B. S. and Tarak Chandra Das, M. A., which forms No 1 (New Series) of the Anthropological Papers of the University of Calcutta, there occurs the following paragraph :—

"Judged by the head length, we find that the Hos are more variable than the Bavarian, Aino and English and less variable than the French. Judged by the head breadth, they are less variable than the Bavarian, Aino, French and English. Accordingly it would appear that our series is quite comparable in homogeneity with any modern series."

On page 424, *Biometrika*, Vol. I, 1901-1902, in her memoir on "The Naqada crania" Miss Cicely D. Fawcett writes :

"Judged by length we see that for both sexes the Naqada series is less variable than Bavarian, Aino, French and English. Judged by breadth the Naqada are more variable than the Aino, less than French and English and differ little from the Bavarian skulls. Accordingly it would appear that the Naqada series is quite comparable in homogeneity with any modern series"

Excepting for slight alterations, not only the language but even the different series compared in the two above quotations are strangely identical. As there is a gap of two and a half decades between the writings of Miss Fawcett and those of the

Indian authors, we suppose we cannot ascribe the coincidence to thought-reading, but it undoubtedly furnishes a notable instance of the unity of the human mind independent of time and space !

How Bengal Is Handicapped

If the people of any area run the risk of getting beaten in the race for progress, the fault to some extent is certainly theirs. But extraneous causes may to a great extent obstruct their march. It is our purpose to indicate in this note some of these extraneous causes, so far as Bengal is concerned.

When the partition of Bengal, effected by Lord Curzon, was "unsettled", it was done by means of a fresh partition. In the old administrative province of Bengal, in which Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur were included, Hindus were in a majority. In partitioning this old province in the way Lord Curzon did, one of his objects was to give the Musalmans a province in which they were to be in a majority. In the new partition by which the first one was undone, that object remained fulfilled. But it is not any communal gains or losses to which we intend to draw attention in this note. By the new partition Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal. Bengal has not objected and cannot object to this, because Bihar and Orissa have a perfect right to be independent provinces. What is objectionable in the new partition is that some regions which have all along formed parts of the linguistic and geographical province of Bengal were separated from it, such as the district of Manbhum, parts of the Santal Parganas, etc. These include some of the richest mining areas. They are healthy, too, and comparatively sparsely populated. For these reasons, they afforded room for expansion for Bengal in various senses. Such expansion is more difficult now than if these areas remained parts of the administrative province of Bengal. The problems of ill-health and unemployment are very acute in Bengal. These separated Bengali-speaking areas could have provided some means of solving these problems to a greater extent than now, if they had not been severed from Bengal.

Bengal is one of the unhealthiest regions of India, as Dr. Bentley's latest report shows.

But though the most populous and the richest source of revenue, Bengal of all the major provinces gets the smallest allotment of revenues for her provincial requirements. So there is little money available for improving the sanitary condition of Bengal, as well as for adequate medical relief.

A good many districts of Bengal could produce plenty of crops of various kinds, if there were irrigation works there. *But there are no productive irrigation works in Bengal!* This is the case with Bihar and Orissa and Chota Nagpur also, for the sin probably of having once formed part of the administrative province of Bengal.

The mileage of productive works in operation in the provinces is as follows :—

Province	Main Canals and Branches	Distributories
Madras	4,049	8,303
Bombay	5,608	744
United Provinces	1,459	8,805
Punjab	3,438	13,119
Burma	322	832
Central Provinces	211	846
N.-W. F. Province	88	200
Bengal	Nil	Nil
Bihar and Orissa	Nil	Nil

The mileage in operation of unproductive works is as follows :—

Province	Main Canals and Branches	Distributories
Madras	751	705
Bombay	1,898	1106
Bengal	60	254
U. P.	428	1,362
Punjab	160	152
Burma	Nil	Nil
Bihar and Orissa	764	2,752
Central Provinces	69	1,402
N.-W. F. Province	144	346
Baluchistan	8	71

The absence of irrigation works is one reason why agriculture cannot make adequate progress in Bengal. The jute duty brings annually to the coffers of Government some 375 lakhs of rupees. If Bengal were not robbed of this amount, both her sanitation and agriculture could improve to some extent.

Owing to the allotment of totally inadequate revenues to Bengal her Government cannot spend as much on education as it ought to. She is the most populous of all the provinces, but (in 1924-25) Government funds spent on recognised institutions amounted to Rs. 1,71,38,548 in Madras, Rs. 1,84,47,165 in

Bombay, Rs. 1,72,28,490 in the United Provinces and Rs. 1,33,82,962 in Bengal. The expenditure from fees, however, contributed by the scholars, was in the same year Rs. 84,32,991 in Madras, Rs. 60,13,969 in Bombay, Rs. 42,14,354 in the United Provinces and Rs. 1,46,36,126 in Bengal. No people can make all the progress in education it is capable of without adequate State help. Bengal has not been getting this adequate help. She has made some progress mainly by self-help. The reward for her thirst for knowledge has been inadequate State help.

It has been repeatedly shown in this Review how to Bengal, along with some other provinces, has been assigned a number of seats in the Legislative Assembly totally out of proportion to her population, extent of literacy and revenue-yielding capacity. Intentionally or unintentionally, this is one of the things which robs her of opportunities of doing good to India and herself. We have shown in a previous note how Dr. Besant's Bill and the I. L. P. Bill seek to perpetuate this injustice in an aggravated form.

The "lawless" laws, regulations and ordinances of the British Government have hit Bengal very hard. Large numbers of her sons have occasionally been sent to jail for the commission of technical political offences. Numbers have been deprived of their liberty *for an indefinite period* without trial of any sort and without even the formulation of any definite charges. One hundred and forty-six of them continue to languish in jails or in unhealthy villages. They are kept in conditions which have resulted in some deaths, some cases of insanity, some cases of contraction of tuberculosis and other serious diseases, and in a general breakdown of health.

It would have been a grievous wrong if the detention of these persons served to check only the political activities of Bengal. But it is a blow to other movements as well. It has always been observed that among these detenus there were some of the best young social workers and organisers of Bengal. For that reason it has always been believed that many of them, if not all, have been laid by the heels solely or mainly for their activities in connection with education, sanitation, rural economy, etc. So, by their internment or incarceration, Bengal has been deprived of some excellent social workers. Nay more; the feeling has been produced that if any one shows great zeal and efficiency

in independent social work in the villages, he runs the risk of losing his liberty directly and perhaps his health and life, too, indirectly. Thus, on the one hand, the State does not give sufficient money to Bengal for promoting sanitation, education, agricultural development, etc., and, on the other, discourages truly independent private effort in these directions by its policy of depriving men of their liberty without trial and without formulation of definite charges.

What we have written above finds some support from the following paragraphs taken from *Forward*, dated the 25th of October last :

Sj. Himansu Kumar Bose, who was recently released from internment at Debiganj (Jalpaiguri) was arrested under the Ordinance in October 1924. While in the Alipore Central Jail, 1925, a very high police official (European) and Rai Bhupendra Nath Chatterjee saw him in the jail. They discussed the nature of the allegations against him. The detenu repudiated all suggestions of complicity in criminal conspiracy.

European Police Official :—I know you were not connected with any anarchist party or group. But you are more dangerous. We are not afraid of those who handle bombs and revolvers, because they may be caught redhanded. You were founding asrams (social service institutions) in the villages, establishing libraries in the village areas, and conducting national papers. You were a worker in the Ramkrishna Mission (a Religious and Social Reform and Service Mission founded by Swami Vivekananda, so named after Ramkrishna Paramahansa. The Mission now has branch organisations throughout the country and devotes attention to flood and famine relief work and education of backward areas and classes). And you were "injecting" nationalism in and through that Association, especially among the students and young men who come into touch with the Mission's work and organisation.

The European Police official went on :—You were helping in spreading nationalist ideas among the masses, and you realise it is difficult for us to "check" the growth of ideas among the masses.

And the official concluded with some emphasis :—You are more dangerous.

The Rai Bahadur saw through the weakness of the European official's position and interposed :—You were selling away copies of the book—"Kanailal" (a Bengali book by Matilal Roy of Prabartak Sangha, Chandernagore); did you not?

Detenu :—Yes, I did, but the book was not proscribed then. What was the harm in selling copies of a book, the sale of which was not forbidden by any law, rule or regulation?

The above conversation between the detenu and the Police officials will give the readers an idea of the nature of the "crime" or "guilt" of the Bengal detenus. It confirms the public view that the police shots have been aimed at legitimate political and social work, at open movements and against any organisation that would promote self-help and patriotism. The detenu in question is a

near relation of S. Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal.

Packing of the Calcutta University Syndicate ?

It has been alleged that, under the present Vice-chancellor, the Calcutta University Syndicate has been packed with Government servants. But what are the facts ?

From the Calender for 1927 it appears that there are now only six Government servants as syndics, viz., the Director of Public Instruction, Principals Sterling, Barnardo and Adityanath Mukherji, Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah and Mr. Macdonald. But in 1916 there were nine officials, namely, the Director of Public Instruction, Principals Wordsworth, Satischandra Vidyabhusan, Calvert and Heaton, Mr. Peake, Mr. S. C. Mahalanobis, Dr. U. N. Brahmachari and Mr. J. N. Das Gupta ; and in 1917 there were eight official Members, viz., the preceding nine with the exception of Mr. Peake.

We think that even six officials in a body consisting of eighteen members is too large a dose of officialism. But for this proportion of officials the present Vice-chancellor is not responsible ; and those who could tolerate a larger proportion during the regime of some of his predecessors should not fall foul of him for the present smaller proportion.

The Vice-chancellor and Examinees

The story that the fate of 60 candidates whose cases deserved consideration was decided by the casting vote of the V.-C. is not borne out by the Syndicate Minutes. It is easy for irresponsible anonymous writers to make these allegations. Neither the V.-C. nor any other conscientious member of the Syndicate can refute these misrepresentations by publishing the speeches and votes at the Syndicate, because Syndicate discussions are by law confidential. The object of the baseless canard is to prejudice ignorant unsuccessful candidates against the V.-C. as their enemy. Every year the Syndicate draws a line beyond which grace marks are not to be given. The same old practice must have been followed this year. Those boys who were just below this border line will feel aggrieved. But this happens every year, and nothing new has been done by the new V.-C.

One of the lies published against the V.-C. is that out of communal partiality, he passed a number of Muhammadan candidates by giving them grace marks. Now, what are the facts ? A reference to the printed Minutes of the Syndicate (15th July, 1927) shows that the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah wrote to the Syndicate pointing out certain irregularities in the Matriculation Urdu paper, and that the Syndicate resolved to accept the recommendation of the paper-setter.

Similarly in I. A. Arabic, many questions were set from outside the Course, through the paper-setter being not informed of the exact names of the extracts set for 1927. When the mistake was pointed out by some lecturers and paper-examiners, allowance was made for this mistake by order of the Syndicate. Is it argued that no justice should be done to a candidate if he happens to be a Moslem ? Where was the partiality of the V.-C. ?

Fellows Appointed During Mr. Sarkar's Vice-Chancellorship

Vacancy	Successor
Aminul Islam (Mahomedan, Govt. servant)	A. S. M. Latif-ur-Rahaman
G. C. Bose, Principal, Bangabasi College	J. Choudhury, Secretary, Ripon College
Abanindranath Tagore, Khaira Professor	Dr. Jnanendranath Mukerji, Khaira Professor
Sir G. Rankin, then puisne Judge	Justice B. B. Ghose, puisne Judge
J. R. Barrow, Inspector of Schools, Presidency Div., transferred to Dacca	Matlub Ahmad Choudhury, successor of Mr. Barrow as Inspector of Schools Presidency Div.
Egerton Smith, I. E. S.	R. N. Gilchrist, I. E. S.
Surendranath Mullick, Vakil	Charuchandra Biswas, Vakil
Dr. P. Bruhl, University Lecturer	Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, University Lecture
Dr. Meek, Head of the Department of Physics (when first made a fellow) Presidency College	Prof. Benoykumar Sen Offg. I. E. S. & Head of the Department of History, Presidency College
Justice Zahid R. Z. Suhrawardy, Servant of Govt. of India	Abdul Ali, M. A., servant of the Govt. of India
Dr. Heard	Dr. Green Armitage
Rai Bahadur Abinash-chandra Bose, University servant	Dr. Debendramohan Bose, University Professor
Sir Kailas C. Bose, Private doctor	Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra, Private doctor
Dr. H. Stephen, Professor S. C. College when first appointed	Dr. Ewan, Professor S. C. College

All others have been reappointed without any change.

Under the Regulations, 45 per cent. of the nominated Fellows must be persons engaged in the teaching profession. School-Inspecting Officers have always been counted as members of this class. Taking teachers, ex-teachers and only one Inspecting officer into our account, the Senate in September 1927 had 78 nominated Fellows out of whom 53 (or 68 per cent) are teachers, and not a bare 45 per cent.

The Registered graduates in December 1926 elected 3 Fellows (besides a doctor) and out of these 3 only one was a teacher, namely, Mr. Satishchandra Ghose of the Post-graduate Department, while veteran teachers like Dr. Sisirkumar Mitra, Dr. Hemendrakumar Sen (both University professors) and Professor Khagendranath Mitra were defeated at the election. Could Government have made a more unacademic selection?

Much has been made of the cessation of Justice Zahid Suhrawardi's Fellowship in January 1927. The University Calendars show that Mr. Zahidur-Rahim (Suhrawardi) passed the Entrance Examination from the Dacca Madrassa in 1881, declaring his age as 15 completed years. Therefore in 1927 he must have been above 61 years of age and must have retired from the High Court Bench under the age rules a year earlier, unless the learned judge has "corrected" his age by a sworn affidavit. He cared so little for the Senate that a search among the published Minutes of the University shows that in one whole year (1925) he attended only *two* meetings out of 17, and in 1926 from the beginning to September (the period for which the records are available) he did not attend a single meeting! It is futile to bear a mere name on the Senate list. It is not easy to understand a certain party's anxiety to have on the Senate Fellows who are habitually absent or cannot by reason of their distance be expected to attend. How can a busy touring officer like the Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division (Mr. Barrow), attend meetings at Calcutta every month? His place is the Dacca University.

The Senate expects the advice and support of its members, if it is to decide properly the academic and administrative questions that are brought before it. A Fellowship is not a title of honour. A habitual absentee has no business to be a Fellow. His own sense of public duty ought to make him

resign when he cannot attend. Some examples may be given: In 1924 the Senate sat on 19 days out of which Dr. Abanindronath Tagore attended only on 3. Probably the Artist never cared for a Fellowship, and had sometimes to be dragged to the Senate House. Neither was he prosaic enough to resign. There may be others like him. Why make them Fellows at all and subject them to criticism? In 1925 Justice Suhrawardi attended only 2 meetings out of 17 and in 1926 *none* in the first 8 months. Other examples may be given.

But there is a curious phenomenon:—at the annual meeting of the Senate (end of January) when the Syndics and Faculty members are elected, the habitual absentees flock or are dragged to the Senate to vote. So the old song is true after all:

There once was a black bird gay,
A splendid fellow was he;
And though he went out every day,
He always came home to tea (to vote).

As an American sees India

The Rev. R. S. Loring, an American gentleman, visited India some months ago. An interview with him has been published in the *Milwaukee Journal*, which we print below.

RETURNED PASTOR SAYS, ENGLAND SMILES AT RELIGIOUS WARFARE

A Mohammedan kills a sacred cow in Bombay or Calcutta and the Hindu population rises in indignation. A religious war follows. Or perhaps a Hindu religious procession will pass a Mohammedan mosque, with banners flying and trumpets blaring. The Mohammedans are incensed, for they will have no music in front of their mosques. Another internecine war, Britain looks on with a smile of assurance, and knows that as long as this internal strife continues India is hers.

Such is the impression of India obtained by the Rev. R. S. Loring in a four months' study of that country.

India today, with its 69,000,000 Mohammedans and 220,000,000 Hindus, is a seething mass of resentment against British oppression, according to the Rev. Mr. Loring, interviewed in his apartment, filled with bronze gods of the Hindus and rugs on which Gandhi had phled the shuttle.

Tells of Promises

"I talked with many Indian lawyers and political leaders," he said, "who expressed this antagonism to England because of her continued domination of that country after using thousands of native troops in the World war.

"England mustered the troops at the muzzle of rifles, and never failed to fire when met with resistance. Promises of independence were made.

After the war these promises were forgotten and we are still under British rule. That is what they told me."

The speaker told of his interview with Gandhi, the mahatma, or "Great Soul," who once had half the Hindu world at his command, but now is losing influence because he prefers hand weaving to British manufacturing machinery. The Rev. Mr. Loring applied for an interview at the unpretentious home of Gandhi in Ahmedabad. He was informed by a secretary that the great man was on a vow of silence, which meant that he could not speak till it was over. A card was sent in and the Rev. Mr. Loring was admitted the next day when the vow ended at 3 p. m.

Thinks Gandhi's Work Futile

"He received me with great courtesy, sitting on the floor of his house, busily engaged in weaving rugs," said the minister. "He tolded his hands before him, the Hindu salute, then shook hands with me. He then waved me to a seat on a rough bench and this graduate of Oxford, once a famous lawyer in London, talked of India and his peaceful revolution while he worked."

The minister asked Gandhi if the religious wars had changed to economic struggles and if he thought the country's condition was growing worse, after the adoption of his policy of non-cooperation, refusing British manufactured goods and resorting to primitive handicraft.

Gandhi replied that present conditions were darker than before but that he was confident his policy would succeed.

"I was strongly impressed with the speech of this man, his brilliant arguments, his faith in his peaceful revolution, his sympathy for all creeds and religions, his urbanity. But when I saw the squalid condition of the Indian people, their backwardness in industry, education and methods of sanitation, his dogged determination to bide his time weaving rugs till England relented seemed futile," the Rev. Mr. Loring said.

LIKE BRITISH RESORT

The speaker described the rule of England in India as ineffective, rather than cruel.

"One finds good roads there, because the British must travel," he said. "There are good hotels and government buildings, extensive railroads. But these are things England needs. For the masses there is no help from England. The colleges are maintained only for the training of clerks for the civil service. There are no public schools. More than 90 per cent of the people are illiterate. England is there for what she can get, not for humanitarian motives. Her position is expressed by the words of British newspaper heading announcements of steamship sailing. Some of them read: 'To Hamburg, to New York, to Marseilles, but none to London.' It is 'Homeward Bound.' They consider India as a resort, or a place to work and are ever thinking of home."

The Rev. Mr. Loring told of the resources of India of the opportunities it had for rising to its feet. There are rich cotton fields in the northern half, and great cotton mills in Calcutta and Bombay. This section is rich in jute, coal and iron, he said, but added that these resources are in the hands of Britain.

The natives have little voice in the government,

he said. All matters of taxation and appropriations for the army and navy are determined by the British representatives. The native members of parliament can only make appropriations for internal developments after the others are made, and then they have no money, he said.

CONVERSIONS NOT LASTING

"All matters pertaining to India originate in the British ministry," he explained. "Lord Irwin the viceroy is in sympathy with India, but he has no power."

The Rev. Loring expressed the opinion that India could free herself if she could get over her internal strife.

He told of the ineffectiveness of American missionary work in India.

"A bunch of street cleaners were pointed out to me as a group of reconverts to Hinduism," he said. "Conversions to Christianity are seldom lasting. A member of the upper caste is never converted. It is only the poor and ignorant. What the Indians need is not religious teaching, they have too much of it now. They need education, schools, hospitals, modern machinery, western methods of commerce and industry."

Dr. Sudhindra Bose on Imperialism in India

The Milwaukee Leader writes:—

The uneducated masses in India and the British imperialistic policy at present form a vicious circle that is hard to break, Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Indian professor of oriental political science at the University of Iowa, who is in Milwaukee to complete some literary work, declared to-day.

PLEA FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

India continually asks Great Britain for more self-government, to which the latter replies: "You aren't ready for more self-government yet. Only one out of 10 of you can read or write!"

India then asks Great Britain for more schools, in which to learn to read and write, and the answer is: "There is no revenue left!"

So long as this dilemma continues in which India finds itself, Dr. Bose adds, and education proceeds no faster than it has during the 150 years in which it has been ruled by England, it will take 10,000 years to educate the masses.

He compares this situation with that of the Philippine Islands under the United States.

EDUCATION DESPITE HANDICAPS

In the short period of 25 years, 75 per cent of the natives have learned to read and write, he points out, in spite of the fact that the revenue these islands are able to yield is much less than that which India yields to Great Britain.

Where does the money go?

"Sixty per cent of the revenue derived by the Government from India is spent on the furtherance of British imperialism outside India," Dr. Bose declares.

"In recent years England has fought Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Afghanistan, Tibet, China, Burma and other eastern countries. And for these cam-

pains India has been required to give men and money against its expressed will.

Dr. Bose, who years ago worked his way to America as a common sailor and then through college and university, comes from the educated class of India. He is a scholar and linguist and conceded by his colleagues to be "the foremost teacher, lecturer and writer on Oriental policies in America."

University of Agra

Among the provinces of British India, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh occupy the lowest place in literacy. Among persons of all ages from five upwards only 42 per thousand are literate there. If we take the males alone, only 73 per thousand are literate. Of the girls and women 7 (seven) per thousand are literate. Such being the case, one would expect the Government and the people of the United Provinces to pay the greatest possible attention to the spread of elementary education. We are not aware that this is being done.

What is remarkable is that the Province which is least literate possesses the largest number of Universities in India. Not that we are opposed to the multiplication of Universities, if the standard of teaching can be kept high, and that of examinations, too.

The latest University to come into existence in the United Provinces in that of Agra. Even before the birth of the old affiliating University of Allahabad, Agra was one of the best centres of education in the province. Some of the most distinguished graduates of the province were educated at Agra. There is, therefore, nothing risky in hoping that Agra University will be generally able to turn out as good graduates as any other Indian University. For not only the Colleges in Agra city itself, but many of the Colleges affiliated to its University in other towns possess competent teachers. One cannot, however, be equally hopeful as regards the prospects of research work being done by the alumni of Agra University. As the new University is an affiliating one, if Government has to make grants for research work and equipment therefor, it must do so impartially to all the affiliated colleges. But it cannot possibly do so. Perhaps what may and ought to be done is to establish a library, laboratories and a museum in Agra, where postgraduate students and their teachers may carry on research. These may be named the Agra University College of Research. It

should be open to the professors and post-graduate students of all affiliated colleges. Unless such an institution is founded and maintained, the status of Agra University would perhaps become lower than that of some other Indian Universities. If the U. P. Government starts such a centre of research, it may invite the people of the area served by the Agra University to endow it.

Some of the Colleges affiliated to this new University are situated in some Indian States. These Indian States colleges should be adequately equipped for research work in science and arts.

Perhaps among the Colleges affiliated to Agra, there is no College meant specially for women. If so, such a College should be established. Of course, there would be at first only a few students. But gradually many would take advantage of it.

Bombay University

It is not our purpose to comment upon the recent activities of the Longislative Council of Bombay concerning its University. What we wish to point out is that Bombay has perhaps more millionaires and multimillionaires than any other province of India; and therefore its University ought to be the best equipped in India in every respect. Its Government, too, has fifty per cent more revenue at its disposal than the Government of Bengal, though the latter has to look after the needs of two and a half times as many inhabitants as the former. Therefore, the Bombay Government, too, ought to be in a position to spend more liberally for the promotion of University education than the Government of Bengal.

Headquarters of Andhra University.

It would not be proper for us to name any particular town in Andhra-desa which ought to be the seat of its University. As India is a poor country (poor so far as its people are concerned), perhaps it would be best to make that town the seat of the University which has the largest number of colleges or a college which is the best equipped and of the highest grade and which would require the least number of new buildings to be erected. Making such a place the university centre would result in some

saving, too, in the item of travelling and halting charges of the Fellows.

Benares Hindu University.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has issued an appeal for funds to wipe off the debt of 15 lakhs which the Hindu University has incurred, as also for adding to its invested capital whereby the incurring of fresh debts in future may be avoided. It is to be hoped that this appeal will be liberally responded to. We are not in favour of sectarian institutions, we would vote against their multiplication. But we do not want that any such existing institution should die of inanition. Rather would we hope that in course of time such institutions would shed their sectarian character. The old English universities have been gradually liberalised and modernised in this way.

Aligarh University Commission.

We had occasion once or twice to refer to the delusive character of certain examination results of the Aligarh University. One of its former high honorary functionaries also criticised the manner in which its affairs have been conducted. We hope the persons who are now inquiring into all matters connected with it will be able to present a report at once thoroughly critical and constructive.

Mysore and Intermediate Colleges.

The Educational Review observes:—

The authorities of the Mysore University and the Mysore Durbar have taken a very interesting step in the re-organization of University education in the State which deserves wider attention. Abolishing the system of a three years' course for the B. A., the University is going back to the traditional separation between the Intermediate and B. A. courses and establishing Intermediate colleges which will be within the jurisdiction of the authorities of the University and fulfil a double purpose—that of preparing some students for the higher work of the University and preparing others for various vocations in life. The introduction of Diploma courses in a number of vocational subjects is a special feature of this new organization. In view of the fact that in various other parts of India, attempts are being made to put Intermediate education outside the control of the Universities, this experiment will be watched with considerable interest.

Perhaps it is not too presumptuous on our part to suggest that those who advocate the placing of intermediate classes or colleges outside University control are not greater and more experienced educationists than Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, who is responsible for Mysore's educational policy. In this connection we may repeat some observations of Lord Haldane's London University Commission which we quoted once or more often before and which we now extract from *The Educational Review*:—

"It is also a great disadvantage to the undergraduate students of the University that post-graduate students should be removed to separate institutions. They ought to be in constant contact with those who are doing more advanced work than themselves, and who are not too far beyond them, but stimulate and encourage them by the familiar presence of an attainable ideal."

Teaching will, of course, predominate in the earlier work, and research will predominate in the advanced work; but it is in the best interests of the University that the most distinguished of its Professors should take part in the teaching of the under-graduates from the beginning of their University career. It is only by coming into contact with the junior students that a teacher can direct their mind to his own conception of his subject, and train them in his own methods, and hence obtain the double advantage of selecting the best men for research, and getting the best work out of them. Again, it is the personal influence of the man doing original work in his subject which inspires belief in it, awakens enthusiasm, gains disciples. His personality is the selective power by which those who are fittest for his special work are voluntarily enlisted in its service, and his individual influence is reproduced and extended by the spirit which actuates his staff. Neither is it the few alone who gain; all honest students gain inestimably from association with teachers who show them something of the working of the thought of independent and original minds. "Anyone," says Helmholtz, "who has once come into contact with one or more men of the first rank must have had his whole mental standard altered for the rest of his life." Lectures have not lost their use, and books can never fully take the place of the living, spoken word. Still less can they take the place of the more intimate teaching in Laboratory and Seminar, which ought not to be beyond the range of the ordinary course of a University education, and in which the student learns not only conclusions and reasons supporting them, all of which he might get from books, but the actual process of developing thought, the working of a highly trained and original mind."

Our contemporary then points out that

It would be an inestimable advantage for the staff concerned with the teaching of the Pass courses to be in close association with the superior staff which will be in charge of the Honours and Post-graduate classes,

A Biography of Mohammed.

The Week, edited by Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias, says that on the 14th October, the A. P. I. informed the public that

The Government of India have prohibited under Sea Customs Act the bringing into British India of any copy of the book entitled "Mohammed, a biography of the Prophet and the Man" by F. Dibble wherever printed.

This it calls "misplaced tenderness," and proceeds to supply the information that the *Manchester Guardian* of the 23rd September contained a review of the book, which concludes:—

The writer evidently regards dullness as one of the most deadly sins, and seeks to give more life and brightness to his narrative by using lively language. When this has been said, it should be added that he has given a vivid impression of Mohammed, unimpaired by the bias and abuse which used to mar the picture. Mr. Dibble brings out the frailties of the man, perhaps rather over-emphasising them, and the virtues of the prophet and leader. His concluding chapters, which are the best in the book, indicate a high appreciation of the true greatness of Mohammed,

On this the comments of *The Week* are:—

But such a book, published by a responsible firm like Hutchinson's and capable of being read only by people in this country who have had an English education, is prohibited in India! Whither are we drifting with this extreme governmental pandering to the religious susceptibilities of Moslems? One really begins to wonder, whether Islam has become the State Religion of the Indian Empire or whether we have still got the much vaunted "neutrality" in religion. If this is a sample of what the Indian Government believe to be the way, not to invite further, but to stop actual Hindu Moslem communal tension, then indeed one can only gasp at the naïveté of it.

5000 Year Old Textiles.

The following paragraph is going the round of the papers:—

A discovery of some interest that has just been made by the Archaeological Department is that cotton was used in India for textiles as far back as 3,000 B. C. The evidence for this comes from the prehistoric city of Mohen-jo-daro where recent excavations brought to light a silver vase filled with jewellery, and round about the vase had been wrapped a woven cloth, of which some fragments still adhered to the metal. Needless to say these fragments were in a very fragile condition after their 5,000 years in the soil. But the examination of them, which has been made by Mr. Turner, Director of the Technological Research Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee at Bombay, leaves no room for doubt that they are true cotton with the typical convoluted structure which is

the peculiar characteristic of that fibre. The ancient Babylonian and Greek names for cotton material, (Sindu and Sindan) have naturally pointed to the Indus region as the home of cotton growing, but there has always been a doubt as to whether the cotton known to the Babylonians and Greeks was not obtained from the cottontree (e. g. the silkcotton tree, *eriadenron aufractueum* rather than from the cotton plants of the genus *gossypium*). This doubt is now disposed of by the discovery that true cotton of the latter kind was used for weaving in Sind at the age referred to long before even the former had been discovered.

Health of British India.

The latest year for which vital statistics are available for all the provinces of British India is 1925. The table below shows the birth-rate, the death-rate and the rate of natural increase *per thousand* inhabitants in each of ten provinces for that year.

Province.	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Natural Increase Rate.
Central Provinces	43.9	27.3	16.6
Punjab	40.1	30.0	10.1
Bihar and Orissa	35.6	23.7	11.9
Bombay	34.7	23.7	11.0
Madras	33.7	24.4	9.3
United Provinces	32.7	24.8	7.9
Bengal	29.6	24.9	4.7
Assam	29.1	22.5	6.6
N. W. F. Province	26.9	19.8	7.1
Burma	25.4	18.7	6.6

In 1925 the Central Provinces had the highest birth-rate, and Burma, the lowest; the highest death-rate was registered by the Punjab, and the lowest, by Burma; and the Central Provinces had the highest rate of natural increase, and Bengal, the lowest. On the whole, Bengal was in the most pitiable condition, its natural rate of increase being the lowest showing that its inhabitants had on the whole the lowest vitality. No wonder, the Meston Award having most consciencelessly robbed it of its wealth of revenue and deprived it thereby of the power of making adequate provision for sanitation, medical relief, education and economic development.

Diarchy.

The creed of Non-co-operation damned diarchy in advance and opposed council-entry. The Swarajya Party, a rebellious wing of the party of Non-co-operation, advocated council-entry but opposed the acceptance of minister-ships, though perhaps on account of the argument of the settled fact or owing to lack of courage

to oppose some of its influential members it felt constrained to allow or support the acceptance by its members of salaried presidencies of legislative bodies and memberships of Government-appointed committees and commissions. However, both orthodox non-co-operators and the insurgent Swarajists have throughout opposed the acceptance of ministries. The Liberals have all along been in favour of working diarchy and accepting ministries, etc. It is they who have given diarchy a trial and worked it either as ministers or as members of the executive councils. But they, too, have damned diarchy. Their unfavourable criticism of diarchy has a special value, because their condemnation has not been *a priori*—it has not proceeded from considerations of abstract principles. But they have found out the defects and unwelcome character of diarchy by actual experiment conducted by themselves.

For this reason, no member of the Liberal party ought to have accepted office in any province as minister or member of executive council. They know that by the very nature of diarchy they cannot do justice to the subjects entrusted to their care. They should not, therefore, have placed themselves in a position which would damn them. But in every province Liberals have been found to accept office.

The Bengal Ministry.

In addition to the considerations indicated above which go against the acceptance of office under diarchy in any province, there were special reasons in Bengal why ministries should not have been accepted. Large numbers of persons have been deprived of their liberty without trial. No definite charges even have been framed against them. One hundred and forty-six of them are still in detention. And they are in detention for an indefinite period. They have already been in detention longer than the period for which some men openly tried for the offences *insinuated against the detenus* were sentenced imprisonment. All shades of political opinion to in Bengal have denounced these detentions and urged either the trial or the release of the detenus. But the Government has had neither the courage to adopt the first step nor the sense of justice to take the second. And so far as public information goes, no Bengal minister has ever been able to do anything to obtain justice for the detenus.

For these reasons alone, nobody ought to have accepted a ministry in Bengal.

Another reason why a ministry ought not to have been accepted by anybody in Bengal is that under present arrangements the Bengal Government has an utterly inadequate amount of revenue at its command for all sorts of public expenditure; and, therefore, even if that Government had been disposed, as it is not, to make the largest possible allotments for sanitation, medical relief, education and economic development, it could not have made any decent provision for these departments. Hence every Bengal minister is bound to fail to show any good work commensurate with the power and pelf enjoyed by him. So every one in Bengal to whom a ministry was offered ought to have declined to accept it so long as Bengal was not given a revenue proportionate to her population, her revenue collections, and her sanitary, educational and other needs.

We have all along recognised that some little good may result from the working of diarchy. But the claims of humanity and justice, of self-respect and the urgent need of a better constitution and better revenue assignments, make it imperative that we should forego for a time these little advantages in the expectation of securing greater good. There is a Sanskrit adage which runs—*Sarvanashe samutpanne ardhani tyajati panditah*. We may interpret it for the occasion to mean that to secure the whole a part should be sacrificed; as fingers, toes, hands, legs, etc., are amputated in order that the other limbs and life may be saved.

As regards the distribution of the portfolios between the two ministers, the education portfolio ought to have been given to Sir P. C. Mitter, as he is better educated, better informed and better qualified to deal with matters educational than Nawab Musharraf Hossein. In the Moslem community of Bengal there are highly educated persons better qualified than the Nawab to tackle educational problems. But none of them is a minister. Among the Bengali Hindus also there are better qualified persons to deal with educational problems than Sir P. C. Mitter. But they, too, are not ministers. Sir Prabhas has, however, one preponderant claim to the education portfolio which, so far as our information goes, no other Bengal M. L. C. has. He has for years past evinced his practical sympathy with the movements for the spread of educa-

tion among the masses by contributing Rs. 200 every month to the funds of the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam.

There has been a proposal to appoint two other ministers in Bengal in order to "stabilise the ministry." Its plain meaning is that the leaders (or the arch-intriguers?) of two of the groups of M. L. C.s who may still be recalcitrant may have to be "squared" in this way. In a province which has no money for most things that are worthwhile the appointment of two more ministers would be a scandalous waste of public money. The proposal is in abeyance for the present. Its underlying idea, however, has been very well brought out by the sarcastic suggestion of *The Musalman* that fifty-five more ministers ought to be appointed on a salary of Rs. 200 per head per mensem, thus obviating the least chance of the wrecking of any ministry. It was Sir Robert Walpole who, from his experience of Englishmen of his day, made himself responsible for the *obiter dictum*, "Every man has his price." Is there now in our midst among British bureaucrats any lineal or collateral descendant of that British worthy?

Unity Conferences

There are two means of bringing about communal unity: terrorism or frightfulness, and friendly negotiation. Either can be tried at a time, but not both simultaneously. Professional goondas and those who, without being professional hooligans, have an overdose of the goonda element, obsession or bias in their natures, may favour the first method. But there should not be the least suspicion that those who follow the method of negotiation were in secret league or sympathy with or even connived or winked at the wicked deeds of the goondas who have struck down or attempted to murder Hindus obnoxious to them owing to reasons of fanaticism.

Not that personally we have any such suspicion. But what we wish to make clear is that, if the Moslem leaders who take the leading part in Unity Conferences have any effective influence over the turbulent elements of their community, why are they not able to prevent the outrages referred to above which have already exceeded a dozen. If they have no such effective influence, what is the good of discussing and

deliberating with them? Would it not be better, if possible, to negotiate with the leaders of the goonda group, professional and non-professional? Perhaps it would be impossible to discover them—at least without the whole-hearted co-operation of the C. I. D., which we do not know how to secure. Perhaps Lord Irwin's advisers may be able to tell him, if it be in accord with their ideas of statecraft.

We are seriously and sincerely desirous of securing intercommunal harmony and friendship. But we do not want repetitions of the sorry exhibition of Hindu "leaders" and Moslem "leaders" confabulating day after day and coming to an agreement which their so-called followers do not accept in practice, or not being able to come to any agreement at all.

As regards the ostensible causes of the Hindu-Moslem conflicts, our opinion is that Hindus and all others (including British soldiers, of course!) should be free to pass along all public thoroughfares with music and perform such music in their homes and institutions without any restriction as to time or place, except such as would apply to *all* kinds of noise or music by whomsoever made; and that cows may also be slaughtered by Muslims and others at all times in any number in slaughter-houses, and in mosques and other places owned by Muslims, subject to the rules made by municipalities and other public bodies and officers in the interests of health, sanitation and decorum. As regards conversions and reconversions, minors are not to be converted or reconverted, except with their parents, and proselytism must not be conducted secretly by clandestine methods or by intimidation or pecuniary or other worldly inducement.

But "cow-killing" and "music before mosques" are only the ostensible causes of inter-communal dissensions. The real causes are political and politico-economic. Most Muslim leaders want a division of appointments in the public services and of seats in representative bodies on a communal basis, in proportion to their numbers where they are in a majority and in excess of that proportion where they are in a minority. We are on principle opposed to any division of appointments and seats along communal lines. In the interests of all the inhabitants of India, they should go to the ablest and the best qualified. But if the Muslim leaders

had agreed to a division of them along communal lines everywhere consistently on the basis of population alone for a strictly limited number of years, it is very probable that some settlement would have been arrived at long ago. We would have continued all the same to stand for the principle of the open door for talent everywhere, though our voice would not have counted.

According to the census of 1921, the Parsis in India numbered exactly 101, 778, and the Musalmans 68, 735, 233. The Parsis have never asked for or obtained any reserved proportion of appointments, seats in representative bodies, etc. Yet what a large space they fill in India in the spheres of politics, industries, commerce, civic activities, scholarship, social reform, literary achievement, and philanthropy. They have obtained this place by their education, character, tact, energy, enterprise, etc. Muslims (and all other minority and majority communities in India, too) should learn from contemporary and past history that power and prosperity can be obtained *and kept* not by the means by which they are trying to obtain it, but by keeping continually fit. A time there was when they had supreme power over the greater part of the country and had wealth, too, in proportion. Why could they not keep either? Why did they lose both? Because they deteriorated physically, mentally and morally. So now, even if they get all they want by means of some pact or Act, they would not be able to maintain their position if they did not adopt all those means which are the natural passports to success. On the other hand, if they do adopt all these means, they would be able, without the aid of any pact or Act, to fill a space in the life of India in every sphere, largely out of all proportion to their numbers, as is the case with the Parsis. The craving for a short cut, a royal road, a dominance "made easy," is futile.

The historically unprovable and incorrect notion that the Muslims were masters of India before the establishment of British rule is responsible for much heart-burning and mischief. If educated Muslims would only consider how many battles altogether the English fought with Indian Moslems and Indian non-Moslems (Marathas, Sikhs, Jats, Gurkhas, Rajputs, etc.) and how many of these were decisive and crucial, they would come to understand that sovereign power really passed for the most part from non-

Moslem to British hands. We do not write these things to humiliate Moslems. They and non-Moslems have equally lost the status of free men. None of them can recover freedom by quarrelling as to who would be the top-dog when the British would cease to be the top-dog. By such quarrels no Indian community can be the top-dog. Such quarrels are the surest means of preserving the position of under-dogs. The thing is, if India ever be free, no community as a community will or can be dominant. If, as is probable, self-ruling India has the party system of Government, the party in power may sometimes contain even a larger number of members of minority communities than of majority communities, and these members of minority communities may be Muslims.

Supposing the Muslims succeed in getting the number of seats they want, they will still always be in a permanent minority in the Central Legislature and in all provincial legislatures except in the few provinces where they are in a majority. For, if they stick to communal electorates and reserved seats, non-Moslem constituencies would seldom return a Moslem candidate. On the other hand, if they sincerely throw in their lot with the nation at large and if they devote the utmost energy to progress in education, they may sometimes succeed in capturing even more seats than they are now trying to secure by previous agreement. This, we know, would appear incredible to them. But we write what we believe to be true.

Trial of Murderers in the Punjab

Some organs of Muslim opinion in the Punjab are dissatisfied with the speed with which sentence had been pronounced on some coreligionists of theirs who killed or attempted to kill some Hindus. It appears, however, that all the formalities of a legal open trial have been duly gone through and sentences pronounced after detailed and dispassionate consideration of all the evidence. Nothing more is usually done in trials for murder or grievous hurt.

These offences are plainly the outcome of religious hatred and fanaticism. They bear some resemblance to the so-called Ghazi crimes in the Frontier and Trans-frontier areas. When a so-called Ghazi murdered a Britisher, he was summarily tried according to the frontier law and hanged

and his body burned. His relatives were not allowed to give his body or ashes a Muslim burial. As Hindu lives are not as valuable and sacred in British eyes as British lives, no such drastic steps are taken for the protection of Hindus from religious fanaticism. And it is good that such summary methods have not been adopted in the case of murders of Hindus. That kind of justice is best in the long run which is not vindictive and which follows the ordinary legal procedure.

Detenus' Day

The Swarajya party did well to celebrate a detenus' day in Calcutta. But they would have done better, from the point of view of the people of Bengal as a whole, and in the interest of the detenus themselves, if they had sought and obtained the active co-operation of persons of all political parties, and also of persons who are not politically-minded in the celebration. The demonstration would then have been more impressive. For everybody knows that in Bengal, whatever a man's politics may be, and even if he has no politics, he feels that a grievous wrong has been done to the detenus and that the conditions in which they are kept in or outside jails are heartless and very discreditable to a civilised Government. It is good, however, that in spite of the celebration having been managed on party lines, many people who do not belong to the Swarajya party attended the meetings.

As a demonstration these meetings served their purpose. But one does not know what effective steps the Swarajya party or any other party has taken or can take to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Government to release all the detenus without any further delay—we do not add, "or bring them to trial," because if the Government had an iota of evidence against any of them, they would have been long ago brought before a court of justice.

Rabindranath Tagore's Return

Rabindranath Tagore returned to Calcutta after his travels in parts of Indonesia. His visit to these lands will be productive of incalculable good both to them and to India in years to come.

He was interviewed by a representative of the "Free Press of India." Portions of

what he said in reply to questions are printed below,

Concerning what happened in Malaya owing to the discussion in the newspapers with regard to his condemnation of Indian troops being sent to China, he said that a great deal more had been made of that incident than it really deserved. It was a piece of newspaper sensationalism which very quickly sank into the background and became universally forgotten. It was due to some entirely untrue versions of what he was reported to have said. This version had appeared in newspapers in the Far East and had to be contradicted. At the same time the Poet made it perfectly clear that he held strongly to his objections concerning the use of Indian troops in China, as likely to do incalculable harm to the age-long friendly relations between India and China. The incident had one good effect, because it at once drew the Chinese community in every part of South Eastern Asia to his side. The Poet stated that he had such a generous and warm-hearted welcome from them in every place he visited that in a measure it exceeded even the welcome given to him by his own fellow-countrymen. He had a hope therefore that his recent tour had done something to establish an intimate friendship between India and China on a true and stable foundation. He hoped that those who appreciated the importance of a true entente cordiale between these two countries would be able to follow up what has thus been begun and enter through the door which was now wide open. All through his journey, as in other tours also, he had tried strictly to keep to the cultural aim and the object of his mission, thus laying the firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding.

When asked whether the people of Java, Bali and Siam remembered India and were grateful for their heritage from her civilization and culture, the Poet stated that the Siamese people keenly remembered with gratitude their debt to Indian culture and wished more and more to express it. There would be no difficulty in making a close international rapprochement between the two communities. On the other hand in Java and Bali, this past intimate link with India had been almost forgotten. It would have to be patiently recovered. In Bali, the strange idea existed that the island itself had originally been the place where the events described in the Hindu Epics had occurred.

In conclusion the Poet emphasised again the necessity of carrying on the immediate work of cultural understanding and appreciation. It would need scholars who would go out with that definite object in view and funds would have to be provided for them.

Referring to his return *Forward* writes :

It may be confidently expected that he will be accorded an enthusiastic ovation on the completion of his tour which was undertaken for the advancement of culture and for reviving the forgotten ties of kinship and friendliness which once linked those countries with India. Save the unwelcome incident, namely, the bitter controversy which for a time raged over his devoted head in the jingo press of Singapore, the Poet's tour has been a round of enthusiastic receptions.

Even without consulting the Poet one may say that he would not allow his fame and greatness to be exploited for party purposes by being "accorded an enthusiastic ovation on the occasion of the completion of his tour" by men who are incapable of appreciating him. Considering that not a single political, social, literary, scientific, khadi, journalistic or industrial "leader" was present at Outram Ghat to meet him on his return, it is rather hollow and insincere on the part of *Forward* to speak of giving "an enthusiastic ovation" to him, particularly as it was that paper which took the leading part in reproducing with sensational headlines the lies and half truths published in the Malaya papers. Others, too, received the cuttings, but consigned them to the waste paper basket. It is quite characteristic of *Forward* to speak of an ovation and at the same time remind the Poet of the "bitter controversy" carried on with the weapons of lies and half-truths, of which the Swarajya organ took full advantage with avidity.

The Poet's mission was cultural. He is the *Purodha* of the Greater India Society, whose mission is the same. Quite appropriately that society gave him a most enthusiastic send off, and we have no doubt that equally appropriately it would accord an enthusiastic welcome to him.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's "Imperialism."

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri recently delivered a speech at the Rotary Club, Cape Town. A brief cable has informed the Indian public that he holds the opinion that "the whole future of India depended on Britishers and Indian moderates identifying their interest." This bit of opinion is such that even his friend and co-worker Mr. C. F. Andrews has felt constrained to declare that he finds it "difficult to share Mr. Sastri's briefly cabled opinion", and that he, Mr. Andrews, is "a confirmed internationalist and not a British imperialist." Perhaps Mr. Sastri's immediate colleagues and followers of the Servants of India Society may accept his views; but what do other moderates think?

Pandit Gurtu's Address.

Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu's thoughtful and able address as president of the United Provinces Liberal Conference ended with

an outspoken peroration, which does not appear to be attuned to the same key as Mr. Shastri's opinion. The Pandit said:—

Gentlemen, it is one of those ironies of fate to which a subject race is further subjected, that India should be required to prove its fitness to rule itself. Instead of asking Britain to prove that she has a right to manage the affairs of India in preference to Indians, the Statutory Commission will be required to report as to how far India has proved itself fit to enjoy any degree of responsible government. A Commission from which Indians are very likely to be excluded may also recommend 'to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government' already existing. If India were as efficiently administered during the last 150 years by a foreign bureaucracy as it is claimed to be the case, we should have had by this time a truly happy and contented people, with a high degree of education widespread in the country and with a record of remarkable progress in sanitation, medical relief and public health. Besides, we ought to have been thoroughly capable of defending ourselves and holding our head high among the nations of the world. As a people we should not have presented the sorry spectacle of illiterate masses, of abject poverty and malnutrition, resulting in low vitality, lack of resistance to disease, short life period and huge infant mortality. No amount of efficiency of a foreign rule can ever compensate for the moral stunting of the race, the lack of high spirits, courage and self-respect, and an almost incurable sense of inferiority. All these are the indisputable results of what Mr. Asquith (now Earl of Oxford) during the menace of the German War, called the 'intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke'. Gentlemen, a nation like an individual is a distinct entity. It has its own temperament, its own characteristics, its own soul. Just as in the case of an individual so in the case of nations freedom is essential for the healthy growth of its soul. In the scheme of Providence when an individual has finished his life work he dies. So has it been with nations and their civilizations. But India has lived in history for thousands of years, and it is not yet dead. It is legitimate to conclude that it has yet some valuable contribution to make towards world-progress. Let us hope the world standard of 'progress' has not fallen quite so low that it is now merely confined to the prowess of arms, or is to be solely judged by the measure of territories brought under subjugation, and by the concentration of wealth through a combination of military threats and political and commercial diplomacy. Human progress would be a very sordid and sorry affair if there was nothing higher and nobler to achieve. India does not ask for a place in the Sun; it only wants a free scope for its self-expression. The agony of its soul lies in the cramping influence of the heavy pressure of a foreign yoke. It only longs for that dignified freedom which will help it in the evolution of its own nature for the service and not the domination of the world.

Pandit Gurtu on Dr. Besant's Bill.

The commendable features of the Commonwealth of India Bill to which Pandit Gurtu

drew attention in his address really deserve praise. One would, however, like to know what he thinks of the number of representatives in the Central Legislature assigned to the various provinces in the Bill—a subject to which we have drawn attention in a previous note in this issue.

The Statutory Commission

We have expressed our opinion in a previous issue about the personnel of the statutory commission. It should consist of a clear majority of non-official leading Indians of different political parties, with, preferably, an Indian president. If such an Indian majority cannot be assured, an entirely British personnel would be preferable, so that the world may understand that Indians had nothing to do with its conclusions. In the case of the Commission having an entirely British personnel or a minority of Indian members, no Indian should appear before it to give evidence. What the conclusions of such a commission would be may be anticipated even now in their main features.

There is, of course, the previous question as to whether there ought to be a commission at all to inquire into our fitness for self-rule. The need of such a commission cannot at all be admitted. No nation has any right to judge us. Self-rule is a birth-right to which every people is entitled. It is only by force that we are kept deprived of it.

The only proper question to investigate is how the constitution of a self-ruling India ought to be framed. In dealing with such a question the help of foreign experts may be taken.

And if our fitness for self-rule is to be at all judged of, we ourselves are far better judges than foreigners. Englishmen of all political parties make great mistakes in judging of the political capacity of many of their own countrymen. For many of their prime ministers and cabinet ministers, chosen by their countrymen, are responsible for egregious and very serious blunders. It is ridiculous to assume, therefore, that English judges of our political capacity would be infallible or reliable, particularly as Englishmen are interested in pronouncing us unfit.

The Viceroy's Invitation to Some Indians

It has been given out now that the Viceroy's invitation to some Indians to meet

him is for the purpose of ascertaining their opinion as regards certain details of the Statutory Commission. That he is to see these persons separately is a clever move. Lord Irwin would thus be able to utilise for British purposes the differences, important or unimportant, in the opinions expressed by them.

Speculation is already rife as to why in selecting persons to invite, his lordship has given a wide berth to some provinces and sections of the people. What is the policy underlying this discriminatory move?

Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan

The Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan will hold its sixth session in Meerut during the next X'mas week. The following gentlemen have been unanimously elected to preside over and conduct the deliberations of the different sections noted against the name of each:—

- (1) Sir P. C. Ray—General President
- (2) Babu Kedarnath Banerjee (Benares). President, Literature Section
- (3) Dr. Sisir Kumar Maitra (Benares Hindu University)—President, Philosophy Section.
- (4) Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee (Lucknow University)—President, History and Economics Section
- (5) Dr. Nilratan Dhar (Allahabad University)—President, Science Section
- (6) Babu Sarada Ch. Ukil (Delhi)—President, Arts Section
- (7) Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow)—President, Music Section.

The efforts made by Bengalis domiciled or sojourning outside Bengal to keep in touch with the Bengali language, literature and art are commendable.

We have one suggestion to make. The promoters of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan would do well to set apart a day or an evening to meet all local leading Hindi and Urdu-speaking persons interested in literature and art, in order to make closer the cultural ties which exist between Bengal and Upper India. We mention only Upper India, as the Sammelan has hitherto met in some town or other in that region.

About the Age of First Motherhood in India : Miss Mayo Contradicted

Dr. Miss M. I. Balfour, M.B., who wrote a letter to the *Times of India* on the 10th October last on the subject of the age of first motherhood in India, is engaged in collecting data for Maternity and Infant Welfare work from the hospitals in Bombay—Her letter is reproduced below.

I have recently had the opportunity of reading "Mother India" and have been surprised at some of the statements made, especially with reference to child mothers. I have some facts relating to that subject which I have collected in the course of an investigation into the conditions of child-birth, and I am asking you to be kind enough to publish them in the hope that they may be of service to anyone who proposes to write a reply to "Mother India." I have notes of 304 Hindu mothers delivered of their first babies in Bombay Hospitals. The average age was 18.7 years. 85.6 per cent. were 17 years or over, 14.1 per cent were below 17; 14 was the youngest age and there were 3 of that age. I have compared those figures with the reports of the Madras Maternity Hospital for the years 1922-24. 2,312 mothers were delivered of their first babies. The average age was 19.4 years. 86.2 per cent were 17 years or over and 13.8 per cent were below 17. 13 was the youngest age. There were 7 mothers aged 13 and 22 mothers aged 14. The Madras figures included not only Hindus but women of other communities also. I have reports of 3,964 cases of child-birth from other parts of India including the North. Of these only 10 were below 15 years of age, 13 was the youngest age. There is no doubt that child-birth sometimes takes place too early in India and even more so that cohabitation commences too early. Legislation is badly needed. But Miss Mayo's words at p. 30 of "Mother India" are as follows: "The Indian girl, in common practice, looks for motherhood nine months after reaching puberty or anywhere between the ages of fourteen and eight. The latter age is extreme, although in some sections, not exceptional, the former is well above the average." I think the figures I have given prove that the cases instanced by Miss Mayo do not in the least represent the common customs of the country.

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe on "Mother India"

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, formerly editor of *The Statesman* of Calcutta, has reviewed Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" in *The New Republic* of New York, dated the 21st September last. He begins the review by telling the reader:

Two years ago, when I read Katherine Mayo's propagandist volume on the Philippines, it seemed to me certain that she would go next to India and produce a book enforcing a conclusion precisely similar to the one reiterated in "The Isles of Fear." The thesis of that vigorous manifesto, it will be remembered, is that the United States must keep its governing hand upon the archipelago, for if it did not, the Filipinos would be skinned alive by their own landlords, lawyers, usurers.

He recites or refers to some of the terrible and horrible things which the authoress has said of India, and then observes:—

A great part of Miss Mayo's facts cannot be challenged; and yet the picture she has drawn is profoundly untrue. It is a libel upon a unique

civilization and a people of extraordinary virtue, patience and spiritual quality. I cannot here attempt to track her through the vivid maze of her assertions. It must suffice for me to deal with a few characteristic illustrations.

Then follow his string of contradictions of Miss Mayo's untruths.

Miss Mayo writes as though the horrors of filth and superstition surrounding child-birth were peculiar to Hindu society. Suppose that one were to make a realistic picture of maternity in any other Asiatic country, or, for that matter, as has often been done, in the slum cities of Europe and the United States, would any of Miss Mayo's inferences apply? She cites examples in detail of Indian male sexuality. It would be impossible, I think, to produce anything of the kind more loathsome. But Miss Mayo cannot be unaware that the records of all protective societies in Europe and America contain incidents which, fact for fact, are as horrible as these. She asserts that the majority of Hindu men are, through indulgence and perversion, impotent at twenty-five. The sufficient reply to that astonishing accusation would seem to be that, if it were anything like half true, the figures of population under the Pax Britannica would not cause any alarm to the government of India. In treating of the Untouchables and the so-called criminal tribes, she implies that such agencies as the Salvation Army stand virtually alone in their remedial efforts. The truth is that, long before the rise of their great champion, Gandhi, a powerful section of Indian reformers labored as earnestly for social redemption as for political advance. Miss Mayo quotes Rabindranath Tagore in such a way as to imply that he is an apologist of child marriage. The passage cited from the Bengali poet is a condensed statement of the case for early marriage (an entirely different thing) as accepted throughout the Orient. Rabindranath Tagore is a leader of the Brahmo community, which fifty years ago carried through the Indian Legislature the first reformed marriage act. Miss Mayo speaks as though the seclusion of women behind the *purdah* were universal throughout Indian, and she says again and again that no Indian girl or young woman can be left unprotected for an hour, since she would assuredly be violated! The seclusion of women is an established custom only in certain provinces. Over great tracts of the country there is no *purdah*. Women move freely and unveiled through the bazaar. Women of the peasant and coolie classes work in the open as they work everywhere in the world. Miss Mayo, in an astonishing lapse, quotes as a recent dictum the most threadbare piece of cynicism that is passed about among Europeans in India; namely, that one week after the withdrawal of the British there would not be a rupee or a virgin left in Bengal. Apart from the point that, according to Miss Mayo's own demonstration, there are almost no virgins in Bengal over ten years of age, one may note the somewhat glaring historical fact that, before the advent of the British, Bengal certainly showed no despicable power of social resistance against, as Macaulay put it, every marauder of the East. And finally, in this brief series of instances, Miss Mayo has been led to believe that there is an inherent contrast between the ethical standards of Hindu society and those of the Indian Moslems, a contrast

greatly to the advantage of the latter. This is one of the most surprising things in the book; and with it is coupled the extraordinary blunder of Miss Mayo's assumption that the virile races of India are all Moslems. Any British soldier would have put her right there.

This is followed by Mr. Ratcliffe's statement that he has been "able in this article to refer to no more than a hundredth part of the assertions and inferences that provoke debate in 'Mother India.' Any tolerable statement of the other side would require a volume at least as large as the one under review. I end with a word of the kind which, I think, no European and no American who has dwelt among the Indian people could refrain from uttering." And this is what he says:—

I lived for five years in India, occupying a position which gave me unusual opportunities of meeting Indians of different kinds. I had many Indian friends. I saw the inside of Indian homes. I observed the laboring Indian in cities and villages. And, as I call up the memory of those people and scenes, and set the reality of my recollection alongside the appalling picture which Miss Mayo has provided for her very large company of readers in several continents, I am filled with bewilderment and regret. The vast multitude of India's common people makes upon every Westerner a wonderful impression of goodness, endurance, and dignity. We know, for everybody tells us so, that the Indian woman has a terribly hard time. But I see her as she comes up every morning from her ceremonial bath in the river, walking noiselessly with a troop of her fellows, a figure unsurpassed in the world for beauty and serenity, and grace, and I marvel at the power of spirit which has so undeniably conquered in her. As for the intelligentsia of India, they are made up of many communities, all in their several ways endowed with remarkable and attractive gifts. They inherit a social system of extraordinary complexity. It is their task to bring it into relation with the modern world; and the very least that we can do is to recognize that the task is one of immeasurable difficulty. But, however difficult it may be, one thing is surely beyond dispute: the Indian system can be changed only with infinite labor, and from within. An alien power must leave it for the autonomous India of tomorrow. Miss Mayo quotes, with evident approval, the wildly nonsensical saying of some acquaintance, to the effect that the crime of the British government is that it has stood protector to this awful system of darkness and oppression, which, if left to the mercy of the harder races of Asia, would long ago have been swept into the void. Here, perhaps, we have the booby-prize remark from a Westerner about India. There are more than 300 millions of Indian people; and the one thing we know about them that is above and beyond all controversy is that they are one of the very few eternal races of mankind, being rooted in a social system which has withstood the storms of at least thirty centuries.

In the same number of the *New Republic* which contains this review article of Mr

Ratcliffe's, he has reviewed a book called "India and the Earthly Paradise" by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, formerly a militant suffragist, about which he writes:—

Miss Pankhurst denounces child-marriage and the Indian treatment of women, the tyranny of the priesthood, and many other evils of the Hindu system as unmercifully as the author of "Mother India" herself, and her citation of evidence is almost as dreadful; but she comes to a conclusion precisely opposite. Miss Mayo says the Indian system is so hideous that the British must stay, and rule very much more hardly than they do now. Miss Pankhurst, not disguising any of the facts that seem so appalling to the Westerner, is convinced that the British must go.

A Missionary Condemnation of Miss Mayo's Book

A statement with regard to Miss Mayo's book "Mother India" signed by Rev. Dr. N. Maconcol and Mr. P. O. Philip, Secretaries and Miss A. B. Van Doren Hon. Officer has been issued to the Press in the name of the executive committee of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, the only dissentient member being Bishop J. W. Robinson "who does not find that he can assent to its terms." The Lord Bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India is the chairman and Dr. S. K. Dutta, is Vice-Chairman of the Council and the executive committee includes Rev. Chitamber, Bishop of Dornakal, Rev. J. F. Edwards, Dr. C. R. Greenfield, Bishop of Madras, Rev. J. Mackenzie, Raj Bahadur A. C. Mukerji, Messrs. K. T. Paul, B. L. Rallia Ram and Rev. H. C. C. Velt.

The statement reads as follows in part:—

It has never been denied either by Indians or by foreign missionaries that great social evils exist in India and it is a matter of common knowledge that strenuous and organised efforts are being made by groups of Indian reformers to get rid of them. Yet we representing a body of men and women who are in close touch with the people and are conversant with their every-day life unhesitatingly assert that the picture of India which emerges from Miss Mayo's book is untrue to the facts and unjust to the people of India. The sweeping generalisations that are deduced from incidents that come to the notice of the author or that are suggested by the manner in which these incidents are presented are entirely untrue as a description of India as a whole. At the end of the book Miss Mayo admits that she has left untouched other sides of Indian life and for that very reason we can affirm that Indian life does not present the dark and the evil aspect which this book suggests and that the ugly and repulsive and disgusting aspects of it that are emphasised in the book are not the predominant things in Indian Society.

Beauty and culture, kindness and charm religion and piety are to be found alike among the highest and the humblest. Miss Mayo leaves no room for these in her picture.

The Neill Statue in Madras

Those who have been trying to have the Neill Statue removed or to break or disfigure it are morally justified in doing so. But it seems to us that it is bad economy to undergo imprisonment to bring about the result aimed at. If British officials in India choose to have the greatness and civilisation of their country advertised by, among other things, the statue of a ferocious brute like Neill, let them please themselves. Instead of suffering imprisonment in the attempt to remove this precious reminder of military virtues, why not draw attention to Neill's doings by means of a permanent poster in some public place in Madras? Some extracts from Kaye's history of the Sepoy War would serve the purpose.

Orissa Floods

An appeal for two lakhs of rupees for relieving the widespread and acute distress caused in Orissa by flood has been issued over the signatures of Pandit Gopabandhu Das and Mr. C. F. Andrews. Such an appeal ought to meet with a ready response in the case of any province. In the case of Orissa, the response ought to be quicker and greater. For Orissa is a poor country, whose welfare has been neglected for more than a century. Unlike most of the other provinces, Orissa has not been the chief object of care—so far as that care goes, of any provincial Government; it has been neglected throughout. The people of India have been partly responsible for this neglect, in that they have acquiesced in Orissa's being given a back seat all along. For all these reasons, all the provinces of India should come to the rescue of this stricken land, once the home of a distinct culture of high grade and still one which Hindus consider it a merit to visit.

The Situation in Kharagpur

Whenever and wherever large numbers of the labouring population are thrown out of employment or about to be so, Government maintains the attitude of the unconcerned spectator—except when shooting is or has to be resorted to. The unemployment and sufferings of so many people are not its business. In Britain, on the other hand, even now, so many years after the end of the great war, nearly eleven lakhs of un-

employed persons are being given weekly doles. During all these years doles have been given without break, and that sometimes to more than two million people. Why does the same British Government adopt a different attitude in India? Partly because the governed here are not the kith and kin of the governors, partly because, thanks to enlightened British rule and exploitation, the unemployed and dependants in India probably exceed the employed in number, and there are other causes. It is, however, the duty of Government to actively intervene to prevent strikes and unemployment.

"The Chosen Region of Lies"

The historian Freeman has, in one of his essays, characterised royal proclamations and declarations as "the chosen region of lies." All kings and emperors do not certainly tell lies in all their proclamations, etc. Some may have done so, whilst the words of some others become as good (or bad) as falsehoods, because they are not given effect to by their successors and servants.

We were reminded of Freeman's words while reading what has appeared in Sir Sidney Low's recently published work on "The Reign of the King Edward VII" relating to the appointment of Mr. (Lord) Sinha to the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is related in that book that on November 1, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption by the Crown of the direct Government of India, the King-Emperor Edward VII issued a masterly message to the princes and peoples of India which repeated and confirmed the declarations and assurances contained in Queen Victoria's famous proclamation of 1858. The equality of treatment promised in that proclamation to all British subjects, irrespective of race, creed, colour and caste, as regards employment in the public services and so on, need only be referred to. As noted above, this assurance was included in those repeated and confirmed by Edward VII. But that monarch objected very strongly to the appointment of "Native Members" to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Some passages from Sir Sidney Low's work which relate to the affair are reproduced below.

The suggestion that native members should be admitted to the Viceroy's Council had received the Cabinet's approval as early as May 3, 1907. The King, however, and many members of the House

of Lords, objected to the proposal on the ground that it might give offence to the native princes and it was not until nearly two years later that Mr. Sinha, an eminent Hindu lawyer, was suggested as a suitable member of the Viceroy's Council. On February 24, 1909 Lord Morley had a long audience with the King. Morley records that King found the native member a great stumbling-block.

Morley wrote two letters to the King on the subject.

To the first of these two letters the King replied from Biarritz on March 12:—

"The King regrets that he cannot change his view on this subject and has thought it over quite as Lord Morley has. He remains, however, of opinion that this proposed step is fraught with the greatest danger to the maintenance of the Indian Empire under British rule. The reasons are well known to the Secretary of State as well as they are to the Viceroy, but as the latter apparently is putting great pressure on the subject, and at the last meeting of the Cabinet Council the Government were unanimous on the subject, the King has no other alternative but to give way much against his will. He, however, wishes it clearly to be understood that he protests most strongly at this new departure. God grant that the Government in India may not suffer from it. Beyond that the King can say no more."

To the second letter the King replied again with strong feeling, still protesting but admitting no alternative against a unanimous Cabinet. Morley in the course of his reply declared his "firm conviction that this marked fulfilment of Queen Victoria's promise will win for your Majesty an exalted and enduring place in the deepest affections of the Indian subjects of the British Crown." To this use of Queen Victoria's name the King added the pungent marginal comment:—

"This is the answer to my letter! Why he should bring in the name of Queen Victoria I cannot see, nor how it bears on the question. I myself do not think she would have approved of the new departure. I have had to sign the objectionable paper.

E. R. March 20."

Mark that, if King Edward VII knew the mind of his august mother the Queen Victoria correctly, "she would not have approved of the new departure." And yet she promised equality of treatment to all her subjects in her proclamation.

Lord Minto also had some correspondence on the subject with the King. Here is a portion of one of the King's letters in reply.

"My dear Minto—As you hold such strong views on the subject and have given me many cogent reasons for such a new departure I am very unwilling to differ from you as well as the Secretary of State on the subject. At the same time I hold very strong and possibly old-fashioned views on the subject, which my son who has so recently been in India entirely shares.

"During the unrest in India at the present time and the intrigues of the Natives it would I think, be fraught with the greatest danger to the

Indian Empire if a Native were to take part in the Council of the Viceroy, as so many subjects would not be desirable that a Native should take part. Besides, if you have a Hindu why not a Mohammedan also? The latter would strongly claim it. If the present view which you so strongly advocate is carried into effect, and you find it does not answer, you will never be able to get rid of the Native again. The Indian Princes who are ready to be governed by the Viceroy and his Council, would greatly object to a Native, who would be very inferior in caste to themselves taking part in the Government of the country. However, clever the Native might be and however, loyal you and your Council might consider him to be, you never could be certain that he might not prove to be a very dangerous element in your Council and impart information to his countrymen which it would be very undesirable should go further than your Council Chamber."

Attention has here to be drawn to the fact that King Edward's son, His Majesty George V, according to him, "entirely shares" his father's "old-fashioned views on the subject." The reigning King Emperor, however, on his accession to the throne, repeated and confirmed Queen Victoria's proclamation. It is not impossible that he had by that time changed his views—a charitable historian would say.

We shall extract one more letter of King Edward to Lord Minto, which shows that His Majesty had objections to the appointment not only of "native" members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but to that of "native" clerks as well who see and copy secret correspondence! Here is the letter:—

"I have had an opportunity of discussing question with several of those who have not lost touch with India, I find that they all look upon the experiment (for I can call it nothing else) with considerable alarm and dismay.

"There is one point you mention which greatly surprises me, which is that secret correspondence with the Secretary of State is seen by Natives, and that secret papers are copied in your office by Natives. This appears to me to be a most dangerous and objectionable practice, and I am astonished that it should exist.

Now that it has been decided to have an Indian member on the Executive Council, the Government of India will in future be always obliged, practically though not perhaps theoretically, to replace him by another Indian.

"I am afraid it is the 'thin end of the wedge' and it will require a most resolute Viceroy to avoid being forced to nominate one if not two Native Members of his Council.

"I can hardly believe that the present appointment of a Hindu will not create great and just irritation among the Mohammedans, and that the latter will not be contented unless they receive assurance that one of their creed succeed Mr. Sinha."

"Native" Executive Councillors and Clerks and the Betrayal of State Secrets

One need not say what one feels on reading of King Edward's opinion of the trustworthiness of Indians as Executive Councillors and clerks. But it may be noted that so far no Executive Councillor has betrayed any secret. As to the clerks who see and copy secret correspondence, let Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, long a distinguished British official in India, bear witness.

In a speech made when he was retiring from the office of Finance Member of the Indian Government, in 1913, he is reported to have said :

"I wish to pay a tribute to the Indians whom I know best. The Indian officials, high and low, of my department, through the years of my connection with them, have proved themselves to be unsparing of service and absolutely trustworthy. As for their trustworthiness, let me give an instance. Three years ago, when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation no one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

European foreign offices, including the British, have no objection to obtaining the secrets of other States by bribing and similar means. Hence, and as India stands in need of political freedom, it is difficult for Britishers to believe that imperialistic secrets would be safe in the hands of members of politically subject people. But Indians believe that if they accept any office one of the conditions of which is that they are to keep secrets passing officially through their hands, it would be dishonorable for them to betray them.

If, however, any secrets come into our hands without recourse to any dishonorable means, we are certainly entitled to make use of them for promoting the interests of our country.

The correspondence published in the previous note ought to be a fresh eye-opener to Indian officials, high and low. By the generality of Britishers, they are neither respected nor looked upon as equals. As for the Indian Princes, we are not aware that they ever objected to the appointment of

Indian Executive Councillors. If they ever did, that may have been under the political instigation or intimidation.

King Edward's nervousness about secret correspondence being seen by "native" clerks indicates that there is much correspondence of which Government cannot be quite proud.

"Native"

Recently there was some discussion in the British House of Commons on the use of the word "native" as applied to Indians. Sanctimonious hypocrites declared that they would not object to be called "natives of England," "natives of Scotland," etc. But that was quite irrelevant, as nobody objects to calling himself or being called a native of his motherland. The point is, what is the meaning of the word "native" when used singly and separately to denote a human being. It means "member of non-European or uncivilized race," and has a contemptuous significance.

Bombing Aeroplanes and Thunderclouds

When the present writer was in Allahabad on the day of the last Ram Lila celebration (which could not come off, for the third time in succession), an aeroplane was heard and seen to circle round over the heads of the human creatures dwelling in Allahabad. It was an amusing exhibition of unnecessary frightfulness, as was also the march past of troops or military police.

When we heard and saw the aeroplane, the thought struck us that it would be futile to expect that the people of India would remain overawed by bombing aeroplanes for any length of time. They do not object to thunderclouds and thunderbolts. Bombing aeroplanes would, in their philosophy of resignation, be only one more means of destruction. And it would not pay the British to be more and more frightful.

There is, no doubt, a difference between the god Indra's bolt and bombs dropped from the cry. Indra sends down rain as well as thunderbolts. Aeroplanes only drop down bombs, they do not shower blessings.

Violent Co-operation and Non-violent Non-co-operation

It has been amply demonstrated that our British bureaucrats do not like non-violent

non-co-operation on the part of Indians, irrespective of their race, creed, colour, etc. But it is believed by some persons that its high functionaries appreciate violent co-operation when the violence is directed, not against public servants of any rank, but against certain sections of non-officials. It is said that recently in a certain town would-be violent co-operators thought that they had received a hint in the speech of a high functionary that violent co-operation on their part would not be appreciated, and that that fact averted the possibility of riots on a certain festive day.

The Land for Foreign Aircraft to Fly over

Aeroplanes belonging to various western peoples have been flying over India. But not a single Indian aeroplane has broken the solemn silence of our skies. That is one of the beauties of British rule.

Revolt against the Caste system

In the course of a recent speech against caste delivered at Kumbakonam, Mr. R. K. Shunmugam Chetty, M. L. A., is reported to have said :

"The revolt against the caste system began with the awakening of the consciousness of self-respect amongst the lower strata of society, among those who have been kept down as inferior castes."

We welcome the revolt against caste and the awakening of the consciousness of self-respect amongst the lower strata of society. It must, however, be said that Mr. Chetty is wrong in his history. In modern times the revolt against caste originated in India with the Brahmo Samaj movement. Neither the founder nor the leaders of that movement were men belonging to the lower strata of society, to the castes kept down as inferior. Later, the Arya Samaj began to some extent the fight against caste. Its founder, too, was not a man of "low" caste. He was a Brahmin. It is not the business of this note to philosophise as to why those led the revolt against caste who did not themselves suffer from it. We do not know whether in Madras the Non-Brahman social (or is it merely political?) revolt against Brahmans has led the chettis and other non-Brahmans to inter-dine and intermarry with castes considered inferior to them. It is a poor revolt which only wishes to rise but not also to raise.

Suggested Indian Overseas Department

Mr. C. F. Andrews has contributed an article to the *Pioneer* urging that the Government of India should create a new department in order to deal chiefly "with the colonies and Dominions." One reason given by him for this suggestion is that such a department would be able to pay continuous attention to the problems of Indians abroad. He points out that the ban placed on the immigration of Indians into Southern Rhodesia has been entirely overlooked. Another reason given by him is that such an overseas Department would be "an admirable training ground for Indian statesmanship within the large world of affairs outside India and would bring Indians abroad into much closer relationship."

We would support the suggestion on condition that the department would be manned by Indians, particularly at the top and that the Indian head of the department would possess initiative and give effect to resolutions relating to Indians abroad carried in the Central Legislature. If it be not manned by Indians, it would only provide soft jobs for Britishers, and if its head has no initiative, it would accept a position of inferiority for Indians everywhere, as the South African settlement has done in the case of Indians settled in South Africa.

No real palliative is unwelcome. But we feel that no palliatives can do us much good until we have self-rule in India, the present bureaucratic Government not being actively sympathetic.

Medical College Defalcation Case

It is both surprising and not surprising that though Mr. Roxburgh, the Presidency Magistrate, in his judgment in the Medical College defalcation case has severely criticised the conduct of Col. Barnardo, the Principal of the College, who appeared as a witness, he has punished only one of the clerks accused of the crime. The public feels that Government should at once remove Dr. Barnardo from the principalship, if not also from the I. M. S. When the result of the convicted clerk's appeal is known, other steps may be suggested.

Of Mr. Roxburgh's strictures on Dr. Barnardo in his judgment the following is a brief summary taken from the *Bengalee* :—

Of Mr. Barnardo as a witness Mr. Roxburgh has said that "every statement of fact he makes is

suspect": that "he fenced, dodged, feinted, denied, and did not remember in a way he (the Magistrate) had seldom seen a witness do"; that "it is difficult to accept his evidence on any point": that he did not show that "he was prepared to be honest in the witness-box": that he could not, in giving evidence, "get out of the habits of the poker table", which include making one believe what is not: that "he is a very unreliable witness and that he did not come into the box to deal openly with the Court": and that one of his statements in regard to the motor-car incident "is about as stout a lie as was ever told in a witness-box". These are the considered conclusions of a Magistrate, who is convinced that Col. Barnardo is free of the vile reproach which the allegations made by the accused carry with them: they are therefore all the more damaging as a verdict on the regard for justice or the respect due to a Court and to one's oath which actuated the Principal of the Calcutta Medical College when deposing on behalf of the Crown.

Honest British Journalism in India

The Bengaler observes:—

It is one of the most regrettable features of public life in this country that the portions of the judgment which are most damaging to Col. Barnardo as a witness have been deliberately suppressed by both the *Statesman* and the *Englishman* papers which are often found to be laying down the rule of journalistic etiquette to their Indian contemporaries. The opinions which a British Magistrate has formed of the conduct of a senior European officer of the standing of Col. Barnardo have been of set purpose withheld from the European community in this country and from those abroad who rely on them for information regarding India. Those opinions are so glaringly incompatible with the plea of immaculate infallibility put forward at every step by apologists of the bureaucracy that they have not dared to face the music of Mr. Roxburgh's findings. Those whom a high sense of journalistic duty to the reading public of India forced to publish the despicable calumnies of the Mayo-Pilcher gang have, out of a prudent regard for the prestige of the white man, been restrained from publishing the judicial strictures against Col. Barnardo's conduct in the witness-box.

Teaching of Hindi in South India.

In addition to the value of its literature, a knowledge of Hindi has economic importance throughout India, and political importance, too. Of the vernaculars of India, Hindi is the most widely spoken. The majority of those who may be considered the mercantile and industrial classes in India speak, or, in any case understand, Hindi. These are some of the reasons why Hindi ought to be learnt by those who can afford to learn a second vernacular of India in addition to their mother tongue.

A brief account of the work of teaching

Hindi in South India from 1918 to 1927, issued by the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha of Madras, shows the progress which the movement has been making. It gives a list of 30 books in Hindi published in the *prachar* series, some of which have had very encouraging sales. The sales of some of the best sellers are 30900 copies, 14000 copies, 10900 copies, 10598 copies, 8850 copies, 7900 copies and 5280 copies. The total number of candidates who appeared at the seven different examinations of the Sabha from the years 1922 to 1927 were 464, 1136, 695, 987, 740 and 547 respectively.

Marriageable Age of Girls in Baroda.

It is common knowledge that among the states in India ruled by Hindu Princes which passed laws fixing the minimum age of marriage years ago, Baroda is one. Recently, as the result of the inquiries and deliberations of a committee appointed to report on the old law, the minimum marriageable age of girls has been raised to 14. There are to be no exemptions. And those parents or other guardians who bring about the marriage of girls below 14 will be liable to imprisonment. The minimum marriageable age of males also has been raised.

"The Inquirer" on Marriage Legislation in India.

The Inquirer of London, a high-class religious weekly established in 1842, writes with reference to Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Hindu Child Marriage Bill:

The Government of India would appear to be powerless to interfere with the social customs of the Hindus, based as they are upon religion: nevertheless the leaven of education is working, and the fact that a private Bill to make the marriage age limits fifteen for boys and twelve for girls has been brought up in the Legislative Assembly and sent to a Select Committee is a sign of advance, inadequate though it seems to us. But the way of the legislators is, of course, being made very hard by the religious communities.

The London paper is misinformed in speaking of the powerlessness of the Government of India to interfere with the social customs of the Hindus. The custom of *suttee* or the immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands was based upon religion, but that Government stopped it by legislation. The ban on the remarriage of widows was a socio-religious custom, but

Government made such marriages valid by law. There are other examples, which need not be mentioned. If English papers want to write on Indian topics, they ought to be accurately informed. Knowledge of things Indian does not come by intuition to Englishmen, simply because they are masters of India.

In order to illustrate its remark that "the way of legislators is being made very hard by the religious communities," *The Inquirer* refers to the protest issued by the Marwari Association against the Bill mentioned above. The Marwari Association certainly did protest. But it represents at the most a few thousand men. But 36 Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly supported the motion for referring the Bill to a select committee, while only 17 Hindu members (including several who were Government servants) were of a different opinion. We speak only of Hindu members, because the Bill is a Hindu Child Marriage Bill. This ought to suffice to show that the main opposition does not come from "the religious communities."

The main opposition comes from the British Government of India. When Mr. Sarda's bill was introduced on the 1st February last, the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member of the Government of India, said "on behalf of the Government," that he would "oppose any other motion after motion for introduction, other than a motion for circulation." For this reason Mr. Sarda spoke thus in the Legislative Assembly on the 15th September last:—

"Sir, it was a surprise to me as it was to most people, to see that a Government which professes to work for the good of the people, a Government that is representative of a nation that certainly is one of the most advanced in the world in wisdom and in the development of justice and freedom, and claims—and I think rightly—that it has a great respect for womanhood, should take up such an attitude, and instead of welcoming and promising to support such essentially necessary legislation for children and helpless girls, declare its intention to oppose it." (*Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. IV, No. 62, page 4409).

The Inquirer ought now to be able to judge who oppose the Hindu Child Marriage Bill.

Miss Mayo's "Emphasis" "Exaggerated"

The Inquirer observes:—

"It seems clear that the emphasis laid by Miss Mayo upon certain deplorable aspects of Indian life in her much discussed book, 'Mother India' is somewhat exaggerated, in so far as its seems to 'indict

a nation" as her critics says, for the bad practices of the least progressive sections of it, India, like other countries, is still struggling to free herself from the fetters of a social and religious system which, though established in accordance with great and lofty ideals, has been debased by gross superstitions; and her enlightened reformers well know that far more formidable than the oppressiveness of English rule is the ignorance of their own people."

If our London contemporary keeps an open mind and reads Indian periodicals and newspapers, it will also find that Miss Mayo's book contains many gross lies, many half-truths, some garbled quotations, and many inaccuracies.

As for the comparative formidableness of the oppressiveness of English rule and the ignorance of the Indian people, we should like to meet the "enlightened" Indian reformers who would and could support with proofs the dogmatic belief which *The Inquirer* credits them with. It is English rule which has passively and actively stood in the way of the dispelling of our people's ignorance.

Need of more Nurses, Midwives and Women Doctors

Srimati Padmabai Rao of the Hindu University, President of the United Provinces Social Conference, drew attention in her remarkable address to the need of the diffusion of the knowledge of the most vital facts among the masses, and observed:—

But the diffusion of this knowledge and the supplying of medical aid to the women of India requires a large number of trained doctors, nurses, and midwives. It seems to me that a good deal of sentimental objection exists in the mind of the public about the respectability of these professions, and there are many parents who would be most unwilling to allow their daughters to render social service along these lines. This sentiment however is the result of a deep-rooted instinct which considers it degrading to a woman to take up any work only for the sake of pecuniary gain. The only way to overcome these objections is to create a different attitude towards all social work. Personally I feel that all social work can become effective only when inspired by a spiritual ideal. Work which is done only for money is degrading both for man and woman alike. It becomes merely mechanical and therefore dead, without the vitalising power of a great spiritual ideal. It is only when the relief of the suffering and the needy and the teaching of the ignorant are seen to be the truest service of God that we shall be able to eliminate all the degrading associations that have gathered round some of these professions. We must elevate them into true and holy vocations, those duties which the human soul feels called to perform by an impelling and divine inspiration from within.

Wanted "the sober expression of opinions from India!"

A cable to the *Englishman* from its special correspondent runs as follows:—

The favourable impression created by Mr. V. J. Patel, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, during his visit to England has been disturbed by his recent speech at Poona, where he is reported to have said that "the principle of non-co-operation either in or out of the Councils is the only way to save India."

It is recalled that when he was elected Speaker of the Assembly Mr. Patel declared that he had ceased to be a party man and asked to be absolved of his obligations to the Swarajist Party.

It is pointed out that the sober-expression of opinions from India is of vital importance at present in view of the coming appointment of the Statutory Commission, and the statement ascribed to Mr. Patel is particularly discouraging and damaging to the atmosphere likely to impress Parliament.

It is for Mr. Patel to say whether he is consistent or inconsistent. What we are concerned with is the British demand for sober opinions. By sober opinions are meant such views as would be identical with those held by the generality of Britishers, particularly of the Tory die-hard type, which would not hurt their *amour-propre*. What is really wanted, however, is the expression of opinions based on high ideals of human freedom and self-respect and on facts.

The Largest Lined Canal in the World

The Gang canal in Bikaner, which was opened last month, will prove a great blessing to a desolate corner of the desert of Marwar. It is the result of nearly three years' strenuous endeavour of the Maharaja of Bikaner to extend irrigation into his state from the Sutlej river. It will irrigate 6,20,000 acres of land. The canal has been lined on all sides for a distance of more than eighty miles with concrete in order to conserve water and prevent water-logging, and claims to be the largest lined canal in the world. It has been estimated that from the date of its completion the net revenue accruing from it will grow from year to year, standing at a big figure in the fourteenth year. This will be shared by three parties; the Panjab, Rs. 1,70,000, Bahawalpur, 3,06,000, and Bikaner, Rs. 73,00,000.

Archaeological Effort

When *The Statesman* commends some Indian achievement which is neither political nor economic, directly or indirectly, its commendation need not arouse suspicion. Such is its favorable comment upon Mr. R. D. Banerji's lecture at the Calcutta Rotary Club on the finds at Mohen-jo-daro, which runs thus:—

Special interest attaches to Mr. R. D. Banerji's lecture at the Calcutta Rotary Club on the recent archaeological finds at Mohen-jo-daro, because it was he who was the first to discover in that ruined and half-buried city the remains which have thrown such a vivid light upon this forgotten civilization. If Mohen-jo-daro means anything it is that there existed in the Indus Valley, long prior to the advent of the Aryans, a race highly skilled in the arts and having an intimate trading connexion with Egypt, Mesopotamia and the highlands of Central Asia. It is strange, in view of the interest that so many Indians take in the early history of their country, that archaeological effort is left solely to the Government. The State cannot spare the money for investigation on an adequate scale if Mohen-jo-daro and its vicinity are to be properly exploited. We do not know what treasures may not be buried in the Indus Valley, just as we would never have known what the Nile Valley concealed had it not been for private enterprise. There is a great similarity between the climate and conditions of the two regions, and Mohen-jo-daro points to a similarity between the races that once inhabited them. Surely there are inducements here which should tempt wealthy Indians to finance archaeological exploration in Sind.

That wealthy Indians ought to finance archaeological exploration cannot be questioned. But should it be suggested that Government has done its duty in the matter, it would not at all be difficult to show that the state does not spend much for so large and ancient a country as India.

There is another direction in which Government and our universities have yet to begin to do their duty. We mean the training of archaeological explorers. Ancient and mediaeval Indian history is studied and taught in all our Universities. Those who take the highest degrees in these subjects should know how to find out and deal with the indubitable sources and raw materials of history.

ERRATA

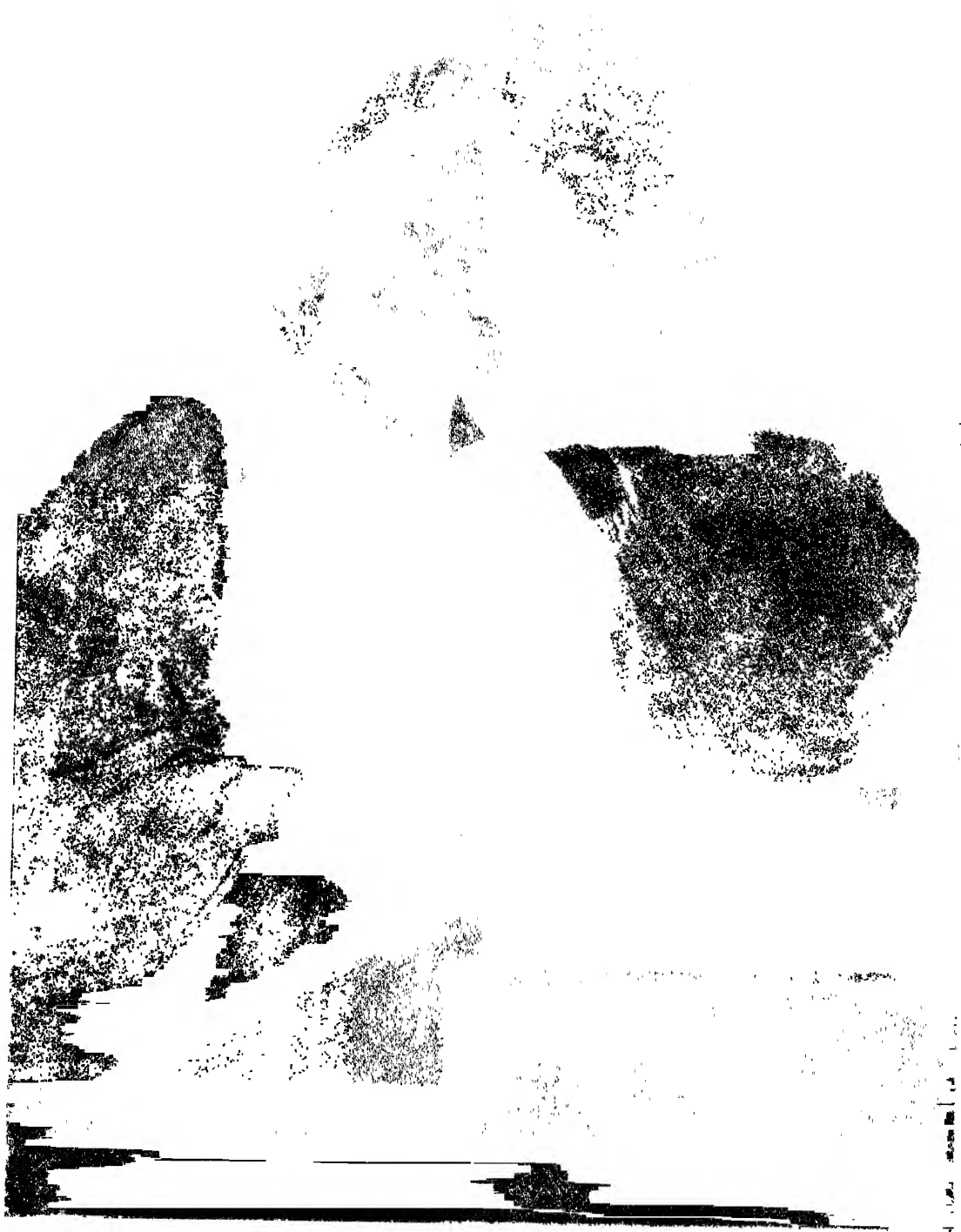
M. R., July, page 9, col. 1, below line 9 from bottom *insert*

সকল কাদিবে তব নিখিলের নয়ন-আবাস

(October, Page 479, col. 2, Line 2, from top In

place of the Hon. Mr. Patel etc., *read* Mr. R. B. Lotwala of Bombay

In the October issue, page 422, column one, after line 42 *add* "Cornelia Sorabji, the writer and lawyer."



THE MUSAFIR
Artist Mr. Deviprasad Roy Choudhury
By courtesy of Mr. S. V. Ramsamy Mudaliar

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THE BLIGHTING INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN RULE

BY THE REV. DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

[A chapter from his forthcoming work, "India's Case for Freedom."]

THERE is no other so sure a way to emasculate a nation, to destroy its soul, and to turn it into a flock of human sheep, as to subject it for a considerable time to foreign domination. This the whole history of the world shows. If you destroy a nation's spirit, you might about as well destroy the nation itself; and the most effective way ever discovered to destroy the spirit of a nation is to rob it of its freedom.

The ancient Greeks, after their conquest by the Romans, lost their intellectual vigor and much of their fine character, and became a very commonplace nation. The cause was plain. The same disastrous effects followed the conquest and domination of the Italians by Austria. The rule of England over Scotland in the fourteenth century and that over France in the fifteenth, are recognised by all historians as having been productive of distinct decadence for a considerable time in both Scotland and France. Mr. Asquith has more than once in his speeches and writings employed such expressions as "the degrading influence of foreign rule," "the intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke."

Says Professor E. A. Ross :

"Subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of nations."

He maintains that there is no case in history where the subjection of one people to another has not tended powerfully and irresistibly to produce intellectual and moral deterioration in those held in subjection. Even in those cases where the domination is of the best type known, he declares that "the alien dominion has a distinctly blight-

ing effect upon the higher life of the people."

The English ought to have learned this lesson thoroughly from their own early experience in connection with the conquest and rule of their country by the Romans. For four hundred years England was governed by Rome. If rule by foreigners is ever a good, it ought to have been a good in this case; for the people of Britain were what we call barbarians, and the Romans were supposedly the most enlightened nation in the world. But what does history tell us?

When the Romans came to Britain, they found a people as independent, as manly, as vigorous and as brave as they had ever encountered in all their history,—a people who fought them so determinedly that Caesar after two attempted invasions was strongly inclined to give up his project of conquering the land, and it was only after a third attempt that the Romans were able to gain a permanent foothold.

During their long domination of the country, the Romans built strong fortifications everywhere, constructed excellent roads leading to all sections, founded and developed flourishing cities, built for themselves hundreds of luxurious villas like those of Italy, and tried to plant Roman civilization and the Roman tongue permanently in the island.

What was the result? Absolute failure, and worse. The Britons, originally so heroic and masterful, had become so utterly cowed, and weakened by their long subjection that when their foreign masters left they

were unable to defend themselves, and at once fell an easy prey to the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, from beyond the North Sea, who had never been emasculated by foreign domination.

The verdict of history seems to be that the four centuries of Rome's rule of Britain left behind it almost absolutely nothing of value. Its chief traces to-day are some old fortifications and walls built for military defense, remains of paved roads here and there, foundations of palaces, theatres, baths and other buildings, and old Roman pottery, personal ornaments, household utensils, etc., discovered by excavations in various places, and a few Roman names of towns, chiefly those that were military headquarters and camps.

The one and only deep and lasting result of the Roman domination seems to have been the degradation of the spirit of the people of the land,—the transformation of a manly, resourceful and heroic nation, able long to beat back the attacks of mighty Rome, into a nation of weaklings unable to defend themselves from any at all formidable foe.

Why has not England learned the lesson which blazes from every page of this long and tragic experience of her own,—that forced subjection to a foreign power, any where, everywhere in the world, in the very nature of the case, means the degradation and emasculation of the nation robbed of its freedom and held in bondage! Why does she not see that this lesson applies in full measure to India?

Perhaps the ablest defense ever penned of the British Colonial policy and of the conquest and rule of India, is that given us by the eminent English historian, Sir J. R. Seeley, in his "Expansion of England." What is Professor Seeley's final judgment concerning it all? He declares that the British government of India is "at its best only a good specimen of a bad political system;" and he expresses his grave doubt "whether our (Britain's) rule is benefiting the people, or whether it may not be sinking them lower in misery." And he declares further, that "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke in one of the most potent causes of national deterioration."

This is in harmony with the strong statement of Ramsay Macdonald in his "Awakening of India" (p. 213):

"In all attempts to govern a country by a

"benevolent despotism," the governed are crushed down. They become subjects who obey, not citizens who act. Their literature, their art, their spiritual expression go. They descend to the level of mere imitators and copyists.....When we recall the riches of Indian civilization in the past it becomes plain that the loss of initiative and self-development has been greater in India than in almost any other country."

Modern educational principles and modern psychology are enabling the world to see as it never saw before, that freedom and self-direction are absolutely necessary conditions of healthy life, and especially of progress, alike in individuals and in nations; whereas repression and domination by outside influences, are fatal. If you would destroy a child's spirit and make him a moral weakling, keep him under a regime of constant forbids, constant dictation by others, constant defeat of his own natural, healthy and right desire to be independent and think and act for himself. Treat a child habitually in that way and you do all in your power to make him a dunce, or else a rebel against all restraint and all law. If you want to turn a man into a coward, a toady, a sycophant, a shirk, a creature without moral backbone or honor or even self-respect, put him in a situation where for a long period he is obliged to submit to being looked down upon, despised, bossed and bullied. If there is anything on earth that will take all manliness and spirit out of him, (or else put the devil into him), that will do it.

All this applies to nations as well as to individuals. It applies exactly to India, one of the great nations of the world, robbed of its freedom, its power of self-direction, its self-respect, looked down upon, made a mere appendage to a foreign power, its people bullied, their hopes and ambitions blighted, their power of initiative everywhere checked, their genius despised, permitted to do nothing without the consent of their alien masters, reduced to the humiliating and disgraceful condition of political and economic slaves.

For nearly two centuries the British have been dealing with India in precisely the way to destroy her soul,—in some degree ignorant of the result they were producing, but none-the-less imposing on her exactly the kind of government tending to produce it.

Looting the country of its wealth, as in the old days of Clive and Hastings, was bad. Exploiting the country, draining away its

resources to England and impoverishing it in all the long years since, has been not less evil in its effects. But worst of all has been the conscienceless robbing of the nation of its freedom, its power of self-direction. Jesus said of a man, "What shall it profit him if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" If it is a sin that cries to heaven, to destroy the soul of a man, what is it to destroy the soul of a nation?

Rev. C F. Andrews, who came to India in sympathy with British rule, after a score of years of observation of the effects of that rule, became convinced that if India would save her soul, she simply must become independent and self-ruling. He declares that

"Her soul is being lost under the influence of the mechanical and materialistic civilization which British rule fosters and really forces on the Indian people."

Foreign rule destroys patriotism. Where it exists, what is there to be patriotic about? The people have no country. What used to be their country or what ought to be their country, is owned by foreigners. Says John Stuart Mill,

"In a country governed by a despot, there is only one patriot and that is the despot himself."

Attempts to be patriotic on the part of the people are regarded as sedition or treason, for which they are liable to be arrested and sent to prison, if not shot.

One of the last words of the eminent Hindu scholar and teacher, Swami Vivekananda, was,

"My countrymen, pray to the Great Mother for manhood: manhood is the great need of the Indian people."

But how can a nation get manhood in slavery? The indispensable condition for the creation of manhood is freedom to stand on one's own feet and shape one's own life.

Said Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Liberal Premier of Great Britain:

"Good government is no substitute for self-government. The atmosphere of subjection is poisonous, killing all that is virile and worthy and fostering all that is vile and ignoble.....I must remind my countrymen that Britons have stooped to Prussian and Russian methods in the government of India."

Says *The Indian Messenger*, the Calcutta organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj:

"British Rule has done more to emasculate the Indian people than was done by Mohammedan Rule in its worst period."

The Honorable G. K. Gokhale, the eminent Indian statesman, describes the blighting influences of British rule, as follows:

"A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority and the tallest of us must bend. The upward impulse which every schoolboy at Eton or Harrow may feel that he may one day be a Glandstone or a Nelson or a Wellington, and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, is denied to us. The height to which our manhood is capable of rising can never be reached by us under the present system of foreign domination. The moral elevation which every self-governing people feel cannot be felt by us. Our administrative and military talents must gradually disappear owing to their disuse, till at last our lot, as hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country, is stereotyped."*

Another eminent Indian leader, the Honorable Bhupendranath Basu, thus confirms and supplements Mr. Gokhale's testimony:

"A foreign bureaucratic government, holding all power in its hands and undertaking all responsibility, has acted as a dead weight on the Soul of India, stifling in us all sense of initiative, for the lack of which we are condemned; atrophying our nerves of action, and, what is most serious, necessarily dwarfing in us all feeling of self-respect."†

The very education of the country is planned by the Government, and planned steadily and systematically, not to create free, strong and independent minds, as education always should, but to create really slave minds, docile and obedient minds, minds dominated by an "inferiority complex," without ambition, without patriotism, content to be subjects of a foreign power, content to belong to a nation that has no recognition in the world as a nation.

Professor S. Radhakrishnan, an eminent Indian educator, makes this clear in an address as President of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association (reported in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, May, 1927). He says:

"The educational policy of the Government trains men into docile tools of an external authority, but it does not help them to become self-respecting citizens of a free nation. Love of one's native land is the basis of all progress. This principle is recognised in all countries. But in our unfortunate country it is the other way. A conquered race feels its heart sink. It loses hope, courage and confidence. Our political subjection

* "Gokhale's Speeches," G. A. Natesan and Company, Madras. Appendix, pp. XLII, XLIII.

† Quoted in Mrs. Besant's book, "Shall India Live or Die?" p. 27.

carries with it the suggestion that we cannot consider ourselves the equals of free nations. Indian history is taught to impress on us the one lesson that 'India has failed.' The worst form of bondage is that of despair and dejection, which creeps on defeated peoples, breeding in them loss of faith in themselves. The aim of true education should be to keep alive the spark of national pride and self-respect, in the midst of circumstances that tend to undermine them. If we lose our wealth and resources we may recover them to-morrow, if not to-day; but if we lose our national consciousness, there is no hope for us."

Mrs. Annie Besant tells us of the weakening, denationalizing and degrading influence of this kind of education as she has observed it in India for more than thirty years. She writes:

"The stunting of the Indian race under British rule begins with the education of the children. The schools (which are under British control) differentiate between British and Indian teachers; the colleges do the same. The students see first class Indian teachers superseded by young and third-rate foreigners; the principals or presidents of colleges must be foreigners; foreign history is more important than Indian; to have written on English villages is a qualification for teaching economics in India; the whole atmosphere of the school and college emphasizes the superiority of the foreigner. The whole education of the country is planned on foreign models, and its object is to serve foreign rather than native ends, to make docile government servants, rather than patriotic citizens. High spirit, courage, self-respect, are not encouraged, and docility is regarded as the most precious quality in the student. Pride in country, patriotism, ambition, are looked upon as dangerous. English instead of Indian ideals are exalted; the blessings of a foreign rule and the incapacity of Indians are constantly inculcated.*"

The British often charge the Indian people with weakness, obsequiousness, lack of manliness, lack of courage and spirit, and even lack of honor and integrity, and declare that because of these deficiencies they are not fit to rule themselves, but must be governed by Britain.

But if this is true, *who is to blame but the British?* To a very notable degree the people of India were strong and virile before the British came and reduced them to political and moral subjection. During the long centuries and decades when India stood on her own feet, ruled herself and developed her own great civilization, no nation stood higher in every characteristic that distinguishes an influential, honored, brave illustrious people. It was India that was first able to check and turn back Alexander the Great in his career of world-conquest. Surely

Indians were not weaklings and inferiors then. According to the Greek writers of the time the civilization of India stood essentially on a level with their own, and the Indian people were represented as bearing the highest character. The Greek Flavius Arrian, the historian of the campaigns of Alexander, wrote of the Hindus:

"They are remarkably brave, and superior in war to all Asiatics; they are remarkable for integrity; they are so reasonable as seldom to have recourse to law-suits, and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements. They are in the highest degree truthful."

The celebrated Chinese traveller, Hsuen Tsang, who made an extended visit to India in the seventh century A. D., assigns to the Indian people as high a general character and as elevated a place in civilization as did the Greeks of Alexander's time.

Travellers from Europe visited India from time to time in later centuries, and nearly or quite all brought back praise of the country—for its fertility, rich products, and wonderful scenery; and hardly less praise of the people, for their industry, general prosperity, honor, culture, and high character.

One of the most noted of these visitors was Sir Thomas Roe, who, early in the seventeenth century, was sent by the King of England as an ambassador to the Court of the Indian Emperor, Jehangir, in Agra. Roe wrote much about India, highly lauding the country, the people, whom he represented as comparing favorably with the people of Europe, the remarkable architecture of the land, and other forms of high art, the wealth of the upper classes, the splendor of the courts of the rulers, and so on.

This general high estimate of India, not only of the country for its attractiveness and wealth, but of the people for their intelligence, culture, courage and high attainments, continued right on, until these comers from the west began to turn into greedy coveters of India's wealth, and plotters to get possession of it by fair means or foul. As soon as this change took place, and the English and other Europeans entered upon that career of spoliation, robbery and domination of the country which forms one of the darkest chapters in modern history, then at once the world began to hear a very different estimate of the Indian people. Almost in a day from a nation of high civilization, culture, character and honor, they sank into barbarians.

* "The Case for India," pp. 32, 33.

"When the emasculating influence of India's subjection is over, and she once more becomes free, and when, therefore, Indian men and women become able again to grow to the full height of their stature and proclaim to the world the mission which is to be theirs, then a great stream of moral and spiritual energy, long lost to view, will have returned to its channel, and East and West—white and dark and yellow and brown—will all have cause alike to rejoice."

Crooked became the path, intricate became life,
And heavy grew its burden ;
I was dragged down to the dust of the earth,
And I fell prone time and oft ;
What faith is left in my own self ?
In myself there is no hope ;
My pride has been crushed and mingles with
the dust,
The garment that covered my shame is
torn to tatters.

3

So today again and again I hasten towards Thee,
 O Thou the Help of the universe!
 Filling infinite Time and measureless Space
 On Thine own Self Thou retest;
 Standing a moment on the roadside
 I behold Thy great universe;
 Where have I come? Where am I going?
 On what path is the world moving?

4

Today I am quaffing the peace of Nature—
 Consolation's perennial stream;
 Lifting my eyes to the heavens at night
 I see millions of planets and stars—
 As from the loopholes of darkest Night
 Luminous glimmerings of Thy light!
 O Thou mighty Gloom! Thou mighty Light!
 Unrevealed! Ever Self-revealed!

5

When the burden of life was very light,
 When there was no sin,
 Then I never looked at Thee
 And knew not Thy might;
 Thy fathomless peace, shoreless mystery,
 Beauty infinite, incomparable;
 In silence, with rapt eyes, in deep wonder
 I did not behold Thy world.

6

The soft lines of sunset, noble and mournful,
 Across the field on the distant mango-
 grove;
 The clear-flowing, blue stream in May
 Of the shrunken Ganga on its bed of sand;
 Overhead the seven Rishis* with eyes intent
 On the history of the changing and passing
 eons;

* Ursa Major.

The sleepless full Moon in the silent night
 Awaft on the sea of sleep;

7

The constant breath of the wind, the
 opening morn,
 The mingling of green and gold;
 The wide-lying melancholy noon;
 The deep, dense forest-shade;
 Far as the eye can reach the ears of corn
 Filling the apron of the earth,—
 From the heart of the world to mine own
 heart
 Flows the current of life.

8

Ineffable thoughts fill the heart,
 The tears rise to the eyes;
 My grief and separation melting, dripping,
 Bedew the breast of the universe;
 In the midst of the halcyon peace of Nature
 My life loses itself;
 The dust-laden stream of sin and sorrow
 Mingles with the great heart of the ocean.

9

Love alone wakes blessed and sweet,
 Lengthened is the course of life;
 Washed of dust grief and pain garbed in
 white and peace
 Look as the image of joy;
 Freed from bondage Self spreads out
 In the wide, free world;
 The breath of the universe plays on the
 openings of life
 With an answering outburst of joyful
 music!

THE DEAD YEAR

Lo! the orphan frost-robed Seasons bearing
 Their dead sire's spangled pall, preparing
 For the last when skeleton's left staring
 Heap on coals! Let morning's flame
 Blazing, leaping, dance and claim
 Its dead victim! Burn the name
 Of this year, the blame, our shame!
 O! consume to ashes gloom despairing;
 Burn false Feud his blood-stained garments
 wearing!
 Burn Disunion! Burn them for forswearing!

From the ashes phoenix of union rising,
 Shall restore our Freedom civilizing,
 Who was exiled by Greed tyrannizing!
 Heap on embers From Dawn's fire
 Agni robed in flame's attire,
 Shall deliver man's desire,—
 New Year sounding concord's lyre!—
 Burn the old, the false, the agonizing,
 Rivalry and Envy criticising!
 Welcome Peace and Love immortalizing!

CYRIL MONAK
 1927

BERTRAND RUSSELL INTERVIEWED

By DILIPKUMAR ROY

I was having lunch when Mr. Russell called. We sat at lunch together.

"I'll tell you something amusing, Mr. Russell", I said. "An English lady—a neighbour of mine who is much interested in Indian philosophy—has warned me against you."

"What sort of a lady is she?" Mr. Russell laughed. "Is she a theosophist? This country is full of them, you know."

"I don't know if she is a theosophist. All I know is that she is a spiritualist. She took me to a place where they take spirit photography."

"Yes, but the difficulty is that when trained people go there they find it all out."

"But I sometimes cannot help feeling, Mr. Russell, that there must be something in it."

"Oh! yes, I quite believe that there is something in it. But not as much as they make out", he returned.

"At any rate no conclusive evidence has yet been brought forward about the survival of our consciousness after death", he added.

"I'll tell you a funny story", he continued after a short pause, "a spiritualist wrote to me once that if I had any question in the universe that I'd like to have a convincing answer to, he was ready to help me through his wonderful spiritualistic messages. I put to him a question on energy. His spirits were very glib and obliging with their answers, which were of course balderdash. I wrote back that whatever his wonderful spirits might be proficient in, physics wasn't their strong point—that much was certain. It annoyed him terribly."

We laughed.

"But don't you really believe that our consciousness survives after death in some form or other?" I asked a little while later.

"I find no evidence to the effect", he calmly replied.

"But you can't disprove it either", I urged.

"I admit it. But to believe such things when there is no evidence in their favour is what I should call irrational. It is

essentially not much different from the belief of a man who will obstinately hold that the horse he has backed is going to win. For there is at least as much probability of its losing."

"But do you seriously maintain, Mr. Russell, that all such beautiful organisations, achievements and designs which have been rendered possible only by age-long mobilisation of all our energies could end in utter annihilation, in senseless futility?"

"Why not? A football team achieves wonderful things. But it dissolves nevertheless. We can quite conceive that."

We laughed.

"But since there is no definite proof to the contrary that our consciousness dies with the death of the body, therefore—" I pursued.

"There is n't proof, but I think probability lies in that direction. For mind up-till-now hasn't been found to work as distinct from body. So one may reasonably look upon it as a function of the body."

"What about telepathy then?" I asked.

"Well, it may very well be physical—like wireless telegraphy—only our present knowledge hasn't yet found the medium through which telepathy works. That's all. So I don't see how we can believe that there is any evidence at all to the effect that we live for ever."

"Besides, I don't think I would care very much to live for ever," he added.

"Why? Don't you like life?—on the whole?"

"Well, it depends. Sometimes I do, at other times, I don't. It is like taking a meal. When you haven't had your fill, you look kindly on food, don't you? But when you are surfeited with food, you feel a deep aversion to eating."

"But that is really irrelevant to the issue," he added. "For what is important to remember is that there is absolutely no evidence in favour of our assumption that the scheme of things takes any notice at all of our likes and dislikes, desires and aversions. So I feel it is braver, more courageous and more manly to try to look at life and its phenomena dispassionately."

"For", he continued after a short pause, "the little real advance that we have effected up-till-now, in so far as our comprehension of life and nature is concerned, has been achieved by looking at life and things straight in the face—that is, objectively. So the chances are that, that way of thinking will bring us nearer to greater and greater truth of things—if anything can."

"That is another reason why I find fault with religion", he continued thoughtfully, "for I see that religion has taught us assiduously to look at life just the other way about, with the result that man is to-day very much the worse for it."

"What do you mean?" I asked a little surprised. "Do you mean to say really that we were better-off formerly when there was no religion at all?"

"I do in certain respects," said Mr. Russell, "and I will tell you why. You see it is like this. The savage man took greater interest in his family and tribes and nature without bothering so much about whether nature is kindly disposed to his wishes and aspirations or not. But religion has made him care more about himself. It has made him more egoistic and exclusive."

"But surely Buddha, for instance, didn't preach egoism," I objected.

"The only religious figure whom I really like is Buddha," he added. "As a matter of fact I find there is nothing I object to in him personally as distinct from what his disciples painted him to have been."

"But hasn't he preached reincarnations?" I contended.

"Not he—his followers have done that for him," said Mr. Russell smiling. "For didn't he smile derisively at the point of death when they promulgated that he is going to survive the dissolution of his body?"

"What do you object in Christ personally?—That is as distinct from how his disciples interpreted him?" I asked after a pause.

"First, his dogmatic assertions of hell and hell-fires and secondly, his senseless asceticism", remarked Mr. Russell.

"He has said, for instance, that he who looks on a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery in his heart," he added ironically. * * * *

We laughed.

"Let us go out for a walk", he suggested

suddenly. "I find it hard to sit indoors when the sun shines brightly outside."

We started forth.

"Apropos of asceticism, Mr. Russell," I said as we walked, "don't you think that there is something in it?"

"In what way?"

"Well—in this way: are not the beautiful creations of man in the realm of thought or art or poetry recognised to-day as products of sublimated sex-energy? So don't you think that humanity would have been the loser for it had our best artists had their sex-energy exhausted in the direction of sex-enjoyment?"

"Oh! I certainly believe in that and I think that the best productions in art depend on a certain amount of sex-frustration. That is to say, the greatest artists should sublimate a lot of their sex energy to create fine works of art. But you see here as elsewhere it is extremes which should be rationally avoided. If you sublimate moderately, it is all right, but if you do it too much, you suffer from a reaction, for then sex takes its revenge."

"But surely the ascetics don't have this view of sublimation in mind when they preach asceticism", he added reflectively. "At all events it is not due to their solicitude for art or personality. They only set up hard and fast codes of conventional morality at their sweet will, and conventional morality works in such cases only the wrong way about, for the simple reason that it is most irrational, inelastic and dogmatic."

"How do you mean?"

"Well, when an artist creates he may turn to his sublime energy for creation. But he can do so only when the sublimation is natural. That is, he must not create artificial barriers in the way of his desire for sex-satisfaction. The barriers must be there in spite of himself. If he wants to have the sense of frustration by artificial means when circumstances don't entail it, then he doesn't have his creative impulse truly accumulated. And on top of it all, too much sex-frustration must always have a very warping effect on our whole outlook on life and cannot as such be instrumental in producing a healthy art."

"How to know then to what extent one must satisfy sex and to what extent sublimate it?"

"The amount of self-restraint that you are forced to practise if you are to live in a workable harmony in modern society is, I

think, quite enough, without your having recourse to trying desperately to sublimate your sex-feelings".

"Will you be a little more explicit please?" I said.

"I mean that the number of women whom you desire but cannot get, forces you to practise enough self-control, I think", said he. "It is enough anyway to compel you to sublimate a lot of your sex-energy without your attempting to swallow an extra-dose of self-restraint."

"Do you think all the great human activities must require this sex-sublimation?" I asked after a pause.

"I think that the activities which are purely intellectual differ here from the artistic. For I feel that the work of scientists and purely intellectual men rather improves in quality when their sex is satisfied. Possibly it is different with art."

"But why must the artist pay such a heavy price for his art creations when the others don't have to pay for their work?"

"I don't know if it is such a great price to pay for most artists really," said Mr. Russell sceptically; "an artist often receives coldness from his beloved one day and composes a beautiful poem. But the next day she relents, doesn't she?"

We laughed.

"I am talking here of the average artist of course. He often strikes me as remarkably like the male peacock who exhibits his gaudy feathers when dancing to woo the female peacock because she gives him the cold shoulder. Perhaps he might not have danced thus had it not been for the capriciousness of the female. But she only raises her value thus by her obstinacy, doesn't she?"

We laughed.

We then came to discuss about the relative intelligence of men at different epochs in history in evolution. Mr. Russell said that we often err in thinking that evolution must mean progress of the more and more evolved species. It was nothing of the sort, for evolution simply means the change the species undergoes in adapting itself to its changing environment. Tape-worm, for instance, he said, is a highly evolved animal, though we don't recognise it to be as such.

"Do you not think then, Mr. Russell, that the average intelligence of man is better in quality to-day than what it was formerly—say at the time of the Greeks?"

"If you talk of the Greeks", he replied, "then I must say that I hardly think that the native intelligence—the capacity, I mean, of the average intelligent man to-day, can be compared with that of the Greeks."

"You think we are inferior?"

"Oh, decidedly."

"But our achievements—"

"Ah! you mustn't confuse the issue. We have achieved more because the sum-total of knowledge at our service to-day is much greater than the Greeks had at their disposal, just as Einstein has achieved a greater thing than Newton because he could stand on his shoulders."

"So you don't think Einstein is greater than Newton?" I remarked incidentally.

"I should not think so," remarked Mr. Russell. "I should rank him as the equal of Newton in native capacity—and the only one who has been the equal of Newton since his time. But to resume: Suppose for instance that some twenty-thousand Greek babies were preserved in a refrigerator and suddenly dropped among us to-day, the most intelligent men among them will with our knowledge and environment grow-up to simply walk through our most intelligent men. Of course, mind you I do not for a moment mean that the average man all the world over at the time of the Greeks was superior to the average man to-day. I say this only with reference to the Greeks, you must remember."

"But you seem then not to be particularly hopeful about the prospects of the improvement in the human material", I observed.

"One can have hopes provided science were allowed a freer hand."

"What do you mean?"

"Well—it is the question pure and simple of improving the breed. We can to-day improve the breed by utilising the knowledge we have acquired through scientific research."

"Put in a nutshell it is like this: given facilities, science can to-day set about allowing only the best stocks to breed—leaving the inferior stocks only the right of sexual intercourse but not the right of propagation—as I was telling you yesterday."

"Thus, there seems to me to be no limit to the glorious achievements that man can encompass through science", he added, "provided he places more reliance in science than in superstitions."

"But do you think he will place more reliance in science?" I asked.

"That remains to be seen. In Europe the

Catholic Church maintains that birth-control is immoral. Science holds that selective birth-control will improve the breed wonderfully. During the last fifty years the average of intelligence among us has been lowered—thanks to the Catholic Church, which has induced the worst stocks to breed unlimitedly, while the best stocks have limited their families in spite of its inveighings against birth-control. So it is now a race between science which wants to improve the average and the Church which encourages deterioration."

"Do you think that science will get the better of the Church?"

"Not in Europe I fear," said Mr. Russell dubiously. "Our only hope now lies in America, which has already started artificial sterilization of the feeble-minded in the States. That is already a great step forward in the right direction."

"But if Europe doesn't follow America's example in this connection?" I asked.

"It doesn't so much matter if America goes on," returned Mr. Russell coolly.

"How do you mean?"

"Well, she will soon have produced a race of men so immeasurably superior to the decadent Europeans that they will have exterminated the latter in no time. So it will be quite all right so long as one nation works in the right direction."

"This is thinking a little too dispassionately, Mr. Russell," I remarked smiling.

"Well, there is no sense in thinking unless one thinks dispassionately, is there?" he asked.

"The little real happiness of which mankind has to-day discovered the secret" he added, "has been possible only by looking at life objectively and dispassionately."

"How do you mean?"

"Well, real happiness comes only to him who doesn't search for it frantically but is interested in things for their own sake. That is to say, if we were interested in beings not because we loved them for themselves but because we thought we would be happy thereby—then happiness would be sure to elude us like a chimera or a mirage."

28-6-27.

I called at Mr. Russell's about one at lunch time.

"What do you think of the future of pacifism, Mr. Russell," asked after we had discussed a few casual topics.

"None whatever."

"Really? Why do you write so much about pacifism then?" I asked a little surprised.

"Well, one likes to believe that one may succeed but the chances are very much against me, I fear. At least I found it to be so to my utter disillusionment when the war came on."

"Why disillusionment?" I asked.

"Well, we were told during the war, for instance, that the means of modern warfare are becoming so horrible that men will grow tired of war eventually. But that is bad psychology, for the more the fear of defeat, the more bitter men will become in wartime. I think the next first-class war will utilize the new inventions men shall have acquired by then of spreading microbes in the rank and file of the enemy's country."

"What a horrible idea!" I exclaimed.

"Yes, it is very horrible but I fear there is no way out," he replied.

"None whatever?" I asked.

"Unless America or some such great nation dominates the whole world", he suggested, "so that all the countries of the world may be counted under one Empire. It may not be unlikely".

The lunch-bell rang.

We went to lunch and then started out with Mrs. Russell.

"I was reading Mr. Wells's latest 'World of William Clissold' yesterday", I said as we walked on. "He thinks that Marxism has been exploded. Do you think it has really?"

"No I don't think—at least not quite", said Mr. Russell. "I feel there is much truth in what Marx has said".

"For instance?" I asked.

"The tendency of modern capitalism seems to shape very much along the lines he predicted, namely, that management and control of industries are daily becoming more and more concentrated in fewer and fewer hands and then his economic interpretation of history contains a large measure of truth in it."

"So you are inclined to believe that it hasn't been exploded and might continue?" I asked.

"What do you think, Dora?" Asked Mr. Russell.

"Well, I think that it isn't a single question really. For even if Marxism had been completely exploded, it might continue."

"How do you mean?" I asked.

"Well, it is like this," said Mr. Russell. "Christianity was exploded long ago somewhere about the third century A.D., as soon as a few intelligent people examined its truth, but it continues nevertheless, doesn't it?"

We laughed.

"So you do not think that any sounder form of socialism, that is now but in nascent state, is likely to have a serious chance in the near future?" I asked.

"No", he replied.

"Why?"

"Because the greater the truth in any system the more complex it becomes and consequently more difficult to envisage. And only falsehood can be simple enough to have a chance with the masses."

"So you seem to favour an aristocratic view of life, Mr. Russell" I said.

"What do you mean?" he asked.

"I mean you seem to favour the view that truth is meant ultimately for the hand-ful?" I urged.

"It isn't that I favour any view this way or that", said Mr. Russell a little animatedly. "Only I plainly see that is what life is."

"Please be a little more explicit, Mr. Russell", I said

"Why can't you see this simple fact unbiassed by your ethical interpretation of life?" returned Mr. Russell more warmly. "I often find that people will persist in falling into a hopeless confusion by wishing to have things turn out in a particular way. Why don't they try to look at things a little dispassionately, I wonder. Why don't they try calmly to face the fact that truth has nothing whatever to do with what we think it should be like."

"For instance", he added, "it is in a very complex way that currency works and influences everyday life. Do you mean to say that an untrained man can understand how it works? If he can't, it is because he hasn't acquired the capacity to tackle the problem. It doesn't mean that I want him to understand it this way or that. It is simply the statement of a fact, nothing more. If I say that only giraffes and not horses can reach the tender leaves of the topmost branches of a tree—it is similarly the statement of a fact and not a wish that horses had longer necks too. When we observe life and when we generalise about it, we should similarly try to see them without any bias this way or that. Do you understand?"

"Yes." I said softly.

"Forgive me if I became excited just now", said Mr. Russell a little later as we sat side by side on a hill overlooking the sea.

"I didn't mind it really, Mr. Russell—I might have been a little unwary. But it is really worthy of you to have answered all my questions so patiently and then apologize yourself when it is I who have misunderstood you."

"I did not mind the questions in the least, I assure you", said Mr. Russell in a very kind tone. "But I aim at looking at life as dispassionately as possible and as such I constantly try to separate all ethical bias when observing the phenomena round us."

"What made me ask you whether you favoured aristocracy of intellect to democracy as a philosophy", I said, "was that I had come lately to doubt Tolstoy's thesis that the loftiest achievements of man in art or thought must be immediately comprehensible to all. I was at one time very much influenced by Tolstoyanism—"

"Well, Tolstoyanism has been psycho-analysed and yielded very interesting results", said Mr. Russell. "He was a very proud man—you can see that from his photo—but was unfortunately not as cultured as he was proud. So his pride and self-love unconsciously impelled him to invent a philosophy which made it unnecessary for him to know or understand things he didn't. There you have the psychology of Tolstoyanism in a nutshell."

We were silent for some time gazing at the sea ahead of us.

"What do you think of Freud, Mr. Russell", asked I after a pause.

"I consider him a very great man, though I don't agree whole-heartedly with him."

"In what point do you differ?"

"Well, I don't feel that all the impulses of life are derived from sex; for one thing. For instance, love of knowledge is in my opinion not a sublimation of sex-energy; though art creations undoubtedly are. Our desire to know more and more is, I think, due to our sublimation of love of power rather than sex."

"Why?"

"Because knowledge gives us power. Ability to cause certain things that we wish in persons and things is power and knowledge develops this ability."

"What books do you think one should

read to form a workable knowledge of modern psycho-analysis of Freud?"

"Besides his book called 'The Interpretation of Dreams' it is very well worth while reading Bernard Hart's 'Psychology of Insanity' and River's 'Instincts and the Unconscious.'"

Then Mr. Russell went to have a swim in the ice-cold sea-water while I talked to Mrs. Russell.

"You differed a little from Mr. Russell, didn't you, about Russia?" I asked her.

"No, not quite", she said. "I think we roundly agreed in fundamental questions, only I liked Russia a little more than he did perhaps".

"I have been told that Russian women are the freest women of to-day in the world, do you think so?"

"No, I don't", she said reflectively. "I think that the women are freer to-day in England and America than they are in Russia,—though I think that's because the men are not very educated in Russia, for the laws in Bolshevik Russia are, I think, a great advance on any country in the world."

"How do you mean?"

"Well, in Russia any party to a marriage may get a divorce any moment without any delay if he or she wishes to put an end to the marriage contract".

"But what happens to the children."

"Well, I don't know that. I suppose that the parents have to come to an understanding on that point."

"But don't you think it is rather hard on the child not to have the care of both the parents in its infancy?"

"Why?" she said genuinely surprised; "do you think that they often do? A very great number of the children who are born to-day don't know both the parents any way, particularly among the working-classes. It reminds me of the story of a labourer's boy who cried and on being asked the reason said it was because he had been beaten by the man who slept with his mother on Sundays, meaning his father."

"It was because the poor boy didn't see his father on week-days", added she smiling.

At this time Mr. Russell came and sat beside us on the beach. We then discussed the marriage-laws in England.

Mrs. Russell said how absurd it was that no divorce was obtainable if both the parties committed misconduct. "Not only that", she

added, the Court won't grant divorce, if during the period that the divorce proceedings are on, the husband and wife should even once meet on friendly terms. "It is ridiculous beyond words."

"The reason is simply," put in Mr. Russell, "that the Court is supposed to be the champion of virtue. So it must be satisfied for the upholding of righteousness that at least one of the parties has been so deeply sinned against that he or she shall not be able to help becoming red-hot with fury, and unless this fury is there and spotlessness also, divorce should be virtuously denied by the law, no matter how miserable such senseless denial may make the parties, who might otherwise both be happy."

I was reminded of Mr. Wells's similar diatribes against the English marriage-laws in his *World of Clissold* and his fulminations against the King's Proctor whose business it is to stiffen the operation of divorce laws as mischievously as possible.

"It is so ridiculous beyond words," commented Mrs. Russell smiling, "for supposing the plaintiff fails to obtain a decree *nisi* against a certain co-respondent, the former can never sue the latter again if fresh evidence comes to light against the latter. Isn't it so, Bertrand?"

"Yes dear", replied Mr. Russell. "The tricky point of the law is that you can never be tried twice for the same offence. So the story goes that a man was unjustly sentenced to penal servitude for life for having murdered a man. When he was released after twenty years he coolly went and murdered him. The law didn't know what to do with him, for he could not be convicted twice for the same offence". He laughed outright and we joined him.

We returned home to tea.

As we had tea Mr. Russell discussed India with a great interest.

"You say the boycott of the Prince of Wales was a success", he asked.

"Yes, only officials and soldiers saluted him. The streets of Calcutta and Allahabad and all the big towns were empty."

"I am so glad", commented Mr. Russell with genuine satisfaction.

"I suppose Indians are very bitter against the English?" asked Mrs. Russell.

"I fear they are, particularly after the passing of the Bengal Ordinance, in addition to Regulation III, which has been instrumental in

clapping scores of persons into prison without trial and detaining them there indefinitely. They may not know even the nature of the evidence against them nor the names of the witnesses who bring the charge."

"And the British Government accuses the Bolsheviks!" sneered Mr. Russell.

"It is a pity really," I said, "for most Indians have come now to-day to believe that all Englishmen are hypocrites."

"I don't think you are mistaken there," railed Mr. Russell. "Since only precious few are not, and those don't count."

"At least so long as they don't give us anything more substantial than the present Reforms, which are all sham—I fear confidence in the British sincerity cannot be restored", I said.

"The Reforms that they generously choose to give you cannot be anything but sham, don't you see", said he. "They won't give you anything else till they are in a blue funk", commented Mr. Russell.

"I have become deeply cynical of all governments though," he added after a while. "For I don't think that any government is good to-day. And I don't believe you could have treated us any better if you had ruled over England".

"I quite agree."

"But yet", said Mr. Russell reflectively, "my reading of history tells me that a foreign culture can never be imparted to another nation except at the point of the sword. The Romans imparted theirs to England and France at the point of the bayonet and we are doing the same in India. It may be unfortunate, yet it has, I see, been the only

way hitherto of spreading a culture among an alien people".

"Why do you think so?"

"Because", said Mr. Russell ruminatively. "it is only when a people are conquered that they have the necessary respect for an alien culture. We should never have imbibed Roman culture had it not been thus thrust upon us. And the same thing is happening in China and India to-day, isn't it".

"I wonder, however, if it is always so." I remarked "Isn't Japan's a case rather against your thesis, Mr. Russell? For Japan has imitated European civilization with a remarkable success without having been forced to do so by foreign conquest, hasn't she?"

"She was forced, that's just it. For you must be knowing that she didn't at one time want to open her ports to England and America. They forced her to. She chafed under this brutality, but fortunately she wasted no time in protesting or sighing. She quickly learnt our science, imitated our militarism and adopted our methods so that within a single generation she transformed the face of the island empire."

"It is an example without a parallel in history," added Mr. Russell ruminatively. "The Japanese statesmen and thinkers thought out in the late sixties and early seventies an elaborate programme of drilling their nation into the full-fledged militarist nation it is to-day. And they have carried into action every single plan that they had formulated then, more than half a century ago. It is marvellous, unique, almost incredible."

(Concluded)

ARE THE BRITISH (OR ANY OTHER FOREIGNERS) FIT TO RULE INDIA ?

By THE REV. DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

[A Chapter from his forthcoming work, "India's Case for Freedom."]

CAN any nation in the world be ruled well and safely by transients—by persons from a distant country, who come with no intention of permanency, stay a little while and then go? That is the way India is ruled.

Could England be ruled safely or well in that way? Could the United States? Could Japan? Could China? Then why does any intelligent person believe that India can be, or is?

The British who go to India to carry on

the government never for a moment think of the country as home; it is merely their temporary tarrying place, their "inn," while they are "enduring their term of banishment" from England, which they never cease to think of and to call "home." Edmund Burke described these British countrymen of his by the striking phrase, "birds of passage and of prey." The expression was so wholly true to the fact, that it has persisted. Let us see exactly what it means.

The British in India are no part of India: they do not settle down to make homes there; they do not belong there. They come as government officials or as traders; they make their 'piles' and return to their own country, where all who have been in government service continue all the rest of their lives to draw fat pensions from India. While in India, except small sums spent for house-rents, and for servants, for bread and milk and vegetables, and probably for some curios of the country, practically all the money they spend goes into the pockets, not of the people of India, but of Englishmen. Their hams and bacons, their jams, their pickles, their beefs and 'tinned' muttons, they import from England. The clothes of their wives, of their children and of themselves, their jewelry, and the furniture of their houses, come from their own country. Seldom do they patronize Indian merchants selling Indian goods, no matter how excellent the goods may be. Except fresh vegetables and bread and the most perishable articles, they purchase almost exclusively English or European things. India is called by most of them a 'land of exile,' and a 'land of regrets.' They are always counting the days that remain before their furloughs begin or their pensions become due. Thus from the day of their arrival in the land to the hour of their departure they are aliens and exotics. Even their children are essentially foreigners.

As for the child of the Indian, of course, he is not only born in India, but is brought up and educated in India, is identified with India from his earliest life, works and dies in India. On the contrary, the child of the Englishman in India goes to his father's far-off western home to be educated there, and to spend the most impressionable years of his life there; then if he returns to India, it is as to a foreign land. Thus the Englishman in India has little or nothing in common with the Indian people. As a rule, he does not share their aspirations or their fears,

their hopes or their ambitions, their joys or their sorrows. He lives a life cut off from the real India; his heart is always turned toward England which he thinks of as home.

Such a state of mind as is here described is perfectly natural in men who feel themselves foreigners in a foreign land. We need not blame them for their feelings. But *are such foreigners, such transients, such "birds of passage and of prey," fit to rule India?*

The British in India have also been called another very appropriate name and one that Americans can easily understand, "carpet-baggers." America has had not a little experience with "carpet-baggers." Some of our Western States learned to their sorrow what it was in early pioneer days to have speculative bankers from the east start business with no other property than they could carry in their carpet-bags, and abscond when they failed. But that was not the worst. After the Civil war, during the "reconstruction period," our Southern States learned to their still greater sorrow, what it meant to have Northern political adventurers ("carpet-baggers") come South and by the help of the negro vote "steal" control of the government in large areas, even in whole states.

British rule in India has been called "carpet-bag rule" by Englishmen themselves. And with good reason, for exactly such it is; and it is actually of a much worse kind than that which prevailed for a few shameful years in our Southern States. Our American carpet-bag rulers were actually elected to office by a majority of the people over whom they ruled, even if many of the voters were ignorant negroes. But the British carpet-bag rulers in India are not chosen to their offices by any part of the people over whom they rule; they are distant foreigners placed in their offices by other foreigners; they are not voted for by any Indian or even invited to come to the country by a single resident of the country; they are pure transients, having no stake in the land except what they may be said to carry in their "carpet-bags."

All decent Americans soon became ashamed of the carpet-bag governments in our Southern States, and as soon as the moral sentiment of the nation could be roused, they were swept away.

One of the anomalies of our age is, that many Americans who look back with humiliation to our own very brief carpet-bag

government in the South, regard with complacency and even with approval, Britain's age-long government of the same kind in India, which has far less warrant in justice than had ours, which affects vastly larger populations, and which, while it brings prestige, power and wealth to the nation of the carpet-bag rulers, inflicts far greater injuries and wrongs upon the people ruled than our carpet-bag rule in the South ever inflicted.

In some respects the British are less fit to rule subject peoples than are some other nations. It is true that they have had large experience, and for this reason we think their qualifications for ruling are superior. But this is only partly true. Their large experience gives them a certain kind of valuable knowledge—knowledge of methods of administration and so forth. Thus as organizers, managers and manipulators of administrative machinery they excel.

But they possess certain mental qualities which are against them, and they lack certain qualities which they need. Their main lack is sympathy and imagination. The strong and conspicuous mental qualities which they possess, and which, while helping them in some ways, are on the whole hindrances to their real success as rulers, are their egotism, their arrogance, their overbearing spirit and their narrowness of vision (their insularity). So far as these qualities mean self-reliance, strength of purpose and of will, power to decide, and to do promptly the things in hand, which to some extent is their meaning, they are good, and undoubtedly add to the efficiency of the British as administrators and rulers. But when, uncontrolled by sympathy, they are carried to the extreme which we see in so many Englishmen and Scotchmen in India and all the colonial possessions of Great Britain, and take the forms of haughty assumption of race and color superiority, of almost brutal discourtesy, and of willingness to trample on the feelings and rights of their assumed inferiors, then they are not good; on the contrary, they are serious disqualifications for successful ruling, because they create dislike, distrust and antagonism, and a constant and growing desire on the part of the ruled to free themselves from the humiliation and injustice to which, they are subjected. Of the various colonising nations of the present time the British seem to have least sympathy with the peoples whom they govern, are least able to

come into close touch with them, manifest most race and color pride and haughtiness, and therefore are probably least able to win their affection and really and deeply influence them.

The United States, although it has no more right to be in the Philippines than Britain has to be in India, yet is clearly doing much better work; probably because it carries to its work much more sympathy with the Filipino people, much more understanding and appreciation of the Filipino civilization, and much less color and race arrogance. The evidences of its superior work are many, perhaps the chief of which are, the very much greater amount of freedom and self-government that it freely and willingly grants to the Filipino people, the very much larger extent to which it promotes popular education and public sanitation, and the incomparably lighter military burden (taxation for military purposes) that it puts on the country.

Perhaps no one has pointed out more clearly than Mr. Lowes Dickinson of Oxford, what is undoubtedly the leading reason why the British are so little fit to rule India. Says Professor Dickinson: *

"Of all the Western nations the English are the least capable of appreciating the qualities of Indian civilization. Of all the races they are the least assimilable. They carry to India all their own habits and ways of life; squatting, as it were, in armed camps; spending as in exile twenty or twenty-five years; and returning, sending out new men to take their place, equally imbued with English ideals and habits, equally unassimilable. Facility of communication has only emphasized and strengthened this attitude. The Englishman sends his children home to be educated; commonly his wife will spend at least half her time at home; he himself returns every few years; his centre is not India, but England. Between him and the Indian the gulf is impassable."

It is impossible for men to rule well any people whom they do not understand, appreciate, or sympathize with or any people whom they look down upon and despise.

We may not like the sarcasm of Emerson, but there is some truth in his words when he says:

"The Englishman sticks to his traditions and usages, and so help him God, he will force his island by-laws down the throat of great countries like India, China and the rest."

Perhaps the psychology—the whole mental and spiritual make-up, of no two great nations

* "Essay on the Civilizations of India, China and Japan," pp. 18, 19. J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

in the world are farther apart than those of Great Britain and India. This means, their civilizations are fundamentally far apart. If the civilisation of India were fundamentally a material one, primarily interested in getting on in the world, money-making, physical pleasure, sport of rather brutal kinds, war, and domination of other peoples, then it would be comparatively easy for the British to understand and appreciate it. But a civilisation which makes money-getting, material gain and physical pleasure secondary and which puts kindness, sympathy, things of the mind and spirit, and religion, first--such a civilization baffles the average British official in India, whether civil or military,--it is a world strange and unreal to him, and because he is unable to understand it, he takes for granted it is worthless, and despises it.

Said Abraham Lincoln :

"There never was a people good enough to govern another people."

Is Great Britain an exception ? Does she manage her own home government so supremely well that she is entitled to undertake the political management of other nations ? Then what mean her frequent upsetting of parties, and changes of ministries, and appeals to the electorate, with the hope of correcting past legislative and administrative mistakes and getting a wiser government ? Are a people who at home thus "muddle along," groping their way blindly in political matters, and committing what they themselves confess are blunders on blunders, likely to become wise and skilled when they undertake to conduct the complicated political affairs of a distant foreign nation, about whose affairs and needs they are ten times more ignorant than they are about those of their own land ?

If the men sent by England to India, to rule there, to fill the chief government positions, national and provincial, to make and administer the laws, and to do all those things which the rulers of a great country are required to do, were superior in intellectual ability and in character to the Indian leaders who are available for the same places and to do the same work, then there would be some excuse (or at least a greater approximation to an excuse) for British rule in India.

But while it is true that some of the Englishmen who go to India are excellent and able men, equal (but not superior) to

the Indians with whom they are to be associated, it is also true that many of them are distinctly inferior. Largely they are the sons of well-to-do fathers who want "careers" for their boys, and who choose India because the service there is honorable and lucrative, and is made additionally attractive by its short duration, (twenty-four years, four of which may be spent on leave of absence) followed by large pensions for the rest of life.

Generally these prospective Indian officials come to India young, often very young, only just out of college, and enter at once upon the responsibilities of managing the affairs of a great foreign nation of which they know almost absolutely nothing. They are saved from utter disaster only by the fact that under them are placed efficient Indians who help them in their ignorance and do what they can to prevent fatal blunders.

It is the commonest thing to see Indian scholars and officials of confessedly very high ability, of very fine training and of long experience, serving under these ignorant young Englishmen, who in England would not be thought fit to fill a government or a business position above the second or even third class.

The fact is (the world is not allowed to know it, but the people of India know it to their sorrow), the ignorance concerning India of the ordinary Englishman who comes there to manage the vast, intricate and immensely important affairs of the Indian nation, would be in the highest degree ludicrous if it were not shocking.

Englishmen themselves confess this. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, long a high official in India, declares in his book, "Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment":

"Young British officials go out to India most imperfectly equipped for their responsibilities. They learn no law worth the name, a little Indian history, no political economy, and gain a smattering of one Indian vernacular. In regard to other branches of the service, matters are still more unsatisfactory. Young men who are to be police officers are sent out with no training whatever, though for the proper discharge of their duties an intimate acquaintance with Indian life and ideas is essential. They land in India in absolute ignorance of the language. So also with forest officers, medical officers, engineers, and (still more surprising) educational officers.....It is hardly too much to say that this is an insult to the intelligence of the country."

Says *The Pioneer*, of Allahabad, which is perhaps the leading British organ in Northern

India, and which, therefore, can be trusted not to put the case against the British too strongly:

"It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that there are less than a score of English civilians in these Provinces who could read unaided, with fair accuracy and rapidly, even a short article in a vernacular newspaper, or a short letter written in the vernacular: and those who are in the habit of doing this, or could do it with any sense of ease or pleasure, could be counted on the fingers of one hand."

Such are the men who fill the lucrative offices of India, and who rule the land because they are so much "better fitted" to do so than are the educated Indians!

Few Englishmen have given so much attention to Indian matters during the last fifty years as has Mr. H. M. Hyndman. Says this eminent publicist:

"The British who come to India to rule it, have been brought up and educated in accordance with methods as remote from, and as irreconcilable with, Asiatic ideas as it is possible for them to be. In their work and in their pleasure they keep as aloof as possible from the people they govern. The head of the government, who himself is brought out fresh from Europe and entirely ignorant of India, does not remain in office more than five years (thus leaving as soon as he begins to get a little knowledge). His subordinates return 'home' frequently for their holidays, and go back to England permanently, to live on a considerable pension paid by India after their term of service is completed. The longer this reign of well-meaning but unsympathetic carpet-baggers continues, the less intimate do their general relations with the Indian people become. The color and race prejudices which were only slight at the beginning of English dominance, now become stronger and stronger every year. In India itself, men of ancient lineage, beside which the descent of the oldest European aristocracy is a mushroom growth, are considered in the leading cities, as well as on the railways, unfit to associate on equal terms with the young white bureaucrats just arrived in the country."

Mr. Hyndman quotes a prominent British official in India as saying:

"It is sadly true that the Englishmen in India live totally estranged from the people. This estrangement is partly unavoidable, being the result of national customs, language and caste, and largely it is contempt, growing out of ignorance. This tendency to aloofness is increasing."

Speaking of the ignorance of India possessed by many of the government officials, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says:

"I have met men in the Indian Civil Service who had been there for a score of years. They knew few Indians, they had rarely discussed public

affairs with them, they could not answer accurately some of the most elementary questions about Indian life, their opinions on current affairs were obviously the parrot repetitions of the club talk or newspaper statements. In fact, they were as separate from India as I am at home in London, and took their opinions of India in an even more second-hand way than I had taken mine before I ever set foot on Indian soil."

He declares that it would be almost safe to say that the average intelligent American or other tourist at the end of three months knows as much about India as do a good half of the civil service officials who are carrying on the government of the country.

Mr. Macdonald quotes Lord Curzon as saying that in former days the assumption of everybody who went to India to take part in the government was that he must learn what languages were necessary to enable him to speak with the people.

"But the arrogance of these modern days assumes that that is quite unnecessary. The number of officers now who speak the vernaculars with any facility is much smaller than fifty or even twenty-five years ago, and the number devoting themselves to anything like a serious study of the literature of the country is diminishing year by year."

In *The Bookman* of February, 1926, an Englishman (Mr. Aldous Huxley) gives the following description of the arrogance and egotism of his countrymen who are ruling India. He writes:

"A young man goes out from a London suburb to take up a clerkship in the Indian Civil Service. He finds himself a member of a small ruling community; he has slavish servants to order about, dark-skinned subordinates to whom it is right and proper to be rude. Three hundred and twenty million Indians surround him; he feels incomparably superior to them all, from the coolie to the Maharaja, from the untouchable to the thoroughbred Brahmin, from the illiterate peasant to the holders of half a dozen degrees from European universities. He may be ill-bred, stupid, poorly educated; no matter. His skin is white. Superiority in India is a question of epidermis."

Mr. George Lansbury, Editor of the *London Daily Herald*, said in a speech in Essex Hall, December 11, 1920:

"There are more than three hundred million people in India; there are forty million of us English in the British Isles. We claim to know what is good for those people better than they do themselves. Was there ever impudence more colossal? Because our skin happens to be white we claim more brains than those whose skin has been browned by the sun. Whenever I look at Indians I feel ashamed of myself. How can I know more about India than they do?"

* "The Truth About India" Series I, p. 10, New York.

* "The Awakening of India," p. 261.

† "The Awakening of India," p. 236.

The right Honorable Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, said in a speech in the House of Commons in July, 1917 :

"The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antedeluvian, to be of any use for modern purposes. The Indian government is indefensible."

Two years after these words were spoken what is known as the "Government Reform Scheme" (Dyarchy) was given to India. It made many changes, a few of which were improvements; but others were of little significance, while others again were distinctly bad. On the whole, the people of India regard the government under which they are compelled to live to-day as little, if any, better than that which was condemned so severely by Mr. Montagu in 1917.

Sir Louis Mallet, when Under-Secretary of State for India, was reported as saying :

"Nothing but the fact that the present system of government in India is almost secure from all independent and intelligent criticism, has enabled it so long to survive."

This from the next to the highest British authority on India.

There are few English officials of any rank, no matter how long they stay in India, who ever get a good knowledge of any Indian tongue. Even the Viceroys, as a rule, know no native language when they go to India, and seldom during their stay do they acquire anything more than the merest smattering of any. Such contact with the people as they have is mostly second-hand, through English subordinates or through Indians who speak English.

Said John Bright in a speech in Parliament :

"The Governor-General of India (the Viceroy) goes out knowing little or nothing of India. I know exactly what he does when he is appointed. He shuts himself up to study the first volumes of Mr. Mill's 'History of India,' and reads through this laborious work without nearly so much effect in making him a good Governor-General as a man might ignorantly suppose. He goes to India, a land of twenty nations, speaking twenty languages. He knows nothing of these nations, and he has not a glimmer of the grammar and pronunciation or meaning of these languages.....He knows nothing of the country, or the people. He is surrounded by an official circle, he breathes an official air, and everything is dim and dark beyond it. You lay duties upon him which are utterly beyond the mental and bodily strength of any man who ever existed, and which he therefore cannot perform... He has a power omnipotent to crush everything that is good. If he so wishes, he can overbear and over-rule whatever is proposed for the welfare of India, while as to doing anything that is good, I could show that with regard to the vast countries

over which he rules, he is really almost powerless to effect anything that those countries require.... I do not know at this moment, and never have known, a man competent to govern India; and if any man says he is competent, he sets himself up as of much higher value than those who are acquainted with him are likely to set him."

This from John Bright, a man as careful in his speech and as just in his judgments as England ever knew.

When Mr. Edward Wood, now Lord Irwin, was appointed Viceroy of India in 1925, Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., wrote to Mr. Lajpat Rai, describing the new Viceroy thus :

"He will be very uncomfortable in India—an obvious martyr to duty. It is a grave drawback to him that he knows nothing whatever of India, and is therefore all the more helpless in the hands of the bureaucratic experts I do not remember him ever even being present at an Indian debate."*

Think of a man who can be thus described by a distinguished Member of Parliament being appointed Viceroy, to govern the vast Indian nation.

Premier Asquith declared in 1909 that there are great numbers of Indians who are well-qualified to fill high official positions in India. He also called attention to the low and inadequate qualifications which are thought sufficient to fit Englishmen for those positions; and he affirmed that if high places were given to Indians half as unfit as are many Englishmen who occupy them, it would be regarded as a public scandal.†

Think of an Englishman wholly ignorant of Indian finance being appointed Finance Minister in the Viceroy's Council, the most difficult and responsible position in the land.

Think of an unknown young man of twenty-five, from England, appointed to the chair of Sanskrit in the Bombay University over Dr. Bhandarkar, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars and investigators of the last fifty years, who had a European reputation.

Said the Honorable Mr. Gokhale in his budget speech of 1903 :

"It is difficult to describe the mischief that is done to the best interests of India and of British rule itself by the appointment of third and fourth rate Englishmen to chairs in government colleges. These men are unable to command the respect from their students which they think is due to their position, and they make up for it by clothing themselves in race pride."

* Published in *The People*, Lahore, December 26, 1925.

† See *India* (The London Weekly), April 9, 1909, p. 209.

• Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, eminent both as an educator and as a publicist, after publishing a list of eminent Indian physicians and surgeons, connected with the government civil and military medical service and with medical colleges, some of whom have done important work in "original investigation," and all of whom "would do honor to the medical profession of any country," says: "These eminent physicians and surgeons have spent the best years of their lives in subordinate positions as 'assistant' surgeons, while raw and callow English youths lord it over them and draw four to five times their pay."

Mr. Chatterjee says still further :

"The rule of the government by which Indians, however competent, are practically excluded from the higher appointments in many departments of the Civil Service, is not only unjust and selfish but is cowardly. It shows that Englishmen shrink from a fair competition with Indians. We challenge the sons of Great Britain to a fair competition. But our challenge is not taken up. The plain fact is, the British dare not take it up."

They know that, if the higher positions were assigned to men according to their scholarship, their experience and their ability, there would be a complete revolution in many of the departments of the Indian public service.

The British are accustomed to praise their government in India and to urge its continuance on the ground of its efficiency. They declare that an Indian government would be much less efficient.

Is the British government of India efficient? If so, in what ways and for what ends? The Indian people contend that it is efficient *only* in serving *British* interests, only in carrying on the affairs of India for Britain's benefit and that it is not efficient, but woefully *inefficient*, in promoting the interests of *India*.

Said Mr. Gokhale :

"The efficiency attained by a foreign bureaucracy, uncontrolled by public opinion, whose members, again, reside only temporarily in the land in which they exercise official power, is bound to be of a strictly limited character, and it can never compare with that higher and truer efficiency which is possible only under a well-regulated system of self-government. The present form of administration in India is a strongly centralized bureaucracy in which the men at the center (the higher officials—the Governor-General, the Governors of Provinces, and others holding the supreme power) retain office for only five years. They then leave the country, carrying away with them all the knowledge and experience of administrative matters acquired at the expense

of the country, and their places are taken by new men, who in their turn, retire similarly after five years. As things are, there is no one ever in the government who is permanently interested in the country as only its own people can be interested. One result is that the true well-being of the people is systematically subordinated to militarism, and to the service and the interests of the English merchantile classes."*

In his recent book, "Modern India : Its Problems and Their Solution" (p. 161), Dr. V. H. Rutherford examines the character and results of British efficiency, and pronounces it "one of the chief causes of India's poverty." He declares that the British government in India is efficient only on behalf of *British* interests, only in carrying on the government and managing the affairs of the country for the benefit of Great Britain. As regards promoting the welfare of India and the Indian people, he declares it to be strikingly and shamefully inefficient ; in proof of which he cites the government's

"Neglect of education of the masses ; neglect of sanitation and medical services in the villages ; neglect to keep order : neglect of housing of the poor ; neglect to protect the peasants from the money-lenders ; neglect to provide agricultural banks ; comparative neglect to improve and develop agriculture ; neglect to foster Indian industries ; neglect to prevent British profiteers from capturing the tramways, electric lighting and other public services ; and neglect to prevent the manipulation of Indian currency in the interests of London."

Says the *Modern Review* of Calcutta :

"It is not the desire of any Indians that the government of their country should be inefficient. On the contrary, we all want it to be more efficient than it is in British hands. We believe we can make it so. What are the tests of efficiency in government? The tests are that the people should be educated and enlightened, that they should be well-fed, well-housed, well clothed, and physically healthy and strong ; and lastly, that they should be courageous and free and able to manage their own affairs. Judged by these standards, is the British government in India efficient? No. After more than a century and a half of British supremacy, the country remains woefully ignorant, industrially backward, poor, insanitary, subject to epidemics, and subject to the rule of force and terrorism. Do these things show efficiency?"

In the light of these facts can we wonder at the words of Dr. Rutherford? :

"British rule as it is carried on in India is the lowest and most immoral system of government in the world—the exploitation of one nation by another." (*Modern India*, p. 77)

Says George Bernard Shaw :

"No nation is fit to rule another."

* "Gokhale's Speeches." Appendix, pp. 146-47. Natesan & Co., Madras, India.

Says Ramsay Macdonald :

"No race or nation can govern another justly."

Wrote Macaulay :

"Of all forms of tyranny I believe the worst is that of a nation over a nation.....The heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger."

The English poet, William Cowper, wrote the following lines as descriptive of British rule in India. Addressing his own country, England, he says :

"Hast thou, though suckled at fair Freedom's breast,
Exported slavery to the conquered East?
Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
And raised thyself a greater in their stead?
Gone thither, armed and hungry; returned full,
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,
But left their virtues and thine own behind?
And having sold thy soul, brought home the fee,
To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee?"

Mr. Edward Thompson in his book, "The Other Side of the Medal," says (p. 118):

"We (British) would repudiate the suggestion that our Indian Empire is a rule of masters over slaves. Yet we judge as slave-drivers would, and we assess the virtues of our (Indian) fellow-citizens as a hunter assesses the virtues of dogs."

Some years ago, at the time of the Congo atrocities, an Irish author wrote:

"The English people love liberty for themselves. They hate all acts of injustice, except those which they themselves commit. They are such liberty-loving people that they interfere in the Congo and cry, 'Shame'! to the Belgians. But they forget that *their heels are on the neck of India.*"

In his book, "Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt," (p. 47), Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt gives some strong and important testimony regarding British rule in India as seen close at hand and under the most favorable light. He was an intimate personal friend of Lord Lytton, who at that time was the Viceroy of India. Mr. Blunt went to India to make a study of the condition of things there. He belonged to the conservative party in British politics, and expected to find the British conduct of affairs in India worthy of the warmest approval. Moreover, he was taken charge of by the Viceroy and the highest officials, and was shown everything from their standpoint. What was the result? In spite of his prejudices in favor of the British—his own countrymen, and in spite of the pains taken to insure that he should see India as fully as possible from the English side, he was

soon disillusioned. He found that British rule in India, instead of being a blessing, was working India's ruin. Of the British Imperial system in general he writes:

"It is one of the evils of the English Imperial system that it cannot meddle anywhere among free peoples, even with quite innocent intentions, without in the end doing evil. There are too many selfish interests always at work not to turn the best beginnings into ill endings."

Of India he writes :

"I am disappointed with India, which seems just as ill-governed as the rest of Asia, only with good intentions instead of bad ones or none at all. There is just the same heavy taxation, government by foreign officials, and waste of money, that one sees in Turkey. The result is the same, and I don't see much difference between making the starving Hindoos pay for a cathedral at Calcutta and taxing Bulgarians for a palace on the Bosphorus.....In India the 'natives,' as they call them, are a race of slaves, frightened, unhappy, terribly thin. Though myself a good Conservative and a member of the London Carleton Club, I own to being shocked at the bondage in which they are held, and my faith in British institutions and the blessings of English rule has received a severe blow. I have been studying the mysteries of Indian finance under the 'best masters,' government secretaries, commissioners, and the rest, and have come to the conclusion that, if we go on developing the country at the present rate, the inhabitants will have sooner or later, to resort to cannibalism, for there will be nothing but each other left to eat."

Rev. C. F. Andrews in his recent book, "India's Claim for Independence," says:

"We see in the Italy and Austria of last century a signal instance of the fallacy of imperialism—of foreign rule. The Austrian Empire, with its Italian appendage, with Italy held in subjection by force, was a monstrosity. It could produce only hate, ever deepening hate, between two nations which ought to have been friends. The British Empire today with its Indian appendage—with India held in subjection by force—is also a monstrosity. It can produce only bitterness, ever-increasing bitterness, and estrangement, between India and England, two peoples that ought to be friends."

To conclude. There is not a myth on the earth more baseless or more cruel than the claim put forth to the world that England is ruling great distant India well, or that she can by any possibility rule it well, or without constant blunders and injustices of the most serious and tragic nature.

Englishmen argue that, because conditions in India are hard to understand, and the work of governing the country is difficult, therefore, they must stay—they alone are equal to the task. What reasoning! Because a task is difficult, therefore put it in the hands of strangers, of persons who know

least about it! Fine logic! Why does not England apply the same reasoning to her own affairs, and when the difficulties of her home government are great, import foreigners who have never been in England to take charge and to manage things?

She does not, because she knows, as all the world knows, that the greater the difficulties of any government, the more necessary it is that those who carry it on shall be men who know most about it. These cannot be foreigners and strangers, ignorant of the land,—its present, its past, its customs, its

very language. They must be men born and reared in the land, who understand its language, its institutions, its history, its traditions, its peoples, its ideals, its needs.

This is why England can rule herself better than France or Germany or China can rule her. This is why we in America can rule ourselves better than Japan or Russia or England can rule us. And this is the reason why India can rule herself better than England or any other nation on earth can rule her.

A VISIT TO FRANKFURT A MAIN

By THE HON'BLE SIR CHARU C. GHOSE

WHEN I arrived in London early in September last I was advised to go to Frankfurt-on-Main and avail myself of the skilled assistance of Professor Von Noorden in restoring my health, which had not been very satisfactory during the summer. I accordingly left London for Frankfurt on the 20th September. I crossed the Channel and travelled from Calais to Brussels by the Nord Express. I reached Brussels the same evening at 6 p. m. I had to wait at Brussels for the train to Frankfurt for an hour and a half and I seized the opportunity of driving round Brussels and of having a look at some of the famous public buildings, such as, Justiz palast or the Palace of Justice, the Palais des Beaux Arts or the Museum of Fine Arts, the King's Palace and the Hotel de Ville, or the Townhall. Messrs. Thos. Cook & Sons' representative who met me in Brussels spoke French and I had no difficulty whatsoever in understanding the things that were shown to me. Every visitor to Brussels is taken to the grave of the unknown soldier and I saw the magnificent monument or cenotaph raised to the memory of the Belgian unknown soldier. Brussels is a fine city and it struck me as a reproduction on a smaller scale of Paris. I left Brussels at 7-30 p. m. and had a comfortable night in the wagon lits.

I arrived at Frankfurt on the morning of the 21st September at 5 a. m. and was

delighted to be met at the station by a man from Professor Von Noorden's Clinic. Professor Von Noorden is a world-famous



Sir George of Cornwall
By Hans Holbein the younger. Preserved at the
Art-Institute.

specialist for treatment of all manners of stomach troubles by means of what is called *diaetetische kuren*, or dietetic cure. I stayed in the Clinic for nearly two weeks and found myself very fit indeed at the end of my stay, but I do not propose to jot down herein the details of the treatment in Professor Von Noorden's Clinic, nor is it my object to describe the Clinic itself.

I was delighted to visit Frankfurt. I had heard of Frankfurt many many years ago as being the birthplace of Frankfurt's greatest genius, Goethe, and I felt myself attracted to a detailed study of the history of Frankfurt. It is said that Frankfurt was an inhabited



Statue of Goethe
at the Frankfurt City Library

place in Roman times, but the first genuine historical notice of Frankfurt dates from 794 A.D. in which year it was chosen as the meeting place of a great Imperial and Ecclesiastical Council by Charlemagne. Popular tradition connects the origin of the town with a legend that Charlemagne when retreating before the Saxons was safely conducted across the river by a doe crossing it near a shallow spot. The animal had thus shown the Emperor and his

Frankish army a ford through the water. Charlemagne is said to have then tossed his sword into the bottom of the river-bed and to have called out "This place shall henceforth be called 'Frankenfurt'". In connection with this legend a monument has been erected to the Emperor Charlemagne on the old bridge across the river Main. About the year 1200 the privilege of holding fairs was confirmed through an Imperial Charter of one of the successors of Charlemagne. About 1300 Frankfurt was made a free Imperial city and the Emperor Charles IV issued from it the famous Golden Bull which is preserved to this day in the Municipal Museum. In the 14th and 15th centuries the Imperial Diets were often held in the town. Owing to the embittered feelings that were engendered between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant sections of the population by Luther's reformation of the Church, the town had to pass through heavy religious wars during the 16th century. It was then subjected to a great many vicissitudes; the reformed faith was adopted by Frankfurt and its importance greatly increased since it became customary about the time of Maximilian II for the German Emperor to be crowned within its precincts. In the 17th century all power was practically in the hands of a few closely related families and the greatest mismanagement of the city's finances took place without hindrance. The Jewish population of Frankfurt seems to have occupied an important position even at that early time. During the terrible times of the Thirty Years War the town was the residence of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and during the wars of Louis XIV the external influence of the town declined more and more. The supremacy of the Patriciate at home and the oppression and misgovernment steadily increased. The beginning of the 18th century again involved the town in a constitutional struggle in which the citizens were victorious. Assisted by the Emperor, they forced the ruling families to grant them a share in the financial administration. The intellectual life of the town, however, was greatly stimulated through the development of the book trade that set in in the 17th century. In 1749 Johann Wolfgang Goethe was born in Frankfurt and many civic monuments which are to be found in Frankfurt are proofs of the veneration extended to him by his fellow citizens. From 1759 till 1762 the town was occupied

by the French and the contributions which the French extorted were very onerous. Frankfurt's time of suffering was brought to an end when the town was transferred to the Prince Primate Karl Von Dalberg. Although the Prince Primate was only a tool in the hands of Napoleon and without any power of his own, his reign is considered to have been of great benefit to the development of the town. The city's finances came under strict control. The various religious denominations were granted equal rights. The fortifications were dismantled and the town was surrounded with beautiful boulevards and promenades. The educational system was reformed in harmony with the spirit of the age and the intellectual life encouraged through the establishment of new and the extension of existing scientific institutions. After the battle of Leipzig the united monarchs restored the Congress of Vienna and confirmed Frankfurt's independence and it was chosen as the seat of the German Confederation. Frankfurt joined the Prusso-Hessian Zollverein in 1835. The political importance of Frankfurt as the seat of the German Diet and also as the chief centre of the movement towards German unity reached its culminating point when during the

people of Frankfurt took a prominent part in political affairs. In the subsequent struggle between Austria and Prussia for the hegemony in Germany, Frankfurt did not take an active part but after having supported Austria in 1866 it was formally incorporated with Prussia. On the 10th May, 1871, the treaty which concluded the Franko-German War was signed in the Swan Hotel in Frankfurt by Prince Bismarck and Jules Favre representing Germany and



Goethe in the Campagna
Painting by Tichbein



The Romer, Frankfurt Town-Council Hall

revolutionary period of 1848 the German Parliament held its sessions there and the

France respectively. Since that time Frankfurt has immensely developed and its population to-day is about 480,000. The narrow streets of the old town were mostly demolished and replaced by wide thoroughfares. In the outer suburbs were laid out magnificent ornamental grounds provided with broad boulevards, avenues, squares and parks. The town's industrial activities are many-sided. The presence of numerous banks in Frankfurt shows its importance as one of the foremost commercial centres of southern and central Germany. Its brewing trade has a worldwide reputation and so has the manufacture of its local beverage, i.e., Cider. Every kind of institution for the promotion of public welfare adorns the city and the hospitals, health establishments, institutions for saving life and convalescent homes are models of their kind. Sciences, arts and theatres are richly provided for. The largest inner harbour basin, the Eastern

Harbour, the gigantic Memorial hall, the University bear testimony to the great period of development under the administration of Frankfurt's world-famous burgomaster, Dr. Adickes. From whatever direction we may approach Frankfurt the gigantic tower of the Cathedral first and foremost greets us as the most conspicuous landmark of the old Imperial city on the Main. Needless to add, that one of the first places of interest I visited was Goethe's house, which is preserved as a museum by the Municipal authorities of Frankfurt.



Lucrezia Borgia
By Bartolommeo da Venezia. Preserved at the
Art-Institute.

Goethe's library is preserved intact ; the original furnishings, jealously cared for by friends and admirers, are still in perfect condition. The biography of Goethe is in itself an epoch of European intellectual history. Goethe was born, as stated above, in 1749 and he did not die till the 22nd March 1832. No man bestrode like a colossus so enormous a span of human development, a span the width of which is not to be measured in terms of years—although in this respect Goethe was favoured beyond the common lot by the epoch-making events and conflicts these years encompassed, by the

kaleidoscopic changes they brought over the face of Europe. Goethe was born in the age of Frederick the Great ; his boyhood felt the quiver of that pride of race with which the Great King imbued not merely his Prussians but the German people ; the best years of Goethe's manhood were passed amidst the elation and the disillusionment of the great Revolution ; he watched the star of Napoleon rise and set ; he was a witness of the Holy Alliance and the new Europe created by the Congress of Vienna ; and before he died he saw France once more in the throes of a Revolution. His grand-father had been a tailor and then an inn-keeper in Frankfurt. His father had had a legal training and then visited Italy, of which country he cherished the happiest memories ; but he was a disappointed man, his native town having refused him the preferment he felt entitled to. He had, however, ample means which made it unnecessary for him to practise his profession and he established his position in society by marrying the daughter of the highest judicial dignitary of the city. Goethe's mother was a little more than a girl, not quite 17, when she married, and the poet was their first-born. Goethe experienced the full brunt of the spiritual awakening that was ushered in by Rousseau and for the first 30 years of his life he was a contemporary of Voltaire. Goethe, however, set himself to hold the balance between the rationalistic traditions and the new individualistic impulses. Goethe's later years fell in a period when the constellation of German Romanticism was in the ascendancy ; he was the disapproving spectator of the triumph of the romantic over the classic ; but he lived long enough to see the fairy castles of the romantic dreamers crumble to dust before, not a reviving classicism but a ruder realism grown arrogant under the advance of scientific discoveries and the democratic industrialisation of a new Europe. Goethe lived to hail in Byron the herald of the modern history. Paris, London, Vienna Goethe never saw ; Berlin he disliked, but he had for many years been a citizen of what to him was the capital of the world—Rome. He stood face to face with Napoleon and received his homage.

I visited many places of interest, such as the Town Hall, the Cathedral, the Römer, the Eastern Harbour, the Stock Exchange, the Fairs buildings, the Zoological Garden, the Palm Garden and the Eschenheimer Turn.

Whenever I had leisure I went to see the book-stalls and was not surprised to find Rabindranath Tagore in German in almost every book-shop. Tagore enjoys a vogue in Germany which can only be realised when one visits Germany. I witnessed the birthday celebrations of President Hindenberg and I realised how the Germans, swayed by a community feeling, have, with surpassing devotion, followed Hindenberg and have regained their place in the comity of nations. The German mark has been stabilized. It is a wonderful story, this stabilization of the German mark, and I was fortunate in securing at Frankfurt the English version of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht's striking book on the stabilization of the mark. Space will not allow me to refer to the inflation of the War Period, to the state of the mark from the

Armistice to the invasion of the Ruhr, to the period from the invasion of the Ruhr to the stabilization of the mark, to the currency crisis and to the economic crisis, to the Dawes Plan and to the reconstruction of the German mark and capital markets.

My official position will not allow me to enter into the region of politics, but I may be permitted to observe that unless we can inspire a community feeling in India, disregarding the frontiers raised by caste and creed and sink our own differences and work 'without haste,' 'without rest,' in the same spirit as the Germans have worked, I can see no satisfying future within the range of the vision of the present generation or indeed of many generations to come hereafter.

PRAYERS AND SERMONS IN STONES

(Some interesting inscriptions of by-gone ages)

By ANIMESH CHANDRA ROY CHOUDHURY

IN all my wanderings through the city of Katmandu and its suburbs, nothing impressed me so much as the mute, though deeply eloquent, lettered symbols of Nepal's ancient glory,—I mean those inscriptions which are to be found on the walls of her temples and public buildings. Standing in the midst of these monuments and reliques of by-gone ages, I realised what Shakespeare could have meant when in *As You Like It* he spoke of finding 'Sermons in Stones'; for, taking these words in their literal sense, I think one may find more of such 'Sermons' in Nepal than anywhere else in the world. Many of these inscriptions are no doubt like the Egyptian hieroglyphics too difficult to decipher, but quite a large number of them, however vaguely understood, has an interest beyond measure, as furnishing a clue to the history of by no means an inglorious age in an ancient and picturesque country which for most of us still remains shrouded in mystery. In this article, it is my purpose to deal with some of these.

THE PRAYER OF PRATAP MALLA

First in importance, and perhaps in interest, is an inscription attributed to Raja Pratap Malla, one of the Malla Rajas who ruled at Katmandu before its conquest by the Gurkha King Prithvi Narayan Shah. It is a prayer to Kalika composed in no less than fifteen different characters inscribed on a piece of slab which is built into a wall of the old palace at Hanumandhoka, where the Malla Rajas used to hold their court and where, under the present Gurkha regime also, all important state functions and ceremonies are held. An effigy of the Raja in an attitude of prayer surmounting a tall pillar still adorns the Durbar Square at Hanumandhoka, which was called after the prodigious image of the god Hanuman placed at the principal gate to the palace. A brief account of the reign of Raja Pratap Malla will not be altogether out of place here.

He was seventeenth in the line of descent from Jayabhadra Malla, the founder of the

dynasty of Malla Rajas of Bhatgaon and Katmandu. According to Wright's History, he ascended the throne of Katmandu in Nepali Sambat 759 (A. D. 1639), and reigned till N. S. 809 (A. D. 1689). He is reputed to have been one of the most learned men of his day, and gathered together around him a large number of scholars and pandits from other countries. He was a great patron of arts and architecture, and built innumerable temples in and around the city. He composed prayers to different gods and goddesses and caused them to be inscribed on stones placed in various temples and shrines such as those of Pashupatinath, Guhyeswari and Swayambhunath. He is said to have instituted several *jatras* or religious processions and festivals which are still celebrated amongst the Newars with great pomp and picturesque ceremony.

Now as regards the inscription I have already referred to (photograph enclosed), there is a popular tradition which makes it something like 'an open sesame' to the large treasures buried by Pratap Malla in a consecrated spot near Hanumandhoka. In the middle of the inscription will be noticed a water-spout shaped like the mouth of a dragon. It is said that if anyone can read the whole of the mystic writing and spell the meaning thereof, he will find heavenly liquor flow from the spout, and by digging the ground where it falls, he may obtain the hidden treasures. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the fabulous wealth still remains undiscovered and untouched, for none has yet been able to spell the whole of the secret prayer. The inscription does indeed contain some familiar letters and words, especially those in Sanscrit, and English, but to read and understand the whole of it may yet demand the best efforts of distinguished linguists and antiquarians.

It will be seen that the fourth line of the inscription bears the name of Maharajadhiraj Sri Sri Kavindra Jaya Pratap Malla, and in the fifth line between the second and third devices, there occurs the date Sambat 774, Magh Sukla Sripanchami. This date corresponds to A. D. 1654.

It is very curious indeed that at a time when no European nation had yet succeeded in obtaining a firm footing on Indian soil, when Shah Jahan was reigning Emperor of Delhi, and Cromwell had just been made Lord Protector of the infant Commonwealth of England, there should have been inscribed amongst the prayers of a Nepal prince words

and letters taken from some of the European languages with which in all likelihood he seems to have been pretty familiar. I do not know whether any European entered Katmandu as far back as the year 1654, but the following extract quoted from Sir Charles Bell's *Tibet, Past and Present* might throw some light on the question :—

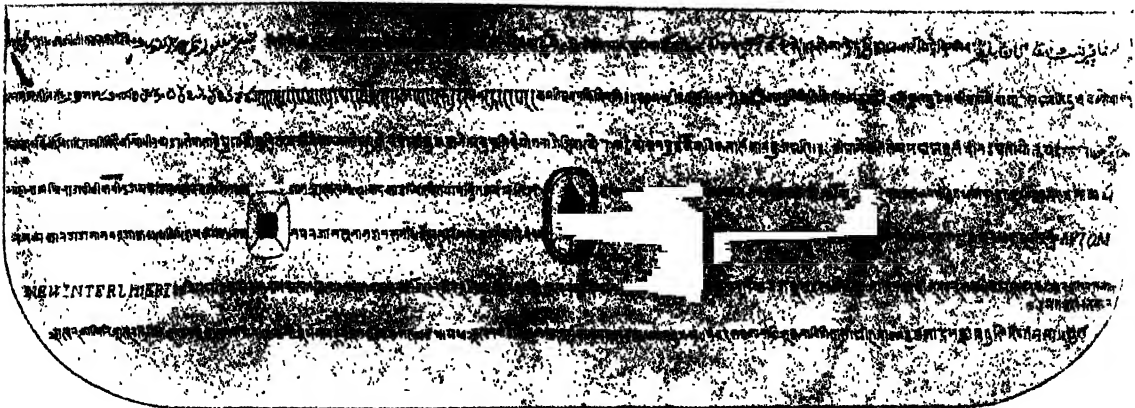
"It was during the early years of the fifth Dalai Lama, about 1626, that the first European entered Tibet, though he does not appear to have reached Lhasa. This was a Portuguese Jesuit Father Antonio de Andrada.....The first Europeans to enter Lhasa were Johann Grueber, an Austrian Jesuit and Albert d'Orville, a Belgian. They started from Peking, in June 1631, travelled by way of the Ko Ko Nor Lake through Northern Tibet to Lhasa, stayed there a month and then came to Katmandu."

If what is said above of the visit of two Europeans to Katmandu about the year 1661 be true, Pratap Malla must have met them in his capital city, but that meeting does not serve to explain the use of words of European origin in an inscription of 1654. This strange phenomenon may be taken as an evidence of the quickness with which arts and letters travel from one place to another transcending all barriers of mountain and sea.

Raja Pratap Malla also composed prayers to Swayambhunath and Guhyeswari-Bhavani which he caused to be inscribed on stones and slabs placed in their respective temples. These inscriptions belong to the period 1640-54, when the Raja appears to have thoroughly repaired the Buddhist Chaitya of Swayambhunath, and erected a pillar surmounted by a lion in front of the temple of Guhyeswari. All these inscriptions bear the title of *Karindra*, which the Raja seems to have assumed.

THE SWAYAMBHU INSCRIPTION ASSIGNED TO JAYA PRAKASH MALLA

In and around the temple of Swayambhunath, there are several stone slabs on which are recorded the dates when it has been repairs, and the names of persons by whom the repairs were effected. Amongst these we find an interesting inscription assigned to Jayaprakash Malla, the last Malla Raja of Katmandu, who renewed the principal timber of the Swayambhu mound. A translation of this inscription, a copy of which has been preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, is given in Dr. Wright's *History of Nepal*. The following is an extract from the translation :—



Prayer of Raja Pratap Malla

"Obeisance to Triratna, the protector of all Satwas! Also obeisance to all Buddhas and Bodhisatwas! Obeisance to the lotus of the never-dying Sadguru, whose protection I ever seek! This Sadguru, in order that prosperity and happiness may attend the gods and mankind, has appeared in the Swayambhu Chaitya in Nepal which is always surrounded by crowds of people and lighted by the jewels which shine on the heads of Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswara, Indra and other gods and lokpals, who in constantly bowing and raising their heads spread variegated light around. He is born, the never-dying jewel to reward the merits of mankind. He exempts from the wheel of the world (i.e., from being born again) those who bow to him with sincerity. He is the noose by which are successfully drawn the three sorts of Bodhigyan, namely Sravaka-yana, Pratyekayana, and Mahayana. He fulfils the desire of everyone, like the Bhadra-Kalasa. He is the ocean of good qualities and the sparsa-mani of Jambu-dwipa. The great Swayambhu Chaitya, possessing such attributes, having been rendered uninhabitable by the sin of Kaliyuga, requires to be repaired," etc.

The inscription then goes on to narrate how Karmapa Lama, 'the Jewel of men of arts and sciences', came from the north, and commenced the work of repairs in an auspicious moment when the three gods Mahadeva, Ganapati and Kumar appeared in their true forms and assured him that they would provide all the charges of procuring the gold and other things necessary for the work. The work was commenced in the year 1751 (N. S. 871), and completed in 1758 (N. S. 878) by one disciple of Karmapa Lama, through the assistance of Jayaprakash Malla, and the interest taken in the work by the Gorkha King, Prithvinarayan Shah.

BHATGAON INSCRIPTIONS

The Malla Rajas of Bhatgaon as well were fond of carving their deeds and dreams,

their prayers and sermons on stones and pillars. An inscription dated the 15th of Sravana, Nepal Sambat 573 (A. D. 1453) attributes to Raja Jaksha Malla, the then reigning King of Bhatgaon, the credit for building a fortification and ditch, and a high citadel in the city for the purpose of garrisoning troops and storing ammunition. It is interesting to note that in building this fortification, the people of the four castes willingly bore loads of brick and earth. The inscription assigns to the Kot-nayak (or officer-in-charge of the fort) the task of cleaning all the streets and houses within the city walls, levying a fine of twelve dams on the Kotnayak in case of failure to do his duty, and a fine of one dam (the price of 100 lbs. of rice in those days) on each person who causes the least damage to a single brick, stone or piece of wood within the walls.

There are several inscriptions to the credit of Raja Bhupatindra Nath Malla who is said to have built the famous five-storied temple at Bhatgaon, which stands on a base of five platforms, each guarded by colossal figures of giants, griffins, and gods and goddesses. One of these inscriptions states how the Raja having built within his palace-compound temples in honour of Hanuman and Narasingha, assigned a big revenue for the worship of these gods, and for the maintenance of the priests and priestesses. Another inscription is a prayer to Bhairava, 'the husband of Gauri and the destroyer of Manmatha', to whose lotus-feet the Raja 'dedicated the faculties of his mind.'

From all these inscriptions, it appears that the Malla Rajas, though they were

originally Buddhists, held the great gods of the Hindus in high veneration, and built temples and composed songs and prayers in their honour. The chief importance of these

inscriptions, however, lies in the fact that they are the only authentic records of the achievements of rulers in the Valley of Nepal before its conquest by the Gorkhas.

APSIDAL TEMPLES AND CHAITYA-HALLS

By R. D. BANERJI

INSPITE of the claim to great antiquity for the architecture of the Indo-Aryans by mediaeval and modern writers of India, we have to admit even now that our oldest buildings, so far known, are not much older than the Christian era. The buildings discovered by me at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23 and by others in subsequent years have no connection with the structures of the historical period discovered in provinces of India other than Sindh. It remains still undecided how far Indian architecture of the historical period is indebted to the pre-Aryan architecture of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa.

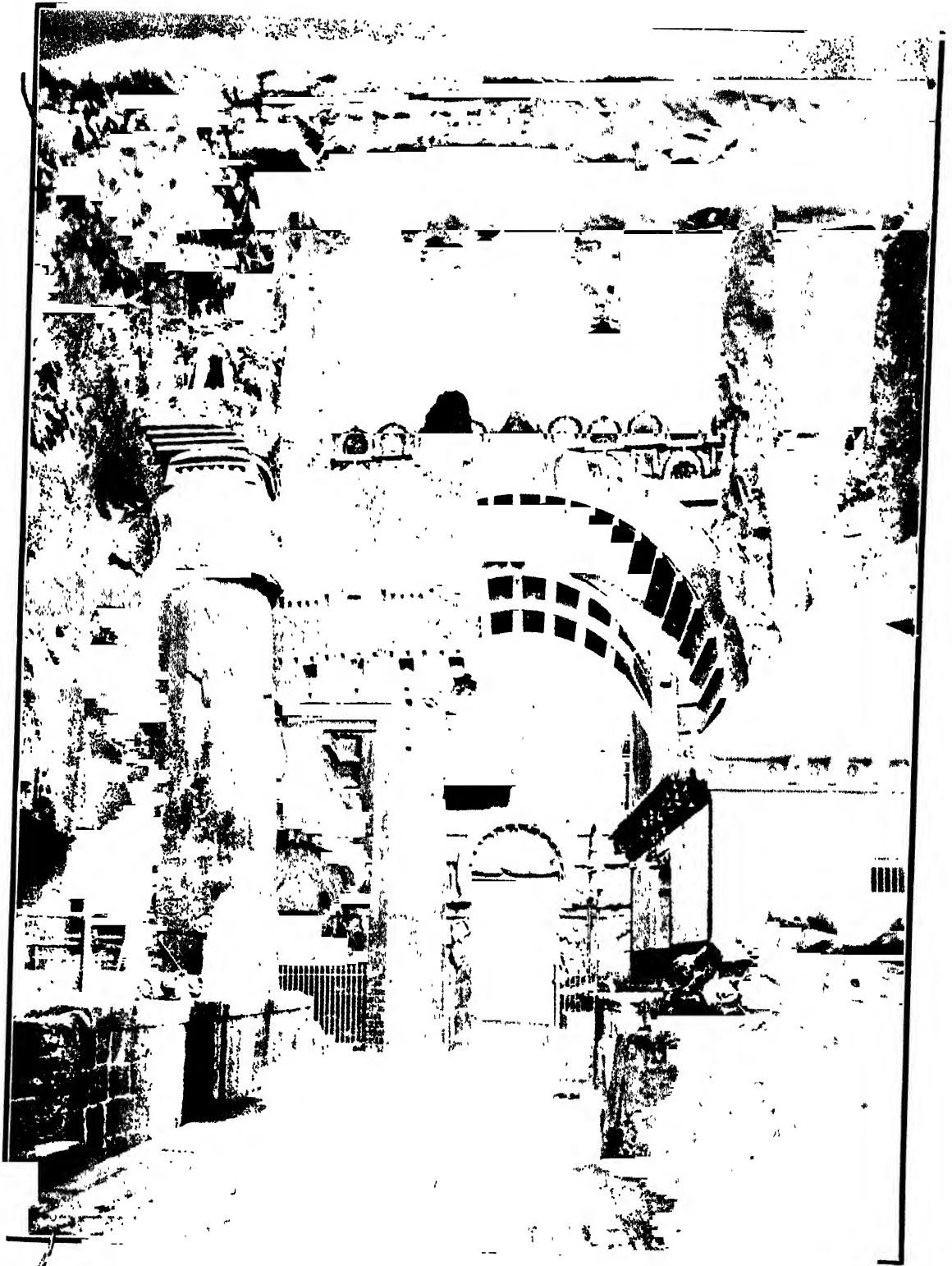
Our oldest structures of the historical period are the great Cyclopean walls of old Rajgir or Rajagriha and its towers, and those discovered by me at Tripuri (modern Tewar, six miles from Jubbulpur), and both of these places are connected with Asuras in Vedic and Puranic literature. The great relic stupa of the Sakyas and the adjacent monastery at Piprahwa in the Basti district may be older than the Maurya period but very little is left of them. Next to them in date come the three inscribed caves of Asoka, at Barabar in the Gaya district, dedicated by the great Emperor for the use of the Ajivikas, a sect which was founded at the same time as the reformed Jainism of Mahavira Vardhamana and the religion of Gautama Buddha. Some of these Barabar caves are apsidal in shape, i. e., with one end rounded or semicircular in shape. We do not know whether the Ajivikas used to worship Chaityas or stupas like the Buddhists or Jains and therefore, we are not in a position to state whether the inscribed caves at Barabar were intended for residential purposes or as temples and shrines. Next in point of date come the series of Jain monasteries and temples excavated by Kharavela, king of Kalinga, at Khandagiri in the Puri district of Orissa. There is a good deal of difference of opinion

among scholars about the date of Kharavela. Some scholars agree with me and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in thinking that Kharavela belonged to the second century B. C., while others are inclined to place him in the first century A. D. But there are certain points on which difference of opinion is not possible:—(1) that the Rani Nur cave is the oldest Jain monastery, (2) the Ganesa and Ananta caves are the oldest Jain temples in existence and (3) that all caves at Khandagiri and Udaygiri near Bhuvaneswar are Jain and not Buddhist. Fourth in chronological order comes the series of Buddhist caves of western India, beginning with Bhaja in the Poona district and ending with Kanheri near the sea-coast in the Thana district. These caves fall into two great classes and are many centuries older than the mediaeval cave-temples of Ellora, Elephanta, Aihole or Badami. The two great classes into which they fall are;—(1) the Chaitya-halls or Apsidal temples and (2) the dormitories and combined Chapel-dormitories. The Apsidal temples or Chaitya-halls have been discovered in many other parts of India; such as Taxila near Rawalpindi, Sanchi near Bhilsa in Central India, Aihole near Bijapur, and Ter in the Nizam's dominions in South-western India and at Sankaram¹ and Ramatirtham² in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency in South-eastern India. An apsidal temple was converted into a Hindu temple at Udipi in the South Kanara District of Madras. It is now called the temple of Anantesvara.* With the exception of Ramatirtham and Sankaram, the Chaitya-halls at other places were built of stone or bricks and are not rock-excavations.

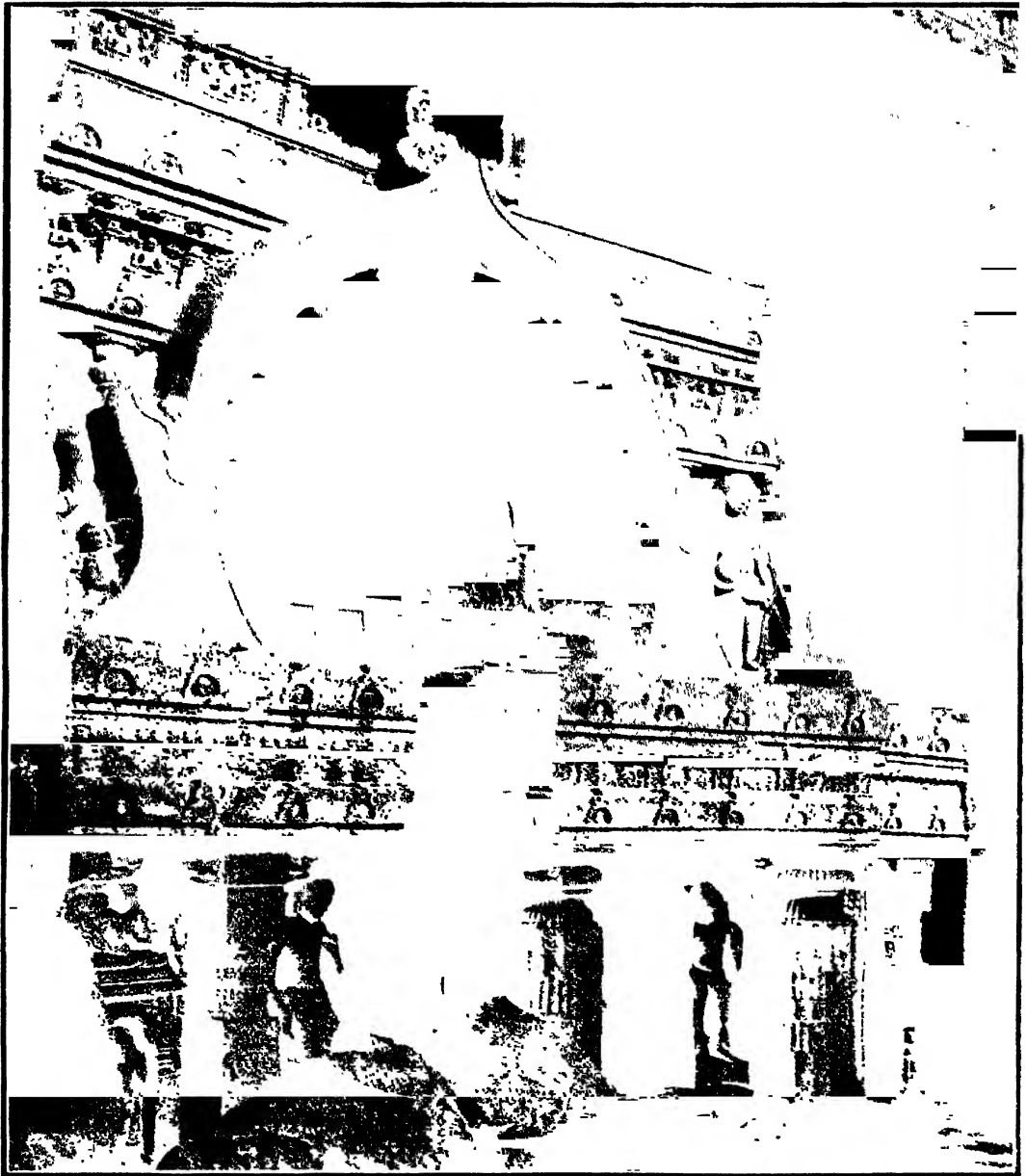
¹ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08, pp. 149-80.*

² *Ibid. 1910-11, pp. 78-88, pls. XL-XLVI.*

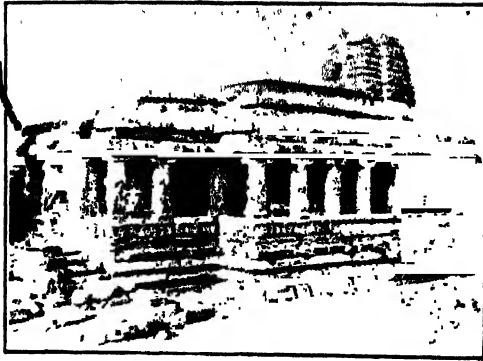
* *Annual Report, Archaeological Dept. Southern circle, Madras, 1920-21, p. 25.*



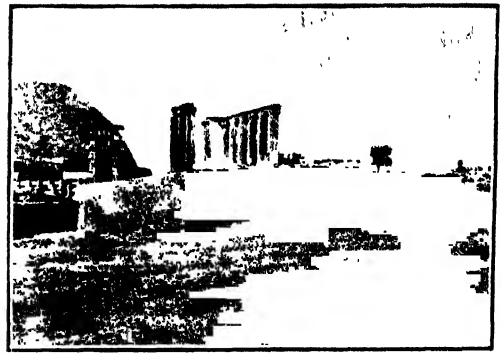
Facade of the Chaitya-hall, Karla, Poona Dist.
(2nd Century B. C.)



Facade of Chaitya-hall, Ajanta
Nizam's Dominions (6th Century)



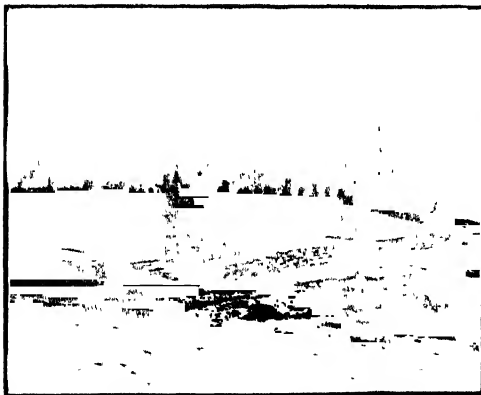
Side-view of the Chaitya-hall
(Durga temple), Aihole, Bijapur Dist.



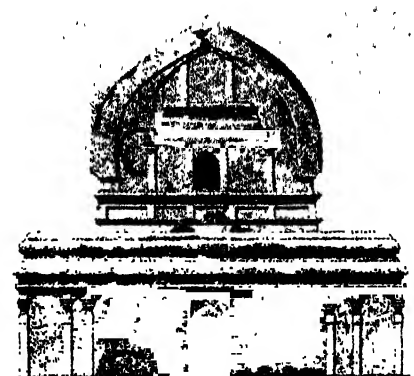
Ruins of the Chaitya-hall (No. 18)
Sanchi, Bhopal State



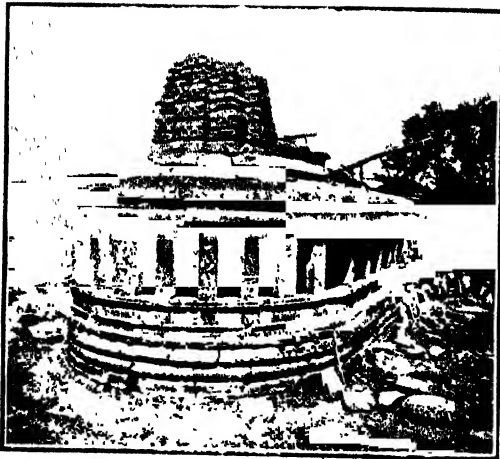
Side-view of the Chaitya-hall, Ter.



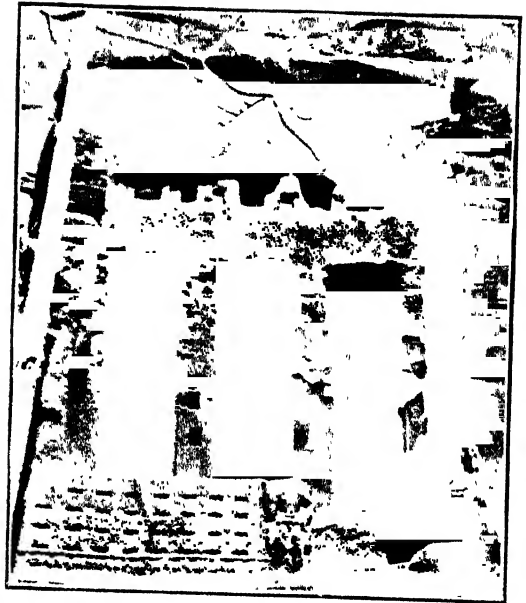
Ruins of the Chaitya-hall
(No. 40) Sanchi, Bhopal State



Facade of the Chaitya-hall
Ter. Nizam's dominions, 6th. Century A. D.



Chaitya-hall (Temple of Durga)
Aihole, Bijapur Dist.



Facade of the Chaitya-hall
Kanheri (Cave No. III), Thana Dist



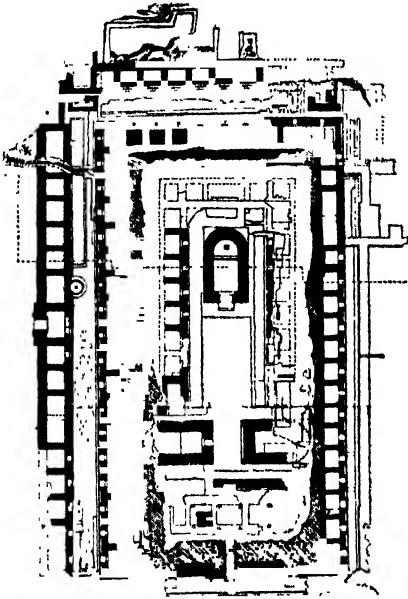
Facade of the Chaitya-hall
Manmodi Hill, Junnar, Poona Dist.



Facade of the Chaitya-hall
Bhaja, Poona Dist.

The Chaitya-hall at Aihole near Badami in the Bijapur district of Bombay, the capital of the older Chalukya empire of

of which was also octagonal so as to conform to the contour of the apse. This Chaitya-hall was discovered by Sir John Marshall near the Dharmarajika stupa at Taxila, but the second one discovered by him at Taxila was in the area of the Sirkap ruins. Chaitya-halls all over India are built on the same plan.

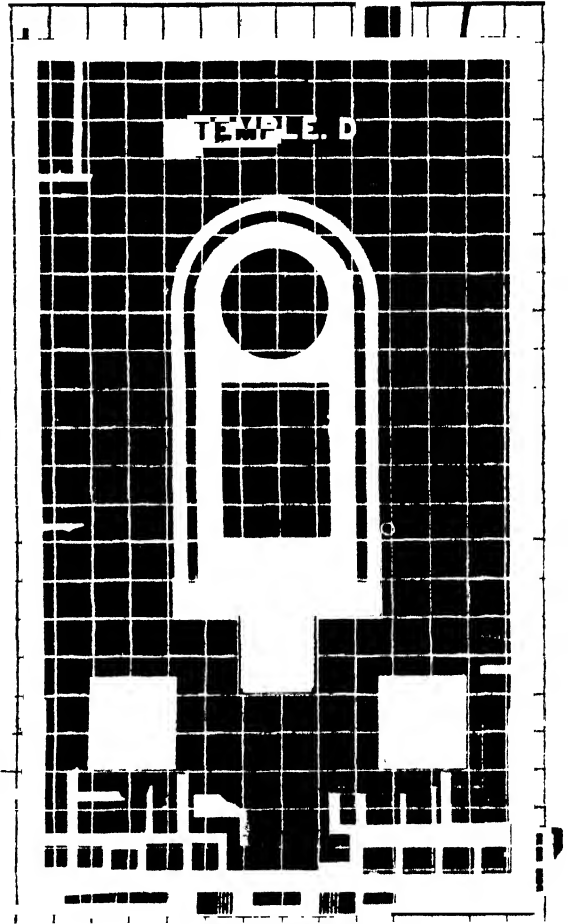


Plan of Chaitya-hall Sankaram, Vizagapatnam Dist.

Southern India, was converted into a Hindu temple in later times. The Chaitya-hall at Ter, about thirty miles from Barsi in the Sholapur district, is built of bricks and is slightly different in plan from other Chaitya-halls of northern and southern India.

The older Chaitya-halls were therefore not peculiar to the Deccan or Western India as some people have supposed, they were essentially Buddhist in nature and are to be found almost all over India wherever Buddhist remains of greater antiquity have been discovered. In later times they fell into disuse and the Vihara took its place, from which all mediaeval temples, *e. g.*, those at Nalanda, Bodhi Gaya and Sarnath near Benares in the north and at Negapatnam (Nagapattanam of the old inscriptions) in the south, have been evolved.

Sir John Marshall, to whom belongs the credit of the discovery and identification of the four Apsidal temples of Taxila and Sanchi, assigns a very early date to them. Of the two Apsidal temples or Chaitya-halls at Taxila, the end of one is angular and not circular, the far-end being divided into a number of facets instead of being an unbroken semicircle. This Chaitya-hall contained a stupa the base



Plan of Apsidal Temple on Chaitya-hall.
Sirkap mound, Taxila

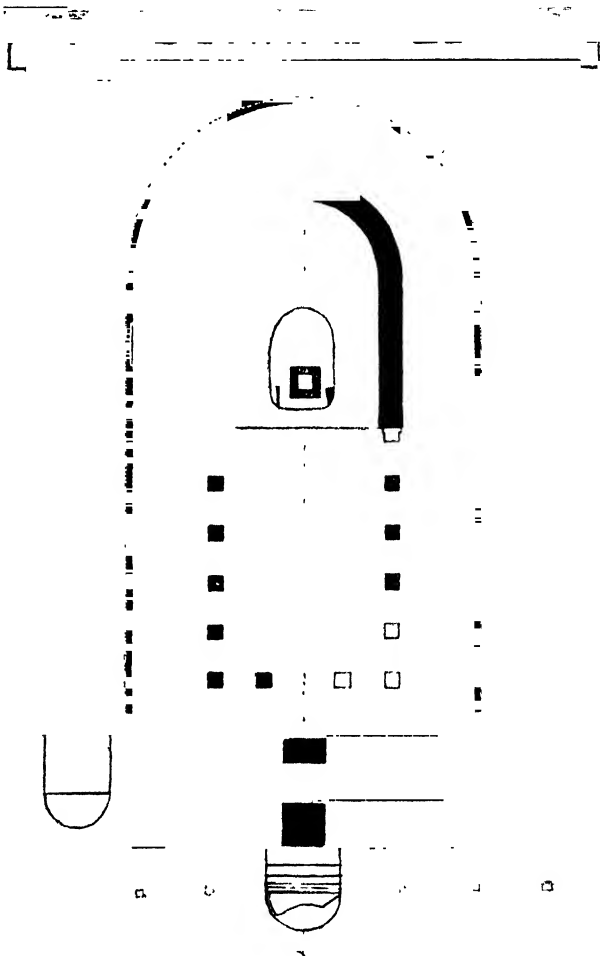
They are large rectangular halls, the far ends of which are semicircular. In this semicircle is built a small circular or octagonal altar, the centre of which is the same as that of the bigger semicircle attached to the end of the rectangular hall. The object of worship is placed on this altar or pedestal. In all cases where the temple has not been converted into a Jain or a Hindu Shrine the altar is still occupied by a stupa (also called Chaitya, Dagoba or Pagoda).

The great Chaitya-hall discovered by Sir John Marshall in the Sirkap mound at Taxila stands in a spacious courtyard and consists of a porch in front, a nave or wide floor-space in the middle of the hall and the circular apse behind. Surrounding the entire structure was a passage for circumambulation. In this respect only the Chaitya-halls of the north differ from those of the rest of India. In the rock-cut Chaitya-halls there is no passage for circumambulation outside the hall. Therefore for the first circumambulation, aisles were provided along the sides, separated from the nave by rows of pillars. Indian ritual requires two different circumambulations. The first is taken three or seven times around the shrine and the second the same number around the altar or the image. We can see this at Puri where pilgrims have to go round the main building as well as the altar or Ratnavedi on which the images are placed, and at Satrunjay in Kathiawad. In the Chaitya-halls at Karla, Bhaja or Kanheri the circumambulation around the temple was performed by going along the sides of the hall through the aisles and the second by a passage left around the altar or the stupa.

Of the two Apsidal temples at Sanchi, temple No. 18 of Sir John Marshall's plan lies to the south of Stupa No. I. In plan this consists of a temple of the well-known type which was enclosed on three sides by a rectangular boundary wall. The shrine was enclosed within a second circular wall which ran parallel to the outer wall, instead of a semicircular row of pillars. In the front part of the hall there were two aisles separated from the nave by rows of pillars similar in style exactly to the rock-cut Chaitya-halls. The porch or verandah of this temple projected in front out of the rectangular courtyard. According to Sir John Marshall apsidal temple No. 18 was erected in the middle of the 7th century A. D. on the site of an older apsidal temple and was in use till the eleventh century A. D.³

The second apsidal temple at Sanchi, No. 40 of Sir John Marshall's plan, was entirely buried under ground when he started the exploration of Sanchi and was in fact discovered by him. It was built on a rectangular stone plinth 11' high, 87' long and 46' broad. Inside this plinth were found the foundations of the Chaitya-hall. Sir John

Marshall also discovered remains of charred wood which formed the superstructure. He estimates that the conflagration took place



Plan of Apsidal temple on Chaitya-hall (no. 18) at Sanchi, Bhopal State

some time before the beginning of the Christian era and therefore the original structure may date back to the Maurya period. Sometime in the 1st century B. C. five rows of stone pillars were set up on the same plinth after enlarging it. Possibly this later structure on pillars supported a new and heavier roof and resembled to some extent the transformed temple of Durga at Aihole. The row of pillars along the exterior on all four sides, it is surmised, supported the roof of an open verandah which was probably sloping.⁴

Sir John Marshall has proved that the

³ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14, pp. 20-24, pl. XIII-XV.*

⁴ *Ibid, pp. 29-32, pl. XIX-XX.*

Chaitya hall in the Sirkap area at Taxila was falling into decay in the first century A. D.⁵ and therefore it must have been built in the 2nd or the 1st century B. C. The dates of the rock-cut Chaitya-halls of western India have been differently estimated by different persons. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the Chaitya-hall at Bhaja in the Poona district, about a mile and a half from Karla, is the oldest and that the Chaitya-hall at the Pandulena group near Nasik older than that at Karla.⁶ The Bhaja Chaitya-hall may be older than the rest but it is impossible to maintain that the Chaitya-hall of the Pandulena group is older than that at Karla. The Karla Chaitya-hall contains two important inscriptions, one of the reign of the Scythian monarch Nahapana according to which the village of Karajika was given to the ascetics living in the caves of Valuraka (Karla caves) by Nahapana's son-in-law Ushavadata,⁷ and another of Vasishtiputra Pulumavi, the son and successor of the Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni, according to which another village was given to the same ascetics in the seventh year of the reign of the king.⁸ The Karla Chaitya-hall was therefore excavated before the time of Nahapana or Pulumavi. In cave No. 10 of the Pandulena group near Nasik, on the other hand, it is definitely stated in the inscription on the backwall of the verandah that it was caused to be excavated by Ushavadata in the life-time of Nahapana.⁹ It is therefore prima facie impossible to agree with Sir John Marshall about the relative positions of the Karla and Pandulena Chaitya-halls in the chronological scale.

The Chaitya-hall on the Manmodi hill at Junnar in the Nasik district also belongs to the period of the Scythian monarch Nahapana¹⁰ and the style also proves that it belongs to the same period of Architectural development as the hall in the Pandulena caves. The facade is mean and narrow and the interior shows incapability of wide conception on the part of the architect. The top of the Chaitya in the Pandulena hall touches the curved roof and has been placed on an unnecessarily high pedestal. It is impossible to conceive of this

specimen as one intermediate between the splendid Chaitya-halls of Karla and Bhaja. The Chaitya-halls at Kondane, Kanheri (Cave No. III), the earlier Chaitya-halls at Ajanta (Caves No. IX and X), at Pitalkhera in the Nizam's dominions, and at Bedsa in the Poona district, all belong to the same period and cannot be much different in date.

Before we come to discuss the later group of Chaitya-halls we must refer to the peculiar form of the roofs of these halls. Sir John Marshall has observed that he found timbers which supported and formed the roof of the Chaitya hall found by him in the Sirkap mound.¹¹ The roofs of the Chaitya-halls at Sanchi, temples No. 18 and 40 of the plan, were also roofed with timber. The facade of the Lomash Rishi cave on the Barabar hills shows the earliest form of the hut-shaped temple. This is the only cave on the Barabar and Nagarjuni caves which does not bear a contemporary inscription, but the general style shows that it belongs to the early Maurya period and the polishing of the interior, so perfect in the other caves on the Barabar hills, was left incomplete. The facade of this cave represents a hut or a wooden temple. On the top is to be seen the sloping roof of a wooden structure with the ends of the square wooden beams sticking out. We see the last pair of square wooden pillars placed aslant which supported the structure. The roof bends down unnaturally at the caves. Under the roof we see a Torana consisting of three wooden arches exactly similar to those still to be seen in the horse shoe-shaped openings in the facade of the Chaitya-halls at Karla, Kondane¹² and Bhaja. The spaces between these three arches is filled up with lattice work and a frieze of elephants. Under this arch is the door with slanting jambs, all carved out of the rock.¹³ At Bhaja and Karla, all beams and props and even nails are faithfully represented in stone. The peculiar feature of the Chaitya-halls of Western India is the use of circular wooden beams under the barrel-shaped vault of the roof. These beams or roof timber can still be seen at Karla, Bhaja, Kondane and their marks or traces in the Chaitya-hall at Kanheri, but there is no such trace in the Chaitya-hall of the Pandulena group.

⁵ *A Guide to Taxila Calcutta 1921*, p. 84.

⁶ *Cambridge History of India*, chap. XXVI, p. 656.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 50, No. 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61, No. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, App. p. 134, No. 1174.

¹¹ *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 86.

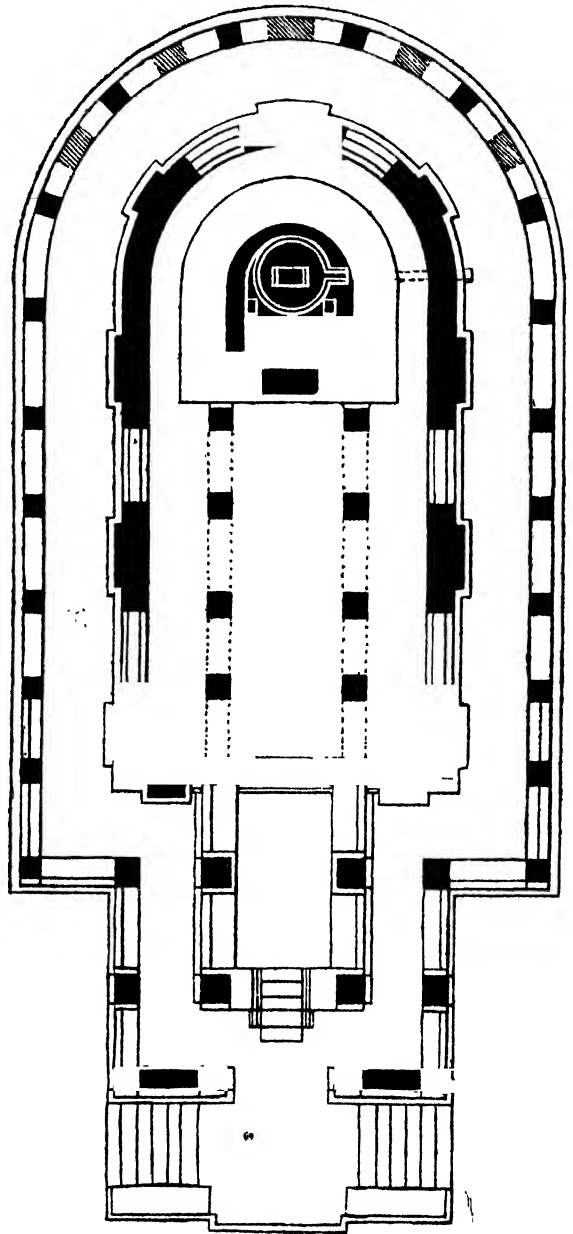
¹² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pt. XXVI-69.

¹³ *Ibid.* pl. XI-25.

From the beginning of the fourth century A. D. the facades of the Chaitya-halls began to change. This new form is to be found in the later Chaitya-halls at Ajanta (Cave No. 19), at Ellora and the new transformed Chaitya-halls at Aihole and Ter. The facade of Cave No. 19 at Ajanta is really a later development of that at the Pandulena. The tall verandah, so prominent in the case of the Karla Chaitya-hall and these at Bhaja and Kanheri and traces of which can still be seen at Kondane near Karjat on the G. I. P. Railway, gives way to a smaller porch, the best examples of which are to be seen in the Chaitya halls at Ajanta and Ellora. At Aihole the porch cannot be recognized now, as it is hidden by the later additions to the front. The Chaitya-hall at Ter, supposed to be the ancient city of Tagara, is peculiar, as it is the only example of an Apsidal temple in brick. In this case the rear of the temple is narrower than the front.¹⁴ It is really the beginning of the separation of the sanctum from the hall which we see for the first time in the Apsidal temple of the Dharmarajika stupa area at Taxila¹⁵ and which later on developed into the *mandapa*. The roof of the Chaitya-hall at Ter is also shaped like a barrel-vault like those in other Chaitya-halls. Of this brick-built hall we shall have to speak again when we discuss the connection between the ancient and mediaeval Chaitya-halls and the evolution of the Indian and the far-eastern temple types in the 5th and the 6th centuries A. D.

The Chaitya-halls of western India find a continuation in the caves of Malwa. The Chaitya-hall in the series of Buddhist caves on the Poladongar¹⁶ hill in the Indore State, a few miles from Garoth station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway, is exactly of the same type as that in the Pandulena series. To the south-east of Poladongar are the Buddhist and the Hindu caves of Dhamnar where there is a fine Chaitya-hall of the same type as that at Ter but with an open roof. It is extremely difficult to recognise it as a Chaitya-hall from the meagre description of Mr. H. Cousens.¹⁷ Dhamnar lies about

six miles from Shamgarh station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway and there are Buddhist and Hindu caves at this place. The Buddhist caves are to be found at three places on the same place, while the Hindu caves are situated to the north.¹⁸ A fine series of Buddhist caves exist at Bagh in



Plan of Chaitya-hall (Durga-temple) Aihole

¹⁴ *A Guide to Taxila*, pl. IV, No. 13.

¹⁵ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-03, p. 195, pl. XXIX.

¹⁶ *Annual Report Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1920*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁷ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-6, p. 107, pls. XLI, XLII.

¹⁸ *Central India Gazetteer, Indore State*, p. 271.

the Bakaner Pargana of the Amjhera district of the Gwalior State and the larger hall at that place is supposed to be a Chaitya-hall, but as the caves are full of debris it is not possible to say what was the shape of the Chaitya-hall.¹⁹

For some reason or other Chaitya-halls were not excavated out of solid rock in Northern India though there was no scarcity of suitable sites or materials. The northern Buddhists gradually gave up building Chaitya-halls and adopted a new style of Viharas or modern temples in their stead. In southern India, where Buddhism lingered for a longer time, the larger group of caves continued to be inhabited by the monks. We have definite evidence of the residence of the Buddhist monks at Ajanta up to the end of the 12th century. At Ellora the majority of Buddhist caves were excavated after the 7th century A. D., and at Kanheri, the Silahara chieftains of Thana continued to excavate new dormitories for the monks till the end of the 10th century. Evidence is altogether wanting in the cases of the Buddhist groups of Bhaja, Karla, and Pandulena. Later inscriptions have not been discovered at these places, which perhaps indicates their neglect after the early centuries of the Christian era. But there are certain circumstances which may prove that Buddhist worship continued

at the great Chaitya-halls up to our times. The Koli fishermen of the Thana and Kolaba districts assemble at Karla on certain days, preferably full-moon days, on which they worship in front of the Great Chaitya cave, Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I. C. S., Collector of Nasik in 1921, recorded a similar practice of the Kolis of the Wani-Dindori region in front of cave No. 10 or the Chaitya-hall at the Pandulena.

The Chaitya-halls at Aihole and Ter are extremely interesting on account of their survival, almost untouched up to our times. Like the Chaitya-hall No. 40 at Sanchi the Chaitya hall at Aihole was converted into a Hindu Temple (of Durga) by adding a row of pillars all round the building and covering the added area with a sloping roof.²⁰ The earliest Hindu Temples were evolved in this fashion and the sloping covering of the verandah is one of the characteristic features of the two-storied Hindu temples of the 5th and 6th century A. D. At Aihole there was no lack of suitable rocks for excavating Chaitya-halls and in fact some of the largest Hindu caves of the Deccan were excavated here and in the neighbouring hill of Badami. The Chaitya-hall at Aihole was converted into a temple of Durga apparently in the 6th century A. D.

¹⁹ *Central India Gazetteer, Vol. I Gwalior State part I. p. 196.*

²⁰ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08, pl. LXXIII and LXXIV.*

THE VOLTA CENTENARY

By PROFESSOR MEGHNAD SAHA, F. R. S.

THE greatest International Scientific Congress, of Physicists and Electrotechnicians which the world has ever seen assembled on September 11th of the current year at the little Town of Como in North Italy to do honour to the memory of Alessandro Volta, who lived and died there just a hundred years ago. For over a week the beautiful town of Como ran festive with meetings, banquets, pleasure trips and amusements. The Congress was organized and financed by the Italian Government, and was eagerly joined

by Physicists and Electricians all over the world. Let us see what Volta, a mere teacher, has done to win the hearts of succeeding generations of his countrymen, and to command the homage of scientific men all over the world.

Probably everyone will agree that the only superiority which the Twentieth-Century man can claim over the medieval man is the tremendous hold he has got upon the Powers of Nature. Man has made a conquest of Nature and is harnessing her powers to his own use. While in former ages a wild

rushing stream or a roaring waterfall only excited wonder mixed with fear and compelled man to associate with it some invisible divinity, possessed of mysterious powers, he now sees in these nothing but a source of power which he can profitably harness and utilize for his everyday requirements.

In this conquest of Nature a large part is played by "Electricity" and the present age has aptly been termed the "Age of Electricity." Yet the science of Electricity is barely a



Alessandro Volta with his Electrophorous and crown of piles

hundred years old and in honouring Volta the world is paying homage to the memory of one whose fundamental discoveries about a hundred and forty years ago played a great part in ushering this "Age of Electricity."

No doubt "Electrical Phenomena" were known to the Ancients. Thunderstorms and lightning are matters of daily occurrence. About seven hundred years before Christ, Thales of Miletus, the first of the seven wise men of Greece, observed that if a piece of amber is rubbed with a piece of silk, it attracts small pieces of paper. He ascribed

this phenomenon to the presence of "Electrical Force"—which simply means the force developed in amber—electron being the Greek word for amber.

In the Eighteenth Century the Leyden jar was invented and the laws of production of Electricity by friction (by rubbing together two pieces of matter) were completely elucidated. Frictional machines were also invented for the continuous production of electricity, and the American philosopher statesman, Benjamin Franklin, showed by his celebrated kite experiments that electricity produced by the frictional machines is identical with the electricity of thunderclouds. But a convenient source of continuous supply of electricity was still wanting. This was supplied by Volta in his "Voltaic cell." The Voltaic cell is now known to everybody. If a glass jar is filled with sulphuric acid and two pieces of metal, copper and zinc, are placed in it, and connected externally by a piece of wire, we get continuous production of Electricity.

It took Volta a long time to discover his Voltaic cell and we shall presently relate the circumstances which led him to the discovery. But it is profitable to see what a "revolution" this small apparatus has made in this world. The discovery placed for the first time in the hands of men a simple and convenient apparatus for producing continuous streams of electricity, studying its nature and using it for solving the problems of Nature.

Shortly after Volta's discovery Nicholson and Carlisle sent a current of electricity through water and showed that this substance, which had been regarded from time immemorial as one of the five elements, is really a compound of two elementary gases, thus overthrowing one of the most erroneous dogmas which had hindered the growth of scientific knowledge for two thousand years.

But the influence of the Voltaic cell on the progress of our knowledge of electricity is equally far-reaching. In 1820, Oersted, a Danish Professor, showed that the electric current in a wire created a magnetic field around it. This discovery showed, for the first time, that there is an intimate connection between the two distinct groups of phenomena, "electricity" and "magnetism"—a fact pregnant with remarkable future developments.

In 1831, Faraday discovered the laws of Electromagnetic Induction, and showed that electricity can be produced by rotating a conductor in a magnetic field. Faraday's

rotating disc has become the Father of all modern generating dynamos and has generally replaced the Voltaic cell as a continuous source of electricity. In 1838, the first telegraphic transmission was carried out by Gauss and Weber in Gottingen and in 1879, Edison and Swan placed the first electrical glow lamp in the market, and later the first

houses belonging to farmers are supplied with electricity and electrical power has largely supplanted the steam power and hard labour in many industries, and works of everyday life.

Yet another triumph of electricity was in hand. This happened when Marconi, a countryman of Volta, following the theoretical speculations of Maxwell and experimental works of Hertz, succeeded in 1898 in sending a signal through mere space from England to America. Now through the medium of wireless telegraphy, two men from the antipodes of the world can communicate with each other—an achievement undreamt of by men and gods alike in ancient times.

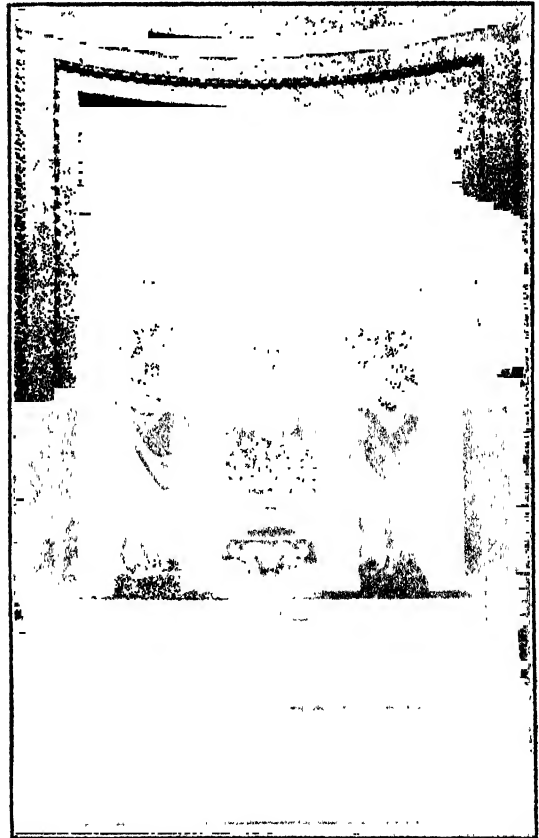
Let us now take the main threads of Volta's career and see how he was led to his simple but great discovery. Volta was born in 1745 in the little town of Como, on the shores of lake Como in North Italy. Como



Alessandro Volta in Youth

electrical tramways began to supplant the steam driven engines and horse tram-cars. Huge hydro-electric stations like the Niagara Falls station in America or the Sivasamudrum Water Works in Mysore began to be erected in all countries. From the middle of the nineteenth century civilisation is gradually becoming electrified. Big electrical concerns employing hundreds and thousands of men have sprung up in all countries, like the various Siemens Works and Allgemeine Elektricitäts Gesellschaft (popularly known as the 'A. E. G.') in Germany and the Metropolitan Vickers Ltd. in England, and the General Electric Co. in America.

The electrification of civilization is apparent to everybody, but its greatest development is to be found in a country like Sweden, where even the smallest villages are supplied with telephones and hydro-electric power has been developed to the extent of 1100 H. P. per head of population; so that even small country



Inside of the Volta Mausoleum is a picturesque old town, the old Comum of the Romans, and has a beauty and charm of its

own, scarcely surpassed by any other locality in the world. Here Switzerland ends and Italy begins, and Como combines the beauties of a Swiss lake city with the charm of an Italian blue sky. Here were born in ancient times the two Plinies, who were probably the only men with a scientific bent of mind amongst the ancient Romans.

In this beautiful town Volta lived and grew and performed his early experiments in electricity. Here he discovered the Electrophorus, a convenient apparatus for showing experiments on frictional electricity, which



Dr. D. M. Bose

One of India's Representatives at Volta Centenary

is still used for demonstration purposes. In 1779 a chair in Physics was founded for him in the neighbouring old city of Pavia, the seat of one of the oldest Universities of Italy and the world. He made an extensive tour about this time through the chief countries of Europe, viz., Germany, Holland, France and England and formed friendships with scientists of these countries. During his stay in London in 1782 he made the personal acquaintance of many members of the Royal Society, to which body about eighteen years

later he communicated his discovery of the Voltaic Piles and the Voltaic Cell.

The circumstances which led him to this great discovery were very trivial to start with. In 1780, L. Galvani was Professor of Anatomy in the University of Bologna. His wife happened to catch a bad cold and the doctor prescribed for her a soup made out of frog's leg. As no frog was available in the market, Galvani asked his assistant to get some frog which had been killed for his researches on Anatomy. The assistant, while trying to lift the frog's leg with the aid of iron pincers, found that when some nerves were touched it produced a convulsive movement in the dead frog. He called another assistant to witness the singular phenomenon, who noted that the convulsive movement was provoked not merely by the contact of iron but when simultaneously a spark was passed between the conductors of an electrical machine in the same room.

The fact was reported to Galvani, who soon became interested in the phenomenon. He performed several experiments to elucidate the matter and published his conclusions in the Proceedings of the Real Academy of Sciences, Bologna. Galvani found that if a circuit was completed between two pieces of dissimilar metals, say iron and copper, through the frog's body, the convulsions could be produced. Now Galvani was an anatomist and was not familiar with the ways of thinking of the men of Physics. He thought that the frog's body was the main source of electricity, which he called animal electricity, and the metals were simply the conductors of electricity.

These facts soon became known to Volta, and he communicated them to the Royal Society with the remark, "It contains one of the most beautiful and surprising discoveries..." But Volta saw that Galvani's explanations were all wrong. He had been thinking for a very long time of an experimental arrangement which would give a continuous flow of electricity. He saw that the real seat of electricity in Galvani's experiment was the two dissimilar metals, (copper and iron), the frog's nerves, owing to their extreme irritability, serving simply as an indicator of electricity. So he devised an experiment in which the frog was entirely dropped. (Galvani was never able to get rid of the frog). He substituted a piece of moistened cloth between the metals instead of frog's leg. He also showed that when a piece of cloth moistened

with acid was placed between two plates of copper and zinc, electricity could be produced and detected by his electrometer. It may be mentioned that Volta had improved the electroscope to such an extent that it was a thousand times more sensitive than electroscopes used in those days. Continuing his researches, he built his crown of piles and showed that he could draw a spark from it.

Volta was one of the earliest men who, instead of thinking in vague terms, always used to think in precise mathematical figures—a trend of thought which has become dominant now-a-days in the pursuit of all sciences, particularly Physics. He was conversant with the ideas of capacity, potential, and quantity, which were later precisely defined in terms of mathematical accuracy. Before him, the electrometer or rather the electroscope was a very insensitive piece of apparatus which could show the presence of only high tension electricity produced in frictional machines. But Volta introduced a different method for using the electroscope (which increased its sensitiveness about a thousand times), and armed with this method, he was able to show the low tension electricity which was produced in his 'Pile.'

The single cell or pile was discovered in 1792, but it took several years more for Volta to give it a final form (the form in which we know it now) which consisted in getting rid of the moist pad, and substituting it by an acid. In March 1800, the discovery was for the first time announced in a letter to the President of the Royal Society of London, Sir Joseph Bank. Volta had also discovered the principles of Series connection, or the method of putting the cells side by side, and connecting the opposite poles of successive cells so that the tension of electricity was multiplied. The Voltaic cell henceforth became the indispensable piece of apparatus for every worker in Physics and has been associated with all other subsequent great discoveries.

The world was not slow to recognise the value of this discovery. Volta was made an honorary member of the Royal Society of London in the same year. He had been known to the chief members of the *then Royal* Academy of Science in Paris since 1782, particularly with Laplace and Lavoisier. But a war was raging in 1800 between the Republic of France, and the Austrian Empire, in which north Italy was the field of action.

So Volta could not make his discovery known to the Academy before the autumn of 1801. The academy appointed a commission consisting of Laplace, Charles, Coulomb, Monge and Biot—all celebrated names in Science, to examine and report on the value of the discovery. Volta was invited to give a demonstration, which he first did on the 7th of November (16 Brumaire), in the presence of 42 members of the Academy, amongst whom Napoleon Bonaparte was present.



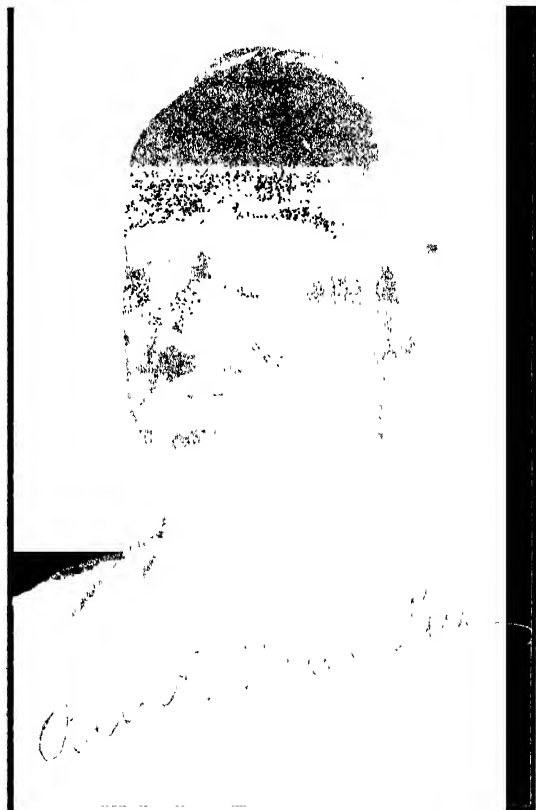
Dr. Meghnad Saha, F. R. S.
One of India's Representatives at Volta Centenary

We cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following extracts from the reports of the sitting of the Academy. It shows how even in those days of trouble and turmoil, the French savants and political leaders could properly appreciate the value of a great scientific discovery.

Sitting of 16 Brumaire, year 10 [of the Revolution.]

The citizen Volta, professor at Pavia, read the first part of his memoir on the theory of Galvanism (as current Electricity was known in those days), and particularly on the nature of the Galvanic Fluid. The citizen Bonaparte (he had not yet become the first Consul or the Emperor) proposed that the Academy (manifesting during the first moments of peace its desire to honour the luminaries who cultivate science) should present a gold medal to citizen Volta, who was the first foreign savant who has read a memoir at the sitting of the Academy, as a mark of the respect which the Academy entertained for the work of the Professor. * * * * *

Then follows a report on Volta's lecture. Napoleon entertained a high respect for Volta who became synonymous in his eyes with scientific genius, and continued to load him with numerous favours and honours on every suitable occasion.



Mussolini

After this great discovery, Volta does not seem to have done much in Electricity. His attention was diverted to other branches of science, particularly meteorology and laws of gases. He retired from his chair at Pavia in 1819, and died at Como in March 5, 1827 at the age of seventy-five.

The people of Como are very proud that their city gave birth to one of the greatest men of science of all ages. A great statue of Volta adorns the market-place. The Italian Government under Mussolini is erecting a grand tower in honour of Volta on the top of the highest peak overlooking the town of Como. Theatres, hotels, market-places, and even beer-halls are named after him.

I am sure that if the soul of the scientist were to wake up at the time of the Congress

he would have lodged a protest against this last act. All his instruments are now preserved in a beautiful museum, built of the best marble, and dedicated to his memory.

Now to return to the Congress. The Congress which held its session from September 11 to September 18, was attended by representatives from all countries of Europe, including Russia (there was none from the Balkan States), U. S. A., Canada, India, and Japan. Pictures of the eminent physicists with a brief sketch of their careers were published in the "Voltiana"—a paper specially published for the occasion.

The chief incidents were the opening ceremony held in the City Theatre of Como, in which Prof. Q. Majorana, President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates.

The message of welcome ran as follows:-

It is a cause of great happiness for Como to see the leading Physicists of the whole world gathered for a friendly symposium within its walls. Such an assembly, both by the fame and the achievement of its members, has seldom, if ever, been seen before. Pilgrims coming to Siena were greeted by the friendly inscription over the gate: *Sena cor tibi magis pandit*. May the members read thus in the hearty welcome of the citizens, the deep proud happiness of the Spirit of Como, the town that has given birth to Alessandro Volta, and is now able to celebrate his centenary by giving tryst to the heirs of his genius, and by watching their achievements outreach even his fondest hopes.

Then Prof. Senator Garbasso spoke in Italian on the life and labours of Volta. Sir Ernest Rutherford, the President of the Royal Society, spoke on behalf of the British Empire, Prof. Janet on behalf of France, Prof. M. Von Lane on behalf of Germany, Prof. Kennelly on behalf of America. Much of the information given in this article has been taken from the memorial volume printed on this occasion, containing the lectures of Garbasso, Rutherford and others.

The Congress assembled twice a day, morning and evening, and papers were read and discussed. They were too technical to be reported in the pages of the *Modern Review*, but suffice it to say almost all topics in modern Physics were discussed. Some of the Congressists like Prof. Debye of Zurich displayed remarkable linguistic powers, speaking English, German, French fluently and without mistake as the occasion arose. He is a Dutchman by birth. One whole afternoon was given to Prof. Niels Bohr, the eminent Professor of Physics at Copenhagen, and probably the most eminent worker in

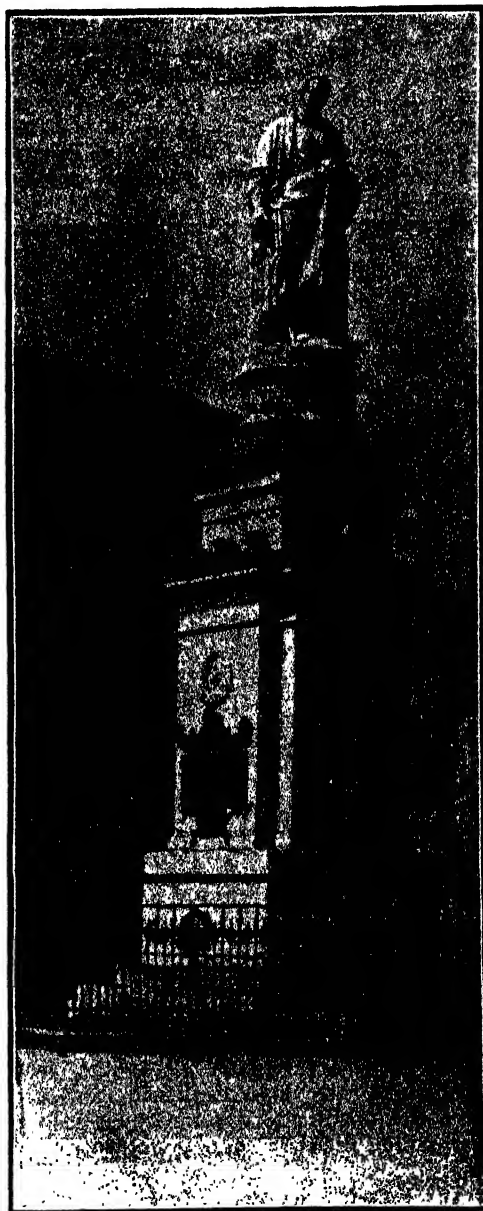
Atomic Physics. He explained in great detail the mysteries of the new 'Wellen-mechanich' or 'Wave Mechanics' (developed by L. de Broglie in France and E. Schrodinger at Zurich) which has taken the curious position of regarding matter as wave, and waves as matter. Though great things are expected of this theory, it was a bit too abstruse. The greatest ovation fell to the lot of Prof. R. W. Wood, an American Physicist, and one of the most original minds in Science, who has developed a method "for killing fish by high-pitched sound waves." [The wording is not quite scientific].

There was a steamer trip along the length of Lake Como to Menazzo on the other side. It was interesting to see Physicists huddled in corners in groups of three or four, and, oblivious of the beautiful scenery about them, engrossed in conversations interesting to themselves alone. One of the most interesting groups consisted of a number of young expositionists of the Bohr School, including Pauli and Heissenberg, both young men under thirty, whose researches have already begun to dominate the world of physical thought.

There was a motor trip to Pavia, the old University where Volta worked, about a hundred and twenty miles from Como. We had to pass through Milan, and had a view of its famous dome. Pavia is a sleepy old town, with old-fashioned buildings. It reminds one of the Middle Ages. The streets are narrow, the buildings have not much pretension to beauty. We had a lunch given to us by the Podesta (Lord Mayor) of Pavia, in which Prof. Millikan of America, replying on behalf of the guests, made a most impressive speech regarding the spirit of scientific research. He said that man had conquered Nature, not by following the old half mystical, half metaphysical methods, nor by relying on Scriptures, but by following the most straightforward and rational methods. In this enterprise, all countries and nationalities had participated, and the mantle of inspiration has often travelled from country to country in an inexplicable way.

As illustration he took the greatest names in the development of the Science of Electricity after Volta... Oersted (Denmark), Ampere (France), Gauss and Weber (Germany), Faraday (England), Henry (America), Maxwell (England), Hertz (Germany). In the field of

scientific research, he continued, we must always keep an open and elastic mind, and be prepared to exchange our views in equal



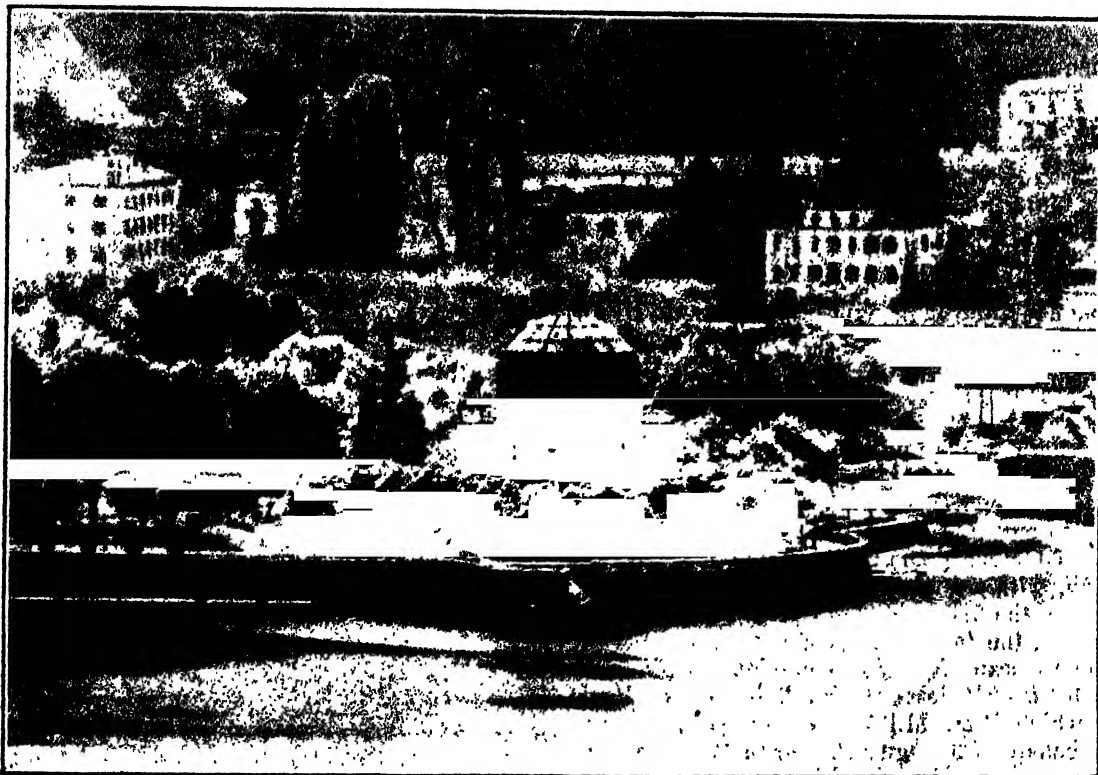
Monument of Alessandro Volta at Como
Unveiled on August 15, 1838

terms with every worker, young or old. There is no place in Science for a Superior Intelli-

gence! Thus he went on, at this Congress, we had once to sit at the feet of old grey-headed men like Lorentz (age 75) and Plauck (age 70) who after a successful life, are looking on the future with mixed feelings of pride, and benevolent suspicion. We had again to sit at the feet of middle-aged men like Bohr and Debye when they expounded their beautiful theories of atomic structure in abstruse and restrained mathematical language, and lastly with the same spirit of devotion

Prof H. A. Lorentz of Holland, the venerable Doyen of the Congressists, spoke for an hour and a half in French, summarising all the scientific papers which were read in the Congress. The keenness and alertness of the mind of this great investigator even at the age of 75 is simply astounding. I think few else amongst the Congressists would have been able to emulate this achievement.

At the conclusion of the Congress, Prof. Rutherford on behalf of the foreign delegate,



"Volta Temple", Como, which is now in course of erection
at the Rotunda of the public garden

and eagerness we had to sit at the feet of beardless youths like Pauli and Heisenberg, who came forward to expound their bold and far-reaching theories of structure of the atom.

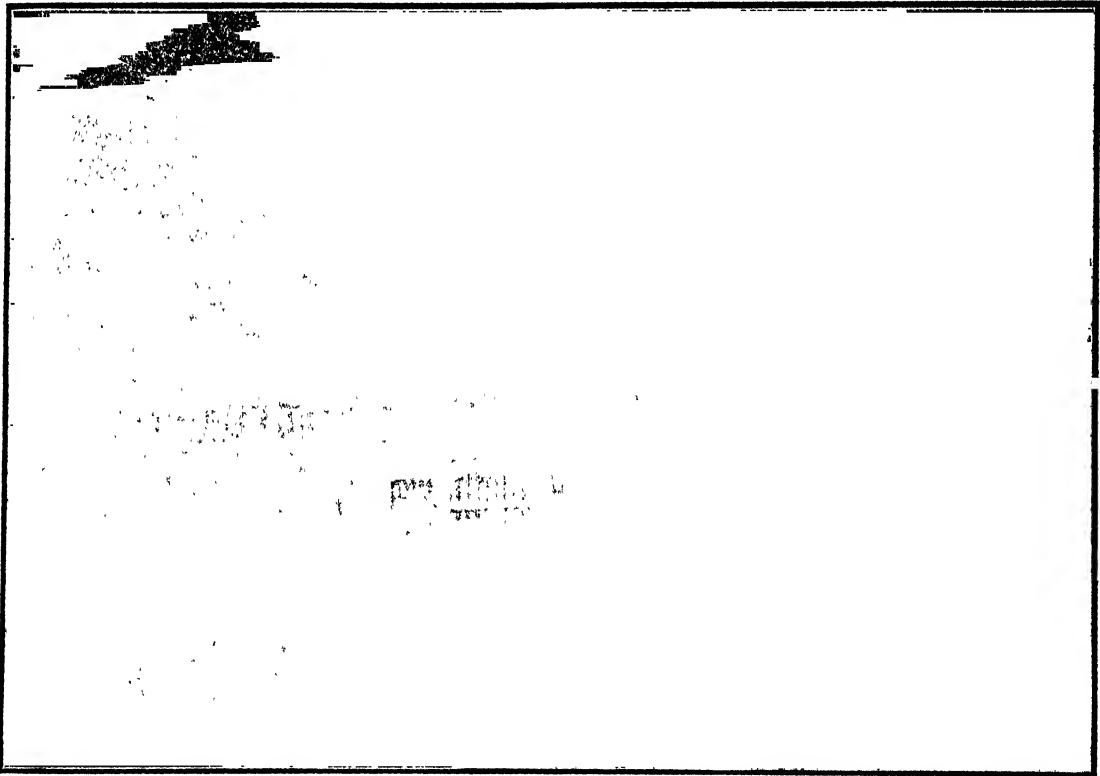
The Congressists were assembled for about a couple of hours at the old lecture theatre where Volta used to teach. A copper image of Christ on the Cross is hung in every lecture theatre here, reminding one of the early days of these Universities when they were simply monastic establishments. Here,

thanked the citizens of Como, and the Italian Government for their hospitality, and for their unique achievement of getting together for the first time in the world's history, the greatest International Congress of physicists. He concluded with the expression of the hope that the lead given by Italy would be followed by other countries.

The kindness of the Italians did not cease at Como. We were taken to Rome in a special train, and all the museums, and art galleries with their priceless treasures, of the

great City (Nostra bella Città eternita, Roma—as the Italians always lovingly refer to their great Metropolis) were thrown open to us. Guides were everywhere provided by the Government. We feasted our eyes on the pictures and works of sculpture and mosaics by the great Italian Masters, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Bernini,—admired the vastness and grandeur of the Vatican, probably the greatest monument in the world. We were one day taken through the ruins of Imperial Rome—the ruins of palaces on the Palatine

under the Kingdom, but under Mussolini, the work has been begun in right earnest. The Duce has made it the mission of his life to bring back to light the glories of Imperial and Republican Rome. I was told by Prof. Millikan that he had visited Rome seventeen years ago, but he found it then very dirty and unpleasant. He was surprised at the amount of improvement in general appearance in the care taken for the preservation of old monuments, and at the more dignified attitude of the people.



Como and the Villa Olmo

(From an antique print)

Hill, where Emperors of the old world used to live, through the colloseum, where gladiators used to fight, and condemned persons used to be thrown to the lions for the entertainment of the Roman people, through the Forum, where the Roman orators used to harangue the people. During the Middle Ages these vast ruins were buried in earth up to a depth of 50 feet. Later, some of the enlightened Popes undertook their excavation. The work of reclamation was carried on

We had an official Reception from the Governor of Rome at the Capitol, once the Seat of the Temple of Jupiter, and centre of Imperial Rome, but restored in the Middle Ages as a museum, and now the office of the Roman Municipality. Here Marconi, the inventor of wireless, entertained us with a lecture on the works of Volta, and on the achievements of Physical Science. We had once a motor drive through Via Appia (the old Appian way which connected

Imperial Rome with the East), and saw the baths of Caracalla, the Catacombs where the early Christians used to bury themselves for fear of persecution, and used to assemble for prayer. While being taken through the Catacombs, we asked the Father who was accompanying us as to what would happen to us if he were to leave us. "The tombs are all empty and you can sleep there for eternity," was his ready answer. Walking through the Catacombs, one cannot but be impressed with the faith, sincerity, and earnestness of these early Christians. They, following their Lord, conquered the world not by display of power but by suffering.

We had an evening party at Frascati, a pleasant suburb and fashionable resort on the ancient Alban Hills, and a trip to Ostia, the old sea-port of Rome. The sea has now receded about four miles. So the old port, which is now fully dug out, is now left in dry land. Here we saw what an old Roman city was like—with its temples, Forum, narrow streets, baths, and unbroken rows of houses. The market-place of Ostia was particularly interesting, as, impressed in mosaic on the floors, were still to be seen the names and emblems of the Navigation

Companies of those days, and of various guilds of traders. A sanctuary of Mithra has been discovered here as well as in Rome, and scholars are now coming forward with the theory that Mithraism formed the greatest rival to Christianity during the early period.

The finishing ceremony was a tea party given by Premier Mussolini at his residence, lent for his use by a big Italian magnate; for Mussolini with all the power he wields, takes a smaller salary than any district judge in India. The Duce greeted every Congressist individually. All the Nobel-Laureates of the gathering were gathered round the Duce in the same table, whether by chance or pre-arrangement, we cannot say.

From Rome we parted, each in his own way, but everyone carrying with him a very pleasant remembrance of his stay in Italy. The brilliancy of the occasion, the kindness and individual attention shown to every Congressist by all classes of Italians, particularly the members of the Reception Committee, are never to be forgotten. And lastly, let us hope, the spirit of Volta would ever be with us in our Quest after Truth.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN FRANCE

By ANIL K. DAS

IT is quite a long time that India has recognised the necessity of sending her young men to the West for higher studies in the various branches of learning. But it is remarkable that Indian students have crowded in appreciable numbers only into the universities of Great Britain. Whatever might be the cause underlying this preference for British universities, it cannot be denied that Indians should come to Europe not simply for collecting degrees and diplomas but also for assimilating and profiting by Western culture. Admitting that the British universities are very good and that the British people have admirable qualities, one cannot neglect the fact that the standard of education in the universities of continental Europe is in no way inferior to

that of the universities of Great Britain; besides the so-called "British outlook" is not the only outlook and it is totally impossible to form any balanced and impartial judgment about European civilisation without knowing France, Germany and other countries which have contributed as much as Great Britain, if not more, to the growth of the great civilisation of the West. It is, therefore, needless to emphasize the necessity of Indian students coming to the Continental universities as well.

Since the Great War Indians seem to have recognised this necessity, as is proved by the fact that the number of our students in the different universities of Germany and France is steadily increasing. It will be interesting, therefore, to make a brief survey of the

activities and achievements of Indian students in France during the last few years. Reports of this kind might help our younger generation to know that there are possibilities and facilities of learning in parts of Europe outside the British Isles. There is no denying the fact that on account of political reasons British degrees have a greater market value in India than other degrees; but culture and capacity cannot very well be judged by the hall-marks of educational Institutions. Besides, times have greatly changed and today even in India the stamp of a European university is hardly sufficient to indicate the worth of a man. In fact, one can cite scores of cases in which good British degrees have been useless to provide bread for educated men in India, while people with degrees and diplomas from the Continental universities hold with great credit responsible and lucrative posts.

It is hardly ten years that Indian students have begun to come to France. The first Indian students came here usually for pursuing higher studies in history, philosophy and arts in general, for which France has, for a long time, been recognised by the whole world as the best place. Among the early Indian students in France we might mention the names of Dr. Harichand of the Patna University, and Dr. Ghate, late Professor of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay, who took Doctorates in Letters from the University of Paris. Dr. Harichand is now holding a very important position as member of the Indian Educational Service. The first Indian student of science who came to France is the well-known Professor Nil Ratan Dhar of the University of Allahabad. Professor Dhar came to Paris after taking the D. Sc. degree from the University of London and worked for nearly two years in the Laboratory of Professor G. Urbain, after which he obtained the degree of "Docteur es Sciences Physiques." Prof. Dhar is the first Indian to take the State Doctorate from France. There have been other Indian students who have obtained Doctorates of the University of Paris later on. We might mention in this connection the names of Mr. Vaidya of Poona who took the Doctorate of the University of Paris by researches in Mathematics and Mr. Paranjpye who obtained the same degree in Letters for Oriental studies. Dr. Paranjpye is now Professor at the Ferguson College, Poona and is the joint secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

During the last four or five years there has been a distinct increase in the number of our students in France, specially in Paris. Now our lists contain names of students in almost all branches of studies, purely academic as well as technical and medical. We have had students of Music and the fine Arts as well. With the growing number of students a necessity has been felt of building up a "Foyer"—a sort of Association where our students may meet one another and also distinguished French and other European people for mutual understanding and exchange of ideas. Since a pretty long time there has been an Indian Association under the name of the "Association des Hindous de Paris", organised and patronised by the Indian merchants in France. It was Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee and others who first conceived the idea of forming a Students' Association and accordingly associated themselves with the Indian merchants to open a sort of students' section forming part of the general Association of Indians in Paris. Thanks to the labours and disinterested enthusiasm of Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, the students' section was separated from the parent body in 1924 with its "seige social" at 17, Rue du Sommerard, Paris 5e. Although the present Association has been named "Association des Etudiants Hindous en France", anybody who takes interest in our affairs can join the Association as an extraordinary member. The Association has the honour of including in its list the distinguished names of Professors Senart, Silvain Levi, Fabry, Urbain, Hadamard and others as honorary members. The Association owes a debt of gratitude to its President, Mr. S.R. Rana, to its Vice-President, Mr. Mehta, and other Indian merchants in Paris, for the great interest they take in its affairs.

Apart from its social activities, the Association has reasons to be proud of the educational activities of its members. In 1923 Mr. Kalidas Nag, now Lecturer in the University of Calcutta, obtained the degree of "Docteur de l'Université de Paris" with a thesis on Kautilya's Arthashastra and Mr. Sisir K. Mitra, now Professor of Physics, Calcutta University, obtained the same degree in Science with a thesis on Optics. In 1925 Prof. D. R. Bhattacharyya of the University of Allahabad obtained the degree of "Docteur es Sciences Naturelles" (State Doctorate) by submitting a thesis on zoology at the University of Paris. Next comes Mr. Y. Venkataramaia,

now Professor in the Andhra University, who obtained the degree of "Docteur es Sciences Physiques (State Doctorate) with a thesis on Active Hydrogen that was very much appreciated. In the year 1926 Mr. Subodh Chandra Mookerjee of the Indian Finance Department, who was for sometime Vice-President and Treasurer of our Association, submitted a thesis on Aesthetics in Sanskrit Literature and obtained the degree of "Docteur es Lettres" (State Doctorate). Dr. Mookerjee is the first Indian to get the State Doctorate in Letters from France. In the same year Mr. Proboodh Chandra Bagchi, who was one of the founders and the first Secretary of our Association, submitted a thesis on the Buddhistic Influence on Chinese Literature, and obtained the degree of "Docteur es Lettres" (State Doctorate). His thesis was greatly appreciated by distinguished scholars and professors. It might not be out of place to mention in this connection that the French Universities give two Doctorates, namely, "Doctorat de l'Université" (for Science or Letters) and a higher degree called "Doctorat es Science or Lettres" which goes by the general name of "Doctorat d'Etat", i.e., State Doctorate.

Among those who have worked at the University of Paris but have not presented any thesis for Doctorates may be mentioned the names of Prof. Satyendra N. Bose and Mr. Rajendra Lal De of the Dacca University, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. Niranjana Prasad Chakravarti of the Calcutta University, Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee of the Punjab and Dr. Sahayram Bose of the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta. It is a pity that not many of our men have worked at the Institut Pasteur, which attracts distinguished doctors from all parts of the world. We know only the names of Dr. Amulya Chandra Ukil and Dr. Hemendra Nath Ghosh, who have done specialised work at this Institute. Among others who have worked in the provincial universities of France may be mentioned the names of Messrs. Mahendra Nath Goswami, Mohammudi, V.N. Likhite and B. Mookerjee. Messrs. Mohammudi and Mookerjee obtained Doctorates of the Universities of Nancy and Strasbourg respectively. Mr. Goswami obtained the Doctorate of the University of Toulouse by researches in organic chemistry. He is now Lecturer at the University of Calcutta. Mr. Likhite obtained the degree of "Docteur es Sciences Naturelles" (State

Doctorate) by researches in Botany carried out at the University of Strasbourg. He has been appointed Lecturer in Botany at the University of Texas, U. S. A.

This year three of our men have obtained Doctorates from the University of Paris. Mr. Biren Bonnerjee has got the degree of "Docteur de l'Université de Paris" with a thesis on the "Ethnologie du Bengale". Mr. I. D. Tawaklay has obtained the same degree with a thesis on the Psychological Basis of Maya. An important thesis has been presented by Prof. P. B. Sarkar of the University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta. Dr. Sarkar worked in the Laboratory of Prof. G. Urbain for two years on the chemistry of rare earth elements. The results he has obtained have been looked upon by the examiners of his thesis as highly interesting. Dr. Sarkar's skill as an analytical chemist has evoked the admiration of Prof. Urbain and the University of Paris has conferred on him the degree of "Docteur es Sciences Physiques" (State Doctorate), Beset as it is with great practical difficulties, the subject of the chemistry of rare earths has not been tackled by our Indian chemists. We have therefore special reason to congratulate Prof. Sarkar as the pioneer in this field of chemical research in India.

Contrary to the usual custom, the number of our students this year preparing for degrees in Medicine, Engineering, Metallurgy, etc., is more than that of students doing research work. There are at present only three research students, one in Linguistics, one in History and the third in Physics. We have about half a dozen students in the Faculty of Medicine, two in the school of Dentistry, three in the School of Engineering, one in the Pasteur Institute, one in the School of Pottery at Sevres, one in the School of Painting and a few preparing for 'Licence' and 'Baccalaureat'. One of our students, Mr. Dhirendrakumar Chatterjee, has passed the degree of 'Licence' in chemistry and has also obtained the Diploma of the Institute of Metallurgy and Mining of Nancy.

Our object in writing these pages has been to show to our countrymen that Indian students have up till now done admirable work in France inspite of the difficulties about language and other things. We shall feel highly recompensed if we have succeeded in proving to our people that Indian students

can do serious work in Paris or other cities of France and that Paris is not simply a 'city of pleasures and amusements', as commonly supposed. But we urge Indian parents to send their children to France (as also to England or to other parts of Europe) only

for specialised studies, i. e., only for perfecting their knowledge already acquired in the universities or other Institutions in India.

In conclusion, we ask our readers to excuse any errors of commission or omission that may have crept in our report.

THE IMPERIAL FILM PROJECT

By C. JAYESINGHE

IN view of the importance which those interested in the film industry have, of late, attached to a project for the manufacture and propagation in the British Empire of British made films, I write to comment on this scheme as far as it concerns the indigenous peoples of India and Ceylon.

British capitalists backed by their Government and British artists are now manufacturing these films with the primary intent of propagation of their efforts throughout the Empire. They are making attempts to persuade the Indian and Colonial Governments to legislate on a certain percentage of their film imports being of British or Empire manufacture, and one reads of promises made by Indian Theatrical Trusts to help the scheme. This is as it should be in a country that has been always loyal at heart. But one wonders whether these loyal capitalists have considered the position of their race, or of national benefit, in joining the scheme. A few passages quoted from a letter to the "London Times" by Sir Hesketh Bell will help me to explain. He says that "those films which show the behaviour of the lowest types of white men and women have done more than anything else during the past ten years, to lower the prestige of the Europeans in the eyes of the natives..."—"as regards India and the Far-East the harm has already been done, and it is impossible now to remove the deplorable impressions that have already been spread among the natives of those countries..."—and finally—"...the beneficent effects of our rule over natives depend mainly on the respect in which we are held, and anything that reduces the prestige of our race should be guarded against as far as

possible." Sir Hesketh is an Imperialist such as one feels pity for. No self-respecting man will deny the need for the cleansing of the theatre: but to see this man, apparently sensible, attributing to unmoral films his loss of racial prestige, is to see Die-Hardism hysterically clutching at every imaginable cause but the right one which has been staring the Imperialist in the face for years, but to which conceit has blinded him.

To the average Indian cinema fan who visits a show twice a week, the world of white men and women in which these alleged disreputable orgies take place is so far away from imagination, that he frankly does not believe such things possible. It is by what is before him that he judges:—the planting rake, a "sahib" assaulting his servant, the white man walking along the pavement pushing inoffensive people out of his way, and such other incidents of every-day life which occur in all parts of the country. These are the causes of the loss of prestige which Sir. H. Bell longs to restore. Pride of race is not the prerogative of the ruler: it is natural in everyone, and surges up resentfully in subject peoples when foreigners commit actions which insult or belittle them. They too have a prestige to guard, and Britain has lost hers in her failure to guard that of her subject peoples.

I have witnessed films—I will mention a British production Kipling's, "Without the aid of the Clergy," which if the race of the hero and heroine were reversed, i. e., the hero made Indian and the heroine British, would have raised vigorous protest in Britain, and certainly, would never have been exhibited in India. The story itself was well-produced

and harmless as I thought, yet the *amour propre* of the Britisher would have been affected and his prestige irretrievably lost had the racial aspects of the hero and heroine been reversed. In other words, prestige, in the particular case, would mean the assertion by the Britisher of his right to sexually abuse an Indian girl, for that would be all there is in an illegal union, and return to one of his own race afterwards. In this case death from cholera averted the innocent girl's having to face ultimate disillusionment. Indians have commonly been the villains in many film productions, and vicious things said about the Indian mentality in their "titles" without evoking any protest from these guardians of prestige. Not surprising either—their prestige was not involved—only India's. What was worse was the production of a play, a couple of years ago, in London, "The Green Goddess" I think, but am not sure of the title, in which a Raja of India, a beastly sensualist with a 'Varsity veneer, was depicted as the villain. The play was British produced and had a successful run, without a word of adverse comment from the Government, the pretended friends and protectors of the Rajas. In fact one critic went so far as to infer that the villain was a caricature of the late Raja of Cooch Behar, than whom, when living, was no more popular Indian Prince in British social circles. If the critic's inference was correct, ghastly defamation of a dead man is a warning to all who seek British friendship as to the quality and consistency of that article.

What then has India to gain by helping this Empire scheme? Is she to be merely exploited as a market for films of British manufacture, while she continues to be the source of supply of villains and moral retrogrades? I have seen only one picture in which India was treated on a basis of cultural and moral dignity. The producers had evidently taken much trouble in studying Hindu mythology, architecture, customs and all those little details which create a realistic atmosphere. And strangely enough the film was an American production, "The Young Raja" with Valentino in the title role. And for once to an Indian was attributed a sense of honour and rectitude.

Why should not India produce her own films, and make them equal to the best the world produces? There are, at present, I believe, several companies endeavouring to produce films representative, and portraying

various aspects, of Indian life ancient and modern. Judging by the standard of these productions as shown on the screen, one really interested in artistic commercial enterprises could, however, only express his feelings in sighs of mingled hope and despair. The Indian film industry is on a par only with her publishing and printing, and except for one film in the production of which Mr. Niranjan Pal played an important part, may be considered, from an artistic viewpoint, a failure. If it has hitherto proved a financial success then it is also a fraud. The Indian producer knows his public—how easily pleased they are! Only throw in a few Gods and Goddesses, Krishna for instance, and the house runs mad with religious rapture. Faulty technicalities, cheap and often incorrect costumes and settings, and the bad acting are all forgotten,—Krishna alone matters: and those of the audience who could judge, for whom too Krishna and the wonderfully beautiful stories connected with his life are most alluring, sit in wonder at this crowd enthusiasm. For they see how easily and with what little effort, as contrasted with the possibilities of the story in production, a national film makes money for the producer. This then is the condition of the Indian film industry at a time when Britain is planning to force her productions and her prestige down our throats. Could not a group of Indian capitalists—men with the vision as well as the money—build on a firm financial basis a business in this line, which would enable India to place her own national productions on the world market, or at least give film fans at home, to use a commercial phrase, value for their money? They could get technologists and producers from Germany than which there is no country better equipped in this industry and from America which has had the experience.

Britain cannot be considered, for she is a baby herself and has just begun to crawl. Such an enterprise will not only prove profitable from the point of view of dividends, but will provide opportunities for many jobless 'Varsity educated men and women. And it will show the Imperialist where his unfortunate habit of thinking imperially has led him. It will perhaps teach him that no sensible Britisher talks of prestige today, for he knows it was only a misnomer for gunboats—and the sooner the Die-Hard relegated his to some safe place like a stamp-album, where he could, with loving reminis-

cence, gaze on it at leisure, the more respect judgment has not been impaired by he would have among people whose sense of subjugation.

CALIFORNIA DISPOSSESSES HINDU LAND-OWNERS

By RAMLAL B. BAJPAI

YOU are aware of the fact that a recent opinion of the United States Supreme Court held that Hindus, though members of the Caucasian race, should not be considered white persons within the meaning of the naturalization laws of the United States.

Acting under the above interpretation of naturalization laws, the State of California since 1923 has denied the Hindus the right to own or lease land under the California Alien Land Law of 1920—their contention being that Hindus are "Aliens ineligible for citizenship and as such should be barred from owning or leasing lands." About 2,000 Hindus, who became successful agriculturists by their diligent capacity for hard work, have been deprived of their farms and the fruit of their labors.

This action on the part of the State of California (and some other Western States) seems to us to be a violation of treaty rights enjoyed by British subjects in America, as well as a violation of even the California Alien Land Laws.

First of all, you will notice that according to Document 89, House of Representatives, 67th Congress 1st Session, printed by the United States government in 1921 under the heading ALIEN LAND LAWS AND ALIEN RIGHTS, pages 38 and 39 :—

The people of California do enact as follows :
SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

SECTION 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section 1 of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of

which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

This undoubtedly means that even if the Hindus are ineligible to citizenship they may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, etc., provided there is a treaty between the United States Government and Great Britain safeguarding such rights.

In going over all the treaties concluded between the United States and Britain we find that the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain known as the TREATY OF AMITY, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION, "concluded November 19, 1794; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment June 24, 1795; ratified by the President; ratifications exchanged October 28, 1795; proclaimed February 29, 1796", does allow British subjects irrespective of racial origin to enjoy property rights in America as if they were native Americans. Article IX of the above-mentioned treaty states :—

"It is agreed that British subjects who now hold lands in the territories of the United States, and American citizens who now hold lands in the dominions of His Majesty, shall continue to hold them according to the nature and tenure of their respective estates and titles therein; and may grant, sell or devise the same to whom they please, *in a like manner as if they were natives*; and that neither they nor their heirs or assigns shall, so far as may respect the said lands and the legal remedies incident thereto, be regarded as aliens."

This section (quoted above) is of permanent duration between the two nations, according to Article XXVIII, which states, "It is agreed that the first ten articles of this treaty shall be permanent."

That this is so will be obvious from the convention of 1899 concluded by the United States and Britain known as "CONVENTION AS TO TENURE AND DISPOSITION OF REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY," con-

cluded March 2, 1899; proclaimed August 6, 1900:—

Article V. "In all that concerns the right of disposing of every kind of property, real or personal, citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall in the Dominions of the other enjoy the rights which are or may be accorded to the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation."

According to the NOTE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (U. S.) concluded between the United States and Great Britain March 2, 1899, "INDIA, including the native states" is included in the list of "British colonies and possessions (who) have acceded to the Convention relating to the tenure and disposition of real and personal property."

From the above it will be noticed that

first of all the California Land Laws cannot be applied against the Hindus because the right of Hindus to the ownership of disposal of real or personal property is safeguarded by the Jay Treaty and the Convention of 1899. Yet the California authorities are today denying to Hindus their treaty rights.

Our racial and national honor is at stake. Is it the desire of the British Government to force upon India racial and political isolation by failure to protect our sacred treaty rights as British subjects? Have we become the helpless orphans among nations? Will not the Indian Legislative Assembly, the representative body of the Indian people, demand justice? Let our representatives in the League of Nations voice our protest and demand our rights.

'OIL' AND UPTON SINCLAIR

By BLANCHE WATSON

ONE evening, a decade ago, I took up a novel—rather late in the evening—thinking to glance through its pages for a few minutes while I basked in the pleasant warmth of the wood fire. The next thing I knew I was reading the last lines of the last chapter. The fire in the little air-tight stove had long since gone out; my little shack was the only one that showed a light. It was long past midnight and I was shivering with cold and emotion.....

This morning I took up "Oil", another novel by the same writer, it is hardly necessary to give his name,—Upton Sinclair, the man who, in "The Jungle", aimed at the heart of America, and struck the stomach. My idea was to read a bit here and there while I finished drinking my coffee. When I came to, it was one-thirty: a half cup of coffee and the remains of a melon testified to the fact that here was another book which could entirely eliminate any consideration of time, and push one side any thought of duty or desire.

Book after book in the past twenty-five years has come from this man's tireless, and one might almost say, prodigal pen,—books that have touched every conceivable field of human thinking and endeavor, touched (one should add) to illuminate, to clarify, and more often than not, to confound.

Were you a churchman? The "Profits of Religion" shocked your very soul.

Were you a "contented" American workman? The "Letters to Judd" disturbed that contentment and started your gray matter into unaccustomed activity.

Were you of the so-called Four hundred, the

upper tendom of life? The "Metropolis" filled you with loathing of yourself, *i.e.*, if life had left you with any sense of proportion and propriety.

Were you a good Christian? "They Call Me Carpenter" made you wonder what reception God Himself would get, were He to appear some Sunday in any of our churches.

Were you a meat-eater. "The Jungle" got on your nerves.

Were you a "successful" author? "well-known" architect or "popular" musician? "Mammonart" filled you with more or less of a feeling of certain men who are mentioned in the Book of Daniel, "who fled and hid themselves."

Were you convinced that Socialism would send the country to the dogs? "Samuel the Seeker" filled your head with doubts.

Were you the foe of the "radicals", whether American, Russian, German or what not? "Jimmy Higgins" made you their friend forever,—that is, if God had previously given you a mind?

Were you proud of American schools and colleges? "The Goosestep" and "The Goslings" made you tremble for the future of little Bobby and Jane.

Were you of the opinion that the American is the high water-mark of decency and probity and all round distinction? "The Brass Check" somewhat troubled your dreams.

Were you comfortable and warm over your coal grate? "King Coal" made you shiver and shake with something quite incomprehensible and terrifying,—something not connected with the weather.

Were you in favor of the war ? "Hell" turned you upsidedown and inside out and some of you never got yourselves together again.

And now comes "Oil" by the same Upton Sinclair.

It is "vulgar", you protest. Boston has said so ! Yes ;—If vulgarity is another word for human nature. It is dreadfully upsetting ! Quite right. It was intended to be. It is mighty hard on the politicians !

Yes, deservedly so—It makes the Socialists out to be pretty decent folks ! Which they are—It will make recruiting for the next war shocking difficult ! Some of us hope so—It is unpatriotic. It takes the name of high government officials in vain !—Nothing that Upton Sinclair ever wrote is in vain—...and so the argument goes.

Meantime, "Oil" is getting ready for the fourth printing.

"EDUCATION", OR THE WASTING OF A NATION'S LIFE AND ENERGY ?

By P. N. DATTA, B. Sc. (LONDON),

Geological Survey of India (Retired).

THE University is fed by the High Schools and these in their turn get their supply of scholars from the Upper and Lower Primary Schools, or direct from the home. The average age of children in the lowest class of the Lower Primary Schools is about 6 and in that of the High Schools 7. It ought to be obvious that at the commencement and early stages of a child's education the only language in which any instruction is possible or practicable is its mother-tongue, that is, the language which is intelligible to it. Now, when do our children begin to learn English ? In the old *Pathshalas* where the *Guru Mahashaya* knew nothing of English, everything of the elementary 3 Rs—Reading, Writing and Arithmetic—was done in the vernacular ; and the soundest of foundations for the educational superstructure was thus laid for the children. But the Primary Schools having replaced the *Pathshalas* and the English language having penetrated the very depths of even these schools, the children are now introduced to the English alphabet almost as soon as they begin to learn their own vernacular. The former was a very sound practice, which has unfortunately given place to-day to the fashion of almost simultaneous introduction of the child to its own vernacular and to the foreign English tongue.

As the mother-tongue is undoubtedly the only medium through which an appeal is possible at the earliest stages of a child's education, the endeavour to teach a child

a foreign language at such an age means a demand upon its intelligence and capacity which must often be too great for the little brain to cope with without causing distress and which must therefore diminish the capacity of the child for the acquisition of that full amount of knowledge which would otherwise have been possible for it. Each child has at a certain age a certain given capacity to learn ; you can utilise this entire capacity for the acquirement of fresh knowledge by direct appeal to nature, or you can partially or wholly divert this capacity to the mechanical mastering of a foreign alphabet with its strange spelling and pronunciation of words and their corresponding meanings in the vernacular of the child. To the extent the child is thus made to apply its intelligence to the foreign tongue is diminished his capacity to acquire fresh knowledge by direct appeal to nature through his mother-tongue. Thus by demanding the acquisition of a foreign language you begin to cripple the child intellectually from the very commencement of the age at which he can be called upon to observe and learn for himself. As everybody knows, the best method of imparting instruction to a child at the commencement of his education is *verbal* and by direct appeal to nature. By adopting this method his entire capacity can be utilised in training him to observe and learn for himself. But that is *not* the way we deal with our children. Our method is, on the contrary, almost entirely non-oral

and thus unnatural and artificial. The mechanical task for a child of learning the alphabet and the combinations of letters to form words and their pronunciations and meanings even in its own mother-tongue is an evil sufficient for the day. But to impose on him an additional and obviously harder and more irksome burden in the shape of a totally foreign language would seem not only cruel, but almost criminal.

To a child everything he handles or sees around him is an object of wonder. Hence his perpetual and a thousand-and-one questionings as to the hows, whys and wherefores of things he touches, hears or sees, whether on earth or in the heavens, and his love of fairy tales. Everything, in short, that surrounds him is a source of perpetual joy and wonder to him. Thus any appeal to his understanding through the objects that surround him will never be in vain. Such appeals will draw him out, excite his curiosity further and make him more and more eager to hear, learn and observe for himself. This would help to develop his faculty of imagination and observation and afford him at the same time such delight and enjoyment in the very effort at self-realisation that would pave the way to the attainment of that perfect youth and manhood for which the Creator has intended him.

But instead of training the child along the natural lines as indicated above, how do we deal with him? We never appeal to his senses or imagination through the objects that he can handle or see, but we set before him certain cabalistic characters in black and white with their fantastic shapes and forms, requiring him not only to remember to name and pronounce them, but also to draw them in all their fanciful forms, and that at an age when the child can hardly draw a straight line! And can we wonder if such a task will be anything but pleasant or agreeable to him, or that it will be one to which he could not look forward except with dread and aversion! Yet we his parents and guardians insist on his going through the work, however irksome or distasteful it may be to him. Should he show any repugnance or want of enthusiasm, we do not hesitate to vote him down as a dullard or stupid or even half-imbecile. Forced to pursue what rouses in him no curiosity, joy or enthusiasm, many a child may at

length come to regard themselves as really deficient in intellect, and by thinking themselves so and finding themselves besides in a general atmosphere of discouragement, may really eventually turn out dullards. On the other hand, if they had been trained in the right and proper way and with the full play of their natural bent allowed them, they might have turned out bright and happy youths after all. And if such may happen to a child when a wrong method is pursued in teaching its own mother-tongue, what disaster may not overtake him when he is forced to learn, under the same wrong method, an altogether foreign language *in addition* to his own, at this tender age! Let us pause and look for a moment what this foreign language—the one our child is forced to learn—is like. Now there are some foreign languages in which, to begin with, the spelling and pronunciation of words follow certain definite rules and beyond which they hardly ever go, making it for the learner, especially if he is a foreigner, comparatively an easy task to master the language. But the very reverse is the case with the *English* language, which happens to be one of most anomalous and erratic as regards the spelling and pronunciation of its words. If we look at the alphabets of the Bengali and English languages, for instance, we find that the letters of the former have a given definite sound, and a letter once mastered as to its pronunciation is mastered for ever, whether it is a vowel or a consonant. But not so with English. The very first letter of its alphabet, viz., *A*, has ordinarily no less than 4 different ways of pronunciation, viz., as in *fall*, *fat*, *fast*, *fate*. So the second vowel *E* may be pronounced as in *me*, *met*, or *her*; similarly *I* as in *pine*, *fix*, *fir*; *O* as in *note*, *not*, *move*, while, as regards *U*, the words *tube*, *tub*, *full*, *flute* will show its ordinary vagaries of pronunciation. As for the consonants, *C*, for instance, may be pronounced as in *can*, *city*; *G* as in *get*, *gem*; *ch* as in *character*, *church*, *parachute*, *loch*; *th* as in *then*, *thin*. These few instances ought to be enough to exemplify the singularly eccentric and irresponsible ways in which the very elements of the language deport themselves and to show in short that the pronunciation of letters and words in this language obeys no law.

If the very vowels and consonants may vary in this way in their individual elementary sounds, what variety and quaintness in spelling and pronunciation may we not

expect in the resultant combinations of vowels and consonants? You have, for instance, words having an identical sound, but with a spelling and a meaning quite different, e.g., son and sun, gang and gangue, see (v. and n.) and sea; words again in which the pronunciation is similar but the spelling different, as in Daughter, Dawson, Dalton. Again you have the same vowel being pronounced in most extraordinarily different ways even in simple combinations, as, for example, in *but*, *busy*, *bull*, *buffet* (buffetting the waves), *buffet* (booffa—refreshment bar); then again you may have the same combination of vowels but sounding differently in different words, such as in *fear*, *feather*, *feast*, *feature*. Instances like the above will at once strike one as showing how difficult and irksome must be the task of mastering such a language. As for the spelling and pronunciation of proper names, all that can be said of them is that they are above and beyond all laws of the language. One wonders if it ever occurs to us in a quiet moment to pause and consider what all this implies to a child required to master such a language!

In trying to acquire knowledge through the medium of a foreign tongue the first and primary difficulty confronting the child is, of course, that of grasping what the foreign words might mean, and it is only when that difficulty has been partially or wholly overcome, can he come to see what the problem before him is. Watch any boy or girl—for our girls are now taking to University education in fairly large numbers—from the lower classes in what difficulty he finds himself in making out the meaning of even a simple sentence from his English prose or poetry, or from his book of Geometry, Arithmetic or Algebra or from his History or Geography (for we must needs in these days have our boys and girls learn the simple facts even of History or Geography from books written in English, the Vernacular being considered not respectable enough) and his struggles to make out the meaning will be pitiful to see. And any parent or guardian who could thus watch him un pitying and unmoved must indeed be made of stone. Whereas, if the problem before the child had been in his own language he would have seen even at the first glance what he had got to do and would have been saved all this struggle, all this waste of time and energy and also the possible humiliation of being pronounced a dullard by the tutor or

guardian on his failure to promptly make out the meaning of what had been set before him.

From the present *sine-qua-non* position with us of the English language, from the impossibility of any progress for anybody along any lines without a knowledge of it and from its being the medium of instruction even in schools, has arisen a reverence and worship for it in this country unparalleled perhaps in the history of any people on earth in respect of a foreign language. Hence the present undue and unnatural importance attached to it and the position of dominance usurped by it. This being so, your child is compelled *willy nilly* to give most of his time, energy and attention to this language. And as he passes on to and through the higher classes, more and more of his time and attention has to be given to it, until in a little while this preponderance is out of all proportion to all the other subjects put together. Besides, in the upper classes the pupils are enjoined to explain or paraphrase in English passages from the English text books, it being considered a matter of great merit for a pupil to be able to express himself in the foreign tongue and to dispense with the use of his mother-tongue as much and as early as possible. Such being the case it will be easily conceivable that the majority of the pupils having to acquire what knowledge they can through the mist and cloud of a foreign tongue, must necessarily have but a hazy and imperfect notion of what they are studying. But it is to be feared that the teacher himself may not think so. Should a pupil be fairly able to reproduce what has been told him or what may have been set him in the daily lessons, he (the teacher) would seem to be perfectly happy, evidently under the impression that his pupil is really making genuine progress in his studies. What the teacher would seem to be satisfied with is really the rote-work largely and mostly helped by the innumerable Keys and Notes so thoughtfully and lavishly provided by the teachers, lecturers, professors and other hangers-on of the University, i. e., by people bent on making a little money on their own account and saving the students the trouble of thinking for and helping themselves, their evident motto being that Heaven helped those that helped the others! If the truth were known, it would be found that in most cases the pupil has not been growing in real knowledge at all and that his mind has not been

having that natural expansion and training which is the true and only aim of Education.

In fairness, however, to the teacher one must admit that he may not be so much to blame, seeing that he is so heavily handicapped by the syllabus before him. The University having hitherto had ordained 16 as about the age for matriculation, the parents and guardians are naturally anxious that their children should matriculate at about that age and their studies have to be arranged accordingly. If we now take the reader through the syllabus of a High School, he will be able to see for himself what the child has to go through and will easily realise how heavily and seriously the Indian child is handicapped in the race for real knowledge.

THE SYLLABUS *

Class IA (26) †

Bengali, Arithmetic

Class IB (6)

English

New English Course for Indian Schools (Primer)

Bengali, Arithmetic

Class I (7)

English

New English Course for Indian Schools (Primer)

Bengali, Arithmetic

Class II (8)

English :

1. Cinderella and the Sleeping Beauty, Grade I.
2. Nursery Rhymes (Primary)
3. Macmillan's Sentence Building, Pt. 1

Arithmetic, Bengali

Class III (9)

English :

1. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland
2. Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp
3. Macmillan's Sentence Building, Pt. II
4. Poems of Childhood, selected by A. E. P.

Bengali, Arithmetic Geography, History, Hygiene

* The Syllabus is that of the Brahma Girls' School, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. It is an H. E. School under aid from the Government. All the High Schools in Bengal have to follow the curriculum sanctioned by the Director of Public Instruction and approved by the University and the Government of Bengal. So the syllabus quoted here may be taken as a representative one.

† The numbers in brackets against the different classes indicate the average age of the Scholars in the respective classes.

Class IV (10)

English :

1. Dalton's English Course, Bk I
2. Grace Darling
3. Children's Anthology of Verse, Pt I

Grammar and Composition :

1. First English Grammar
2. Macmillan's Sentence Building, Pt. III
3. First Lessons in Translation and Composition

Bengali, History, Geography, Hygiene

Class V (11)

English :

1. Dalton's English Course, Bk. II
2. Popular Poems, Pt. 1 and II
3. Sindbad the Sailor

Grammar and Composition :

1. Easy Lessons in Grammar
2. Translation on a New Method
3. Macmillan's Sentence Building, Pt. IV

Bengali, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Hygiene

Class VI (12)

English :

1. Dalton's English Course, Bk. III
2. Heroes of Now and Then (Junior)
3. Popular Poems, Pt. I and II

Grammar and Composition :

1. Easy Lessons in Grammar
2. Boys' Book of Translation
3. Macmillan's Sentence Building, Pt. V

Arithmetic, Vernacular Composition, History

1. History of the English People (J. Finlmore)

Geography

Short Geography of the World

Hygiene :

Class VII (13)

English

1. Easy English Selections, Pt. II
2. The Lances of Lynwood
3. Jennings' Poems, Pt. I

Grammar, Composition and Translation

1. Manual of English Grammar
2. Translation on a New Method
3. Macmillan's Sentence Building Pt. VI

Mathematics

Arithmetic
Elementary Matriculation Algebra
Geometry (Hall & Stevens), Bk. I

Sanskrit, Vernacular Composition

History

Story of the English People (J. Finlmore)

Geography

Short Geography of the World

Hygiene

Class VIII (14)

English

1. Tait's
2. Palgrave's Golden Treasury
3. Bengal Peasant Life
4. Civics and National Ideal

Grammar, Composition and Translation

1. Nesfield's Grammar, Bk. III

2. Macmillan's Sentence Building, Pt. VII
3. Translation and Retranslation
- Mathematics*
 - Arithmetic (J. C. Chakravarti)
 - Algebra (K. P. Basu)
 - Geometry (Hall and Stevens), Bks I-IV
- Sanskrit, Vernacular Composition*
- History*
 - 1. History of India (A. C. Mukherji)
 - 2. Modern Nations and their Famous Men
- Geography*
 - 1. Longman's Geography, Bk. II
- Hygiene*

Class IX (15)

- English*
1. Select Readings from English Prose (University Publication)
 2. Lahiri's Select Poems (Univ. Publ.)
 3. The Book of Happy Warriors (Henry Newbolt)
 4. Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome
- Grammar and Composition*
1. Nesfield's Grammar, Bk. IV
 2. Essentials on English Grammar
 3. Translation and Retranslation
- Mathematics :*
- Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry* (Hall and Stevens)
- Sanskrit, Vernacular Composition, Compulsory Bengali*
- History*
1. Short History of India
 2. England's Work in India
- Geography*
- Longman's Geography, Bk. II

Class X (16)

(Matriculation Class)

- English :*
1. Select Readings from English Prose for Matriculation Students (Univ. Publ.)
 2. Lahiri's Select Poems (Univ. Publ.)
- Grammar, Composition and Translation*
1. Nesfield's Grammar, Bk. IV
 2. Essentials on English Grammar
 3. Translation and Retranslation
- Mathematics*
- Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry (Hall and Stevens) Bk. I-IV
- Additional Mathematics : Geometry Bk. V*
- Sanskrit, Vernacular Composition, Compulsory Bengali*
- History*
1. Short History of India
 2. England's Work in India
- Geography*
- Longman's Geography, Bk. II

From the syllabus quoted above it will be seen that beginning his 'education' in his 6th year with the English alphabet and Primer, the child has to make English his primary care, concentrate practically all his entire energies in trying to learn this foreign language and then acquire, through its medium, what knowledge he possibly can

in other branches of knowledge. Now, remember, the language is entirely foreign to the child and has no affinity whatever with his mother-tongue. He has to plod on through the spelling, the meanings of words, the different meanings of the same words and meanings of words having the same sound but spelt differently and meanings of words with different affixes and prefixes. The task of learning the language is thus rendered extremely difficult and tedious. But as his medium of instruction is English and his acquisition of any fresh knowledge depends upon the extent to which he has been able to master the language, the serious handicap of the Indian child in the race for knowledge is perfectly obvious. So the result is that he is actually acquiring very little fresh knowledge while his mental capacities are being tried to the utmost and his energies exhausted and wasted in acquiring what virtually amounts to a smattering of English, which will be of very little use to him so far as his mental culture is concerned. What earthly gain or profit would it be to him to learn by heart the different meanings of, say, *put forth, put in, put into, put on, put out, put by, put to, put about, put up with, put up, put down, put through*, and so on and so forth, ad infinitum and ad nauseam, pray ?

Or take the case of an affix, such as 'up' and see what peculiarities of signification it produces when joined on to a word, for example, *Lay up money, put up your hands, throw up the sponge, move up town, take up a matter, take up a matting, the road is up* and so on. Or look at phrases like 'down to the ground' (thoroughly) 'above ground' (alive), *cover much ground, gain ground, ground sea* (heavy sea without apparent cause) *ground swell* (heavy sea caused by distant or past storm or earthquake), *ground work*, etc., etc.

A little inquiry, if you have a boy or girl at a High School, will show you that in almost every one of the higher classes the child is prescribed a book from which he has to learn by heart hundreds of such phrases and idioms with their meanings, which must be as good for the culture of the child's mind as bracing and tone-giving to his little brain !

And yet your little child has to cram his memory with stuff such as the above if he would stand high in the class or pass his University Examinations with credit or

distinction! But this is not quite all. He must not only master the peculiar idioms and phrases of the language, but also observe the accurate accentuation of the *syllables* composing a word, as a *different* syllable in the *same* word may receive emphasis according as it is a *noun*, *verb* or *adjective*, e. g., *admire*, *admiration*, *admirable*. Moreover, he is strictly enjoined to learn to speak the language correctly, fluently and idiomatically, our educational heads laying special stress on the matter. Poor children! Were the children of a country ever burdened with the tyranny of a foreign tongue like India's!

Taking 7 as the average age of the child entering a High School and 16 as that when he matriculates, it will not, from what has been stated above, be an overstatement of facts to say that of these 10 years fully three-fourths, that is, about 7 years, are spent over this foreign language. What we need here clearly bear in mind is that these 7 years—no insignificant slice out of the life of a 16-year old child—have been spent not in gleaning the choicest treasures in that language but in the elaborate brain-killing mechanical drudgery of mastering the preliminary steps, the spade work as it were of alphabet of that language.

Now one may inquire what may be the upshot of all this expenditure of the time and energy of a boy of 16 over the foreign tongue? The net gain would seem to be—Knowledge enough of the language to be able to render, but only very haltingly and imperfectly, a passage from his vernacular into English or *vice versa*; inability to follow a passage from an English master unless exceptionally simple and inability to compose a few lines in English without spelling and grammatical mistakes. As to his being able to speak the language correctly, fluently or idiomatically, would it not be unreasonable and absurd to expect this of a lad who, brought up in the midst of his own people, can have had but little opportunity of listening to or taking part in English conversation? In plain language all that he has gained is a mere smattering of English as the result of his toil and trouble and of expenditure of time and energy during all these years—years the most precious and valuable to him, as on the right use, or abuse, of these years must depend his turning out to be either a useful member of society or a mere burden to it.

As for the child's progress in subjects other than English, such as Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., it must undoubtedly be considerably less than would have been the case had he been left unhampered with the English tongue. If the matter has not already attracted your attention, we would earnestly request you to take the next opportunity of watching your boy or girl over the intricacies and difficulties of this foreign medium—his floundering over its spellings, idioms and phrases—and one is sure you will not be able to remain unmoved.

Although large numbers of our youth acquire in this manner enough of the English language and the other subjects to enable them to pass the Matriculation Examination, there must yet be vaster numbers who either through inaptitude for the foreign tongue or inability to find the cost of an English education are dabbled from the pursuit of a higher education, there being no provision in the country for a Secondary or University Education except through the portals of the English language. What a sad commentary on the state of Higher Education in the land!

After passing the Matric. there is a two years' course for the next examination, I. A., or I. Sc., and after that a further two years' course is prescribed for the B. A. or B. Sc. Degree. But whether a student takes up the Science or Arts course after his matriculation, the English language forms one of the subjects, being obligatory throughout.* That is to say, he may be well up—and very well up indeed—in all the other subjects of his course, but should he, through inaptitude or distaste for the language, fail to secure the required number of marks in English, he will be declared a failure and all his labours will have been in vain. The saddest thing about the matter is that for such deficiency of his in the English language he will get very little sympathy even from the most thinking portion of his educated countrymen.

By the time the young man has been through his B. A. or B. Sc. Examination, he is at least 20, and the lowest age at which he can get his M.A. or M.Sc. would therefore be about 22. But as the majority of our young men are over 20 at their B.A. or B.Sc. Examination, we may take 24 or 25

* Only recently all compulsory tests on English have been abolished for the B.Sc. candidates.

as about the average age when our youngmen finish their University Education.

Thus have passed the first 25 years of our young man's life, that is, the most important period in it; for, the manner of its use will have determined for him what he is to be and what he will do during the remainder of his existence on this planet. So let us see how he stands mentally, physically and morally at the end of his University career and at the very threshold of his entrance into real life in this matter-of-fact world. From his infancy up to the Matric., when he is about 16, we have seen how his time has been employed and what his acquisitions are at the time he matriculates. Between the Matric., and his B. A. or B. Sc. Degree is a period of about 4 years, which he spends over 3 or 4 compulsory subjects (with perhaps an optional one in addition) and of these compulsory subjects the English language is one (except for the B. Sc. classes). That is to say, to the three (or perhaps four) new subjects, viz., from amongst Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, Botany, Economics, &c. &c., he is able to devote only three-fourths of a period of 4 years, that is, time just enough to enable him to gain an elementary knowledge of those subjects. After the Bachelor's Degree he is freed from the incubus of the English language and is able to give his whole time, about 2 years, to the one subject he may take up for the next—and the last—Examination of the University and acquire what mastery he possibly can in it in that short space of time. And although the success in this examination entitles him to be styled a Master (in Arts or Science), it would hardly be fair to expect him to have attained any great depths of learning in that period.

As regards his *Moral* equipment, our educational machinery having never for a moment, from the entrance of the child into a High School till his leaving the University as a Master of Science or Arts, pretended to care for the moral side of his nature—having in fact completely ignored it throughout—he owes it to his *Alma Mater* if he finds himself at the end of his University career at 25 standing completely naked and bare, that is, without any strong bias or attachment to truth, justice or fairness. But should he perchance find himself possessed, in however small a degree, of any or all of these attributes, that would be in spite of

the training received at the University. Whether an education or training that has ignored the moral side of a lad's character is not often worse than useless and whether such an education is worth having and that at the price our young men and women are paying for it at present is a matter for serious consideration.*

Physically—If the latest information furnished by the Student Welfare Society is to be relied on as correct, according to which every two of our young men out of three at the University are suffering from some organic defect or other, and this fairly at the commencement of their University career, the chances of their being in possession of sound health *at the time of their leaving the University* are dead against them. Thus when they will be stepping out of the University machine, their steps will thus not be the strong and firm steps of young men of 25 in the full vigor of healthy manhood, but those of more or less physical wrecks, feeble, uncertain and infirm, pointing to their unfitness for the struggle awaiting them in life. That numbers of our young men, brilliant and fresh from the University and giving high promise of a bright future, often contract diseases such as diabetes soon after entering on their professional careers and are shortly and prematurely cut off in consequence, would seem to afford evidence as to something being wrong somewhere in the state of things at the University.

Intellectually—If the intellectual gains had been such as to outweigh the loss in physical health and the neglect in moral culture,—which however can never be the case under any circumstances,—that might serve as some excuse, but there is no ground even for this consolation. For his gain in knowledge in the three or four subjects taken up for the Bachelor's Degree has been but elementary and what mastery, worth the name, can we expect from him over the subject chosen for the Master's Degree to which he has been able to devote but two years?

And if that is how our young man stands physically, morally and intellectually at the end of his University career, then the question that must forcibly present itself

* Whether the collapse of so many of our joint stock concerns may or may not have any organic connection with the cultivation of the intellect at the utter neglect of the moral side of our youth's character also requires seriously looking into.

to a thinking people is—What is the use of an Education that on its completion leaves our young men in this condition of physical, moral and intellectual poverty? The fact is, his time, energy and strength having from childhood been exhausted by his efforts over the heart-rending, brain-killing and strength-wasting struggles to remember the meanings of '*bring up, bring forth, bring on, bring about*' and so on, he finds himself, at the end of his University career, with a brain with no energy or capacity for initiative, with a body enfeebled, springless and lifeless and with the moral side of his nature deadened and unnourished. Thus with a debilitated body, a springless and exhausted brain and an undeveloped moral character, as we find him at 25, is he fit to enter upon the struggles of real life, to fight its valiant fight as a 'citizen of the world? The real struggle of life—the fight for existence, for the growth and enlargement of one's life and that of his fellow-men and for efforts to leave this world a shade better than one had found it—these will begin now. But they presuppose a sound mind in a sound body and a sound moral character. But the University training has not put our young men in possession of any of these qualifications; but on the contrary is he seen coming out of the University more or less a physical wreck, with its consequent attendants. What has then the University made

him fit for? One or two in a thousand of our graduates may be able to give a good account of themselves, but the rest, if 'the truth were known, are but like the sounding brass or tinkling cymbals, capable of producing only sounds and with no real depth of learning, wisdom or character. In fact, our present so-called University education leaves us fit only for the position of clerks, clerks not with the full vigor of youth or manhood in them but as nerveless, brainless, helpless automata! And the main cause of all this, among others, seems to be the pitiful waste of the life and energy of the nation in driving its youth from infancy upwards to the parrot-like learning of a foreign tongue.

If we would then save the nation from further physical and mental degradation and ruin, we must wake up, and wake up quickly and shake off the tyranny and thralldom of the foreign tongue. We must remove English from its present dominant position in the curricula of our schools and colleges, allow our mother tongue to occupy the position now occupied by English and let our youngsters first master their own vernacular and then acquire what knowledge they can of the sciences or arts, with English as a second language—to be learnt as the Germans or Japanese do—that is, knowing as much of it as will enable one to gain an entrance into the great storehouse of Knowledge of the English Masters.

AN INVITATION

Come, love, don't sit and work all day,
Come where the breezes blow,
Let's walk together hand in hand
Where bubbling brooks so gaily flow.

There by the turn on yonder hill,
Upon a mossy spot we'll rest,

And there, a song to thee I'll sing,
The sweetest and the best.

The song, my dear, shall tell,
Of everlasting loyalty,
Of love for thee who in this life
Is all in all to me.

Iowa City, U. S. A.

ANNIE BOSE.

GLEANINGS

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

[Copyright, 1899, by Rudyard Kipling. All Rights Reserved. By Courtesy of McClure's Magazine.]

Take up the White Man's burden—
 Send forth the best ye breed—
 Go, bind your sons to exile
 To serve your captives' need ;
 To wait, in heavy harness,
 On fluttered folk and wild—
 Your new-caught sullen peoples,
 Half-devil and half-child.
 Take up the White Man's burden—
 In patience to abide.
 To veil the threat of terror
 And check the show of pride ;
 By open speech and simple,
 An hundred times made plain,
 To seek another's profit
 And work another's gain.
 Take up the White Man's burden—
 The savage wars of peace—
 Fill full the mouth of famine,
 And bid the sickness cease ;
 And when your goal is nearest
 (The end for others sought)
 Watch sloth and heathen folly
 Bring all your hope to naught.
 Take up the White Man's burden—
 No iron rule of kings,
 But toil of serf and sweeper—
 The tale of common things.
 The ports ye shall not enter,
 The roads ye shall not tread,
 Go, make them with your living
 And mark them with your dead.
 Take up the White Man's burden,
 And reap his old reward—
 The blame of those ye better,
 The hate of those ye guard—
 The cry of hosts ye humour
 (Ah, slowly !) toward the light :—
 "Why brought ye us from bondage,
 Our loved Egyptian night ?"
 Take up the White Man's burden—
 Ye dare not stoop to less—
 Nor call too loud on Freedom
 To cloke your weariness.
 By all ye will or whisper,
 By all ye leave or do,
 The silent sullen peoples
 Shall weigh your God and you.
 Take up the White Man's burden !
 Have done with childish days—
 The lightly-proffered laurel,
 The easy ungrudged praise :
 Comes now, to search your manhood
 Through all the thankless years,
 Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
 The judgment of your peers.

THE DARK MAN'S BURDEN *after Rudyard Kipling*

I.

"A HINT TO SAXON ISRAEL"
 Load up the Dark Man's burden,
 The Black, the Red, the Brown
 Send forth your sons in armor
 To beat the naked down—
 Make plain to furthest heathen
 Where Christian banner swings,
 That "Freedom's little finger
 Weighs more than loins of kings."
 Our Dark shall bear the burden
 Our White will take the pay
 And medicine's standing ready
 For him who says us "Nay."

II.

Train up those sons in armor
 Their glorious path to seek,
 To boast of White Man's honor
 And lie but to the weak ;
 To use "our native allies"
 To build those sons' renown,
 And when they've served your purpose
 Then turn the rebels down.
 For Dark must bear the burden,
 While White will take the pay ;
 And cord awaits the traitor
 Who dares to say us "Nay."

III.

Heave up the Dark Man's burden,
 Draw tight its binding cords,
 And rub the galling places
 With noble-sounding words.
 Stamp out the fire-brand notion
 That God made him as you :
 Whate'er from him ye would not,
 All that to him ye do.
 The Dark must bear the burden,
 The White will take the pay,
 And drastic physic's waiting
 The wretch who says us "Nay"

IV.

Bind fast our Dark Man's burden,
 Just all that he can stand,
 To fill your Nabob's coffers
 Hauled home from Dark Man's land.
 Tho' every thousand dollars
 Of pay, or fortune's loot,
 Mean thousand lives of Dark Ones
 Ground out by White Man's boot ;
 Yet Dark must bear the burden,
 For White must draw the pay,
 And woe betides whoever
 Shall dare to say us "Nay !"
 "There is no God," the fool's heart
 Hath said full long ago
 And some perchance are asking
 To-day : "Can that be so ?"
 Quoth some : "His mills grind slowly,
 "But fine-cut work they do.
 His blizzards have been on us :
 "His earthquakes may be due."
 Yet Dark still totes the burden,
 And White still draws the pay—
 "There is no—" may be waiting
 To "square the yards" some day.
 —OLD BOATHOOK in the *Dayligh*

Turkey Facing Toward Europe

Out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire emerged the Republic of Turkey, and, we are told, it turns its face by preference toward Europe instead of toward Asia. Therefore, any talk about a union of the Asiatics against the West, which would include Turkey, is characterized by official Turkish spokesmen as "pure imagination."



TURKEY'S PRESIDENT REVISITS CONSTANTINOPLE
Mustapha Kemal Pasha's return to Constantinople is interpreted as the Turkish Republic's first step into the "sphere of European civilization." Here the man whom some Turks describe as their "George Washington" is being welcomed by the wife of a prominent Turkish official.

Numerous editorials in the Angora and Constantinople newspapers give the impression that as Turkey is placed on a footing of equality with the Western Powers she has no inclination to oppose them any longer, but rather tends to be friendly toward them.

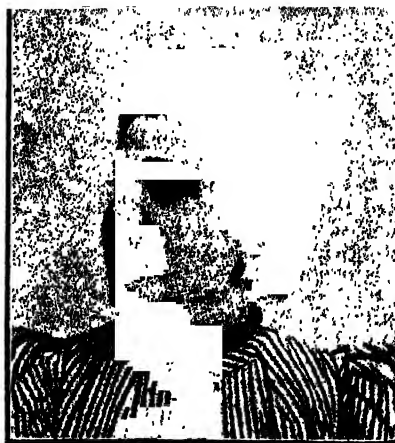
The Literary Digest

Matilde Serao

Two women, distinguished in the arts, died within a few days of each other, as the month of July drew to a close. Matilde Serao, the Italian novelist and journalist, died in Naples, July 27, and Louise Abbema, the French painter, in Paris on the 29th. No other connection subsists between them except that they were conspicuous if not distinguished figures in their own land for many years, and had reached the ages, respectively, of seventy-one and eighty-nine. The *Manchester Guardian* speaks of Matilde Serao as "a novelist of some distinction in a land of few novels" but dwells on the eminence she attained "in a calling

commonly reserved to the male—namely as managing proprietor of various daily newspapers; and all this in a country where woman's emergence from domestic to public activities is still eyed askance." Continuing:

"In no country can any woman have played a more decisive part in building up its journalistic tradition. Wife of the most famous of Neapolitan polemicists, Edoardo Scarfoglio (who produced during Italy's neutrality period a superbly venomous attack upon the Americans), she bore him two sons who rivaled his fame. Till recently they were managing the greatest paper of Southern Italy, the *Mattino*, in the anti-Fascist interest, being forcibly ejected about a year ago during the grand



Matilde Serao in 1907

Fascistization of the press. For once they had been caught napping and could not execute a conversion in time. Their mother had been more agile: her personal organ refrained at the right moment from criticism of an impatient government.

"For Matilde Serao was never content to be just the wife and mother of journalists; to the end she was a journalist herself. With her husband she founded the first modern daily in Rome, and afterward, independently of him, edited the *Corriere di Napoli* in Naples. The story of the Scarfoglio-Serao family during this quarter century would be the inner history of Naples itself—a phantasmagoria of slippery brilliance. What their newspapers got out of successive governments, and how, is a rollicking tale. It is a tale perhaps not yet concluded, for the irrepressible Edoardo and Carlo, once protagonists of Fascism, then its bitter enemies and much-advertised martyrs for the cause of liberty, are rumored even now by some amazing dexterity to have slid back into the Duce's favor, and to be controlling from behind the scenes the papers from which they were violently ejected a year ago by blunt, honest Roberto Farinacci in the name of Fascist morality. The spirit of Naples in its less admirable but most fascinating aspect gleams through these remarkable family annals, as do the friendlier aspects of the same spirit through the novels of Matilde Serao."

The Literary Digest

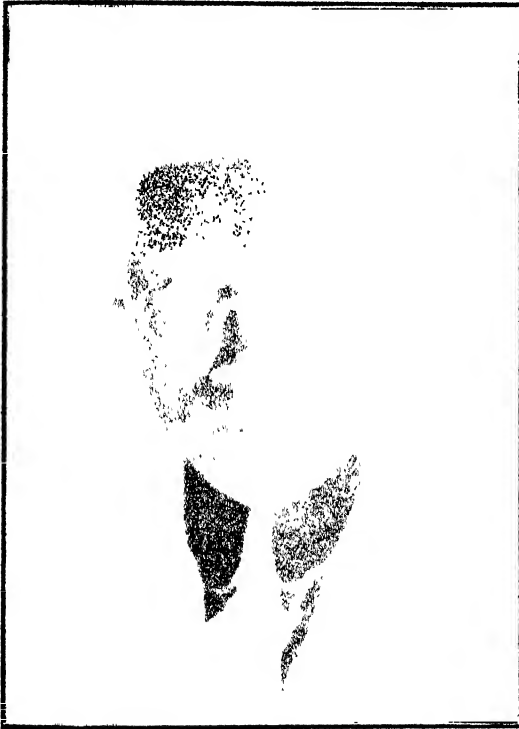
Is Christianity In China To Die ?

A New China is emerging out of the chaos, but it "does not seem to promise much bright future to the propagation of the Christian faith," says Dr. Hu Shih, Dean of Peking National University, and known as the Father of the Chinese Renaissance. In a brief article in *The Forum* he gives credit to the missionaries for the material reform they helped bring about, but he says "the dream of a Christian occupation of China seems to be fast vanishing—probably forever. And the explanation is not far to seek." There is much cheap argument in the criticism of the Christian missionary as an agent of imperialist aggression, it is true, says Dr. Hu Shih. "But we must realize," he goes on, "that it is nationalism—the self-consciousness of a nation with no mean cultural past—that once killed Nestorian Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Manicheism in

"We must not forget that Chinese philosophy began two thousand five hundred years ago with a Lao Tse, who taught a naturalistic conception of the universe, and a Confucius, who was frankly an agnostic. This rationalistic and humanistic tradition has always played the part of a liberator in every age when the nation seemed to be under the influence of a superstitious or fanatic religion. This cultural background of indigenous China is now revived with the new reinforcement of the methods and conclusions of modern science and becomes a truly formidable safeguard of the intellectual class against the imposition of any religious system whose fundamental dogmas, despite all efforts of its apologists, do not always stand the test of reason and science.

"And, after all, Christianity itself is fighting its last battle, even in the so-called Christendoms. To us born heathens, it is a strange sight indeed to see Billy Sunday and Aimee McPherson hailed and patronized in an age whose acknowledged prophets are Darwin and Pasteur! The religion of Elmer Gantry and Sharon Falconer must sooner or later make all thinking people feel ashamed to call themselves 'Christians.' And then they will realize that Young China was not far wrong in offering some opposition to a religion which in its glorious days fought religious wars and persecuted science, and which, in the broad daylight of the twentieth century, prayed for the victory of the belligerent nations in the World War and is still persecuting the teaching of science in certain quarters of Christendom."

The Literary Digest.



CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA IS VANISHING
Says Dr. Hu Shih, known as the Father of the Chinese Renaissance, telling us too, that "Christianity is fighting its last battle even in the so-called Christendoms."

China. It is the same nationalism which four times persecuted Buddhism, and finally killed it after over a thousand years of complete Buddhist conquest of China. And it is the same national consciousness which is now resisting the essentially alien religion of Christianity." Even more formidable than nationalism, says this Chinese statesman, is the rise of rationalism, and he tells us :

Health Strength and beauty for Girls



Open-door Exercise for girls

The Strength

Death Valley

Death Valley, in California, was for a long time only remotely accessible but the coming of the automobile and of railroads has made evident the possibilities of attracting visitors to this desert region for its scenic wonders.



Death Valley sand-dunes

It is, in spite of its aridity, an area abounding in mountain ranges, great valleys, salt pans, and interesting desert topography. Altho Death Valley is probably the most spectacular physiographic unit, other valleys and mountain ranges in Inyo County are also of great interest. To the geologist the area as a whole is inspiring; for here the historical record is extraordinarily exposed, and both formations and structural features can be easily traced out, as there is little to conceal them. There is here a laboratory for the young geologist and for the student. For the artist there is a wealth of color and a variety of scenic grandeur well worthy of palet and pencil. The student of botany and of biology can study the extremes of desert environment; and the casual traveler and tourist will find much to marvel over and to talk about to his less fortunate friends of the cities. Nature is at her extreme under the conditions of high heat and little water.

The Engineering and Mining Journal (New York)

The Ancient Monuments of Mayurbhanj

The ancient monuments of Mayurbhanj are practically centred in one single locality, Khiching, now a small village near the western frontier of the State. The name Khiching is a corruption (*apabhramsa*) of Khijinga or Khijinga-Kotta, the capital of the early Bhanja chiefs according to their copper-plate grants, and the existing monuments support the identification. The ruins of the ancient city extend far beyond the limits of the modern village from the bank of the Khairbhandan on the north to that of the Kantakhair on the south.

As a visitor approaches Khiching from the east the first monument that arrests his attention is a small stone temple popularly known as Kutai Tundi and the phallic emblem of Siva installed in it is called Sarvesvara. It is a temple of the style of architecture named Nagara in the Sanskrit manuals and Indo-Aryan by Fergusson.

About 400 yards to the west of the Kutai Tundi is situated the *Thakurani sala* or the compound of the Goddess which contains the ruins of the principal group of ancient temples at Khiching. The *Thakurani* or the Goddess is represented by an image of Chamunda, known as Kinchakesvari, and is still recognised as the patron goddess of the ruling house of Mayurbhanj. There is a shrine

of Kinchakesvari within the palace of Baripada and another at Bahalda. In the *sanads* or land-grants issued by the Maharajas of Mayurbhanj in



Nagini. Great Temple, Khiching.

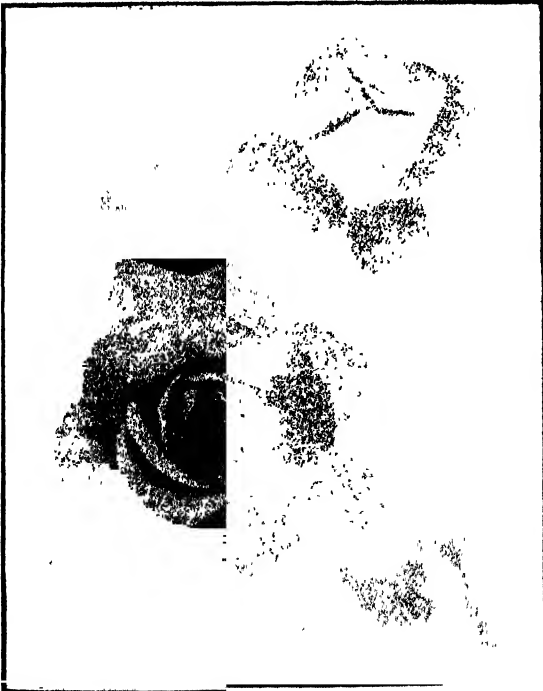
the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the goddess, who is invariably invoked in the preamble along with Jagannatha, is named Khijingesvari or the Lady of Khijing or Khiching, and Kinchakesvari is only a corrupt form of that name.

From a mound outside the Thakurani's compound has been recovered the lower half of an incised image of the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara.

The works of the contemporary sculptors of Orissa, the images of Khiching have more regular features. Among other specimens at Khiching the magnificent torso of Durga Mahishamardini engaged in killing the demon more out of pity as reflected in her face than in a spirit of revenge, and Nagis that capped the row of pilasters decorating the outer side of the sanctum of the great temple are really beautiful works of art. Regular features are a characteristic of the products of the school of sculpture that flourished in Bengal and Bihar contemporaneously. But here also the difference is no less remarkable. In the standing images of the period found in Bengal and Bihar the pose of the lower half of the body is straight and stiff, and the back slab is decorated in quite different ways. These considerations lead to the conclusion that while the artists employed by the Bhanja chief for decorating the great temple of Khiching were imported from Orissa, for designing figure sculptures he must have employed an artist of genius probably brought up in the Gaudian (Bengal Bihar) school who, as a consequence of his contact with the Oriya artists and aided by fresh inspiration from nature, founded a new school of art at Khiching.

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Novelties in Roses



A new variety promised for 1927 is "Mrs. Maloney" (H.T.). It is brilliant crimson carmine red without variation. It is one of the best new garden varieties.

Every year witnesses increased interest in rose-growing, and more additions to the magnificent selection available. The rose loses nothing of its beauty or fragrance at the hands of our experts, who by much painstaking research and experiment establish new strains which in most cases have additional attractions in size, shape, fragrance, form of habit, growth, foliage or hardiness.



"Mrs. Talbot O'Farrell" (H.T.). A new 1926 rose with outside petals of lemon yellow, flushed deep cerise to crimson. The inside of the petals is deep cerise, heavily flushed and veined.

Hutchinson's Magazine

The Chaos of Free Love in Russia

Russia has forsaken the Family, and is now facing the gravest crisis in its career, says a writer who has studied court records and uncovered some astounding facts in connection with Russia's experiment in changing by fiat a moral order that many claim to be of divine origin, and most admit to be the only safe one for civilization. Russia, writes Hubert Malkus in *Success Magazine*, "has danced wildly to the tune of free love, and has now begun to pay the fiddler." It is a terrible price, to judge from what we now read. The sum and substance of his findings are that the new marriage and divorce laws, under which a boy and girl may marry on Monday and be divorced on Tuesday, in less time than it takes to buy a railroad ticket from New York to Chicago, have resulted in the desertion of thousands of



Just a Small Group of Russia's 4,000,000 Abandoned Children

wives and the abandonment of thousands of nameless children, to be added to the hordes of children which the Revolution orphaned and left to starve. According to Mr. Malkus, last year 100,000 wives were abandoned and appealed to the Soviet courts to find their husbands and compel them to contribute to the support of their children. In addition, 90,000 women brought suit against men who denied the paternity of their offspring. And 18,000 wives asked support for dependent children. These, we are told, are the authenticated figures of Soviet court records. The number of unrecorded cases, says Mr. Malkus, can only be surmised.

In Russia to-day, he goes on, it is the law that marriage ends when love cools. "And love, it appears from the dockets of the Russian marriage courts, cools quickly." He describes the Russian method of marriage and divorce:

"If a man and woman wish to marry, the wish is sufficient to legalize the union. If the newly wedded pair desire to record the marriage, they can do so, but it is not obligatory. It is helpful, however, particularly if a divorce is anticipated. If the marriage is not registered it may be necessary at some time to call witnesses to prove that the couple had lived together as man and wife.

"Grounds for divorce is simply the desire of the couple to be divorced. If the marriage has been registered, all that is necessary is to appear before the registrar and advise him that a divorce has been agreed upon. He enters it in his book and the couple go their separate ways. If there are dependent children, each parent must contribute a third of his income to their support. That is the only restraint upon divorce in Russia, and curiously, it is an economic barrier, not a moral one.

"This simplification of the marriage law has been abortive in its practical reality. Consider what this effort to 'free' the sexes has done. It has reduced marriage to an agreement to live together only as long as it suits the fancy of the parties thereto. The handicap of the children and obligation to support them is something else again.

But how can a country police husbands who evade their responsibilities by hundreds of thousands? The situation is further complicated because in thousands of cases it is difficult or impossible to establish paternity or the consent of the man to be the husband of the woman he has lived with when there has been no registration of the marriage.

"Consider the marriage situation as it exists in Russia to-day. It is literally possible to marry a girl on Monday and divorce her on Tuesday; no question of alimony is involved, except when there are dependent children. And what is the result of this freedom? There is an appalling number of these casual week-end marriages. From such unions, obviously, have come the suits of the 100,000 abandoned wives, and the 90,000 women who could not find a man to acknowledge paternity of their child. In these nearly 200,000 cases, the men did not avail themselves of the divorce courts. They simply walked off. The 18,000 who apparently did go through the formality of getting a divorce evaded the responsibility of contributing to the support of their children."

The Soviet Russian form of Communism, as Mr. Malkus explains it, has no place for the family. Men and women, except for some concession to biological facts that not even Communism can ignore, have equal rights and obligations. A husband is not required to support his wife, and is only jointly responsible for the support of the children. The woman is expected to provide. Little value is placed on her work in the home; she must be a worker outside the home. To go on:

"This breaking up of family ties, under the Soviet theory of ideal relations between the sexes, frees the woman from 'economic slavery.' It wipes out her status in the bourgeois family life as a 'chattel of the man'. It makes the only bond between husband and wife one of mutual affection and a decent feeling of responsibility. That, is the theory in a nutshell.

But the fact is something else entirely. The idealistic laws as outlined, failed, it seems at least, to give freedom to 208,000 women last year. On

the contrary, these same women were burdened with small children and abandoned to starve. By such a costly process is family life being broken up. As a means of making workers out of women, however, it has certain virtues. The abandoned women will be forced to work to support themselves and their off-spring. The marriage laws have accomplished this much: That they have freed woman from man's domination is not so clearly apparent.

"Any one who has made the most casual examination of the statements of the Soviet leaders can reach no conclusion except that which is forced on him—that the aim is the definite destruction of the family, and that the method is to make family life difficult through economic organization, to destroy the recognized safeguards of the family, and to stifle the ambitions that have made the family the impelling force in all progress as far back as the memory of man goes."

The Literary Digest.

Miss Anna May Wong

The famous Chinese film actress, who has recently made a big success in the screen version of "Mr. Wu," which naturally was a play "right into her hands," and also in a mystery play called "The Green Parrot." She has been one of the most intriguing figures at Hollywood for some years past, and, it is said, is coming to London to appear in a British-made film, the name of which has not been disclosed.

The Tatler



Miss Anna May Wong

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

MODERN INDIA—ITS PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION:
By V. H. Rutherford, M.A., M.B. (Cantab).
Published by the Labour Publishing Company Ltd.
38, Great Ormond Street, London W. C. Price
7s. 6d. net. 268 pages.

This little volume does great credit to the author whose name was a household word in India in the days of the Anti-partition agitation when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for

India. He was one of the small band of Englishmen who befriended India in her trials during that period. The present volume shows how the author has kept up his interest in Indian affairs and has embodied in the volume his mature judgment on British administration in India.

The book consists of 15 chapters besides an introduction which beautifully summarises the scope of the work. It is worthwhile quoting the names of the chapters, which are as follows:—Mahatma Gandhi, Co-operation in the councils,

The Constitution of India, How the People Live, Remedies for Poverty, Agriculture and the Remedy for Poverty, Indianisation, Labour and Trade Union, Emigration and Over-population, Public Health and War against Disease, Public Health and Prohibition, Education, Indian States, British Imperial Excesses for delaying Self-Government for India, The Political Situation. A mere perusal of these head lines will show that there could not be a better enumeration of the burning problems of Indian politics than that contained in these head lines. The treatment of the theme under each chapter is simply enthralling and the most ardent Indian nationalist could not have better put his case before the bar of humanity than what the author has done in this little volume. The publication of the volume at the present juncture is most opportune. India's enemies are all busy doing their worst to retard the progress of India towards self-government in all possible ways. At such a time Indian nationalists must put forth their best efforts in presenting India's case before the world. Otherwise judgment will go by default.

The line of attack chosen by the author is that of the Indian nationalist. No one anxious to usher in a new order of things could take any other. At the very outset the author explains that his object in writing this book "is to right Great Britain in the eyes of India and of the world by prevailing upon my countrymen to grant complete self-government to India" and proceeds to add in the very next sentence that "by denying self-government to one-fifth of the human race we lay ourselves open to the charge of being the greatest barrier to freedom and progress in the world."

About the Montagu reforms the author says that "instead of conferring responsible government upon India, they strengthened and consolidated the powers of the British bureaucracy behind sham Parliaments." The outbursts of communal strife are due according to him to the "communal electorates" in the reforms. All the promises of the British Government about "responsible Government" and "Partnership" are according to him mere sham and dishonest. He quotes in this connection the classical words of Lord Lytton when he wrote "we all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them and we have chosen the least straightforward course. Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear." Every day unfortunately brings new fulfilment of these old words! Regarding the intentions of the British Government the author says:—"The mere fact that Lord Birkenhead, the arch-conspirator of rebellion in Ulster, is Secretary of State for India where 'patriotism' is a crime, punishable at law, proves His Majesty's Government to be 'dishonest' and 'illogical', unless Mr. Baldwin appointed him with the definite intention to lead Indians out of bondage to the promised land of Self-Government."

Regarding Imperialism the author's remarks are

still more poignant. "Clothed in self-righteousness, our besetting sin, we strut like Pharisees over the imperial stage and thank God that we are not like other Imperialists—Greeks, Romans, and Huns (ancient and modern). A little sober thinking might suggest to us that we are greater sinners against a world of peace and goodwill than our imperial brothers the Greeks, Romans and Huns, for they had not the advantage of the light and lessons to mankind which flow from Calvary, the French and the Russian Revolutions." Says the writer and proceeds to add: "Living in glass-houses we denounce German and Austrian Imperialists for doing in Alsace-Lorraine and Italy what we do on a bigger scale in India, Egypt and elsewhere."

The chapter on 'Gandhi', which is a beautiful summary of the political situation in India from the time the Mahatma entered Indian politics up to date, ends with the following inspiring words, "The second chapter (the chapter on 'Indian Politics') ended, according to his enemies, the British Imperialists, in failure, to which conclusion even some of his bellicose friends in the National Congress subscribed. As Mr. Lloyd George would say, he failed to 'deliver the goods', he failed to deliver India from the British yoke. Some day some historian writing in 'How India fought for Freedom' with more enlightenment and longer vision than Imperial weathercocks will relate that Gandhi won a great moral victory over the British Empire; that he shewed to the world that Indian civilization with its gospel of non-violence, sacrifice, and peace is higher than British civilization with its doctrine of the sword, might is right and exploitations of weak nations by physically stronger nations; that he awakened the soul of India from the sleep of slavery so that it will never sink back again under foreign thralldom, and that he influenced world opinion so strongly that the British people must react quickly to it and grant his country the inalienable right to govern itself."

All aspiring young nationalist politicians should read this book and know the other side of the shield.

B. C.

KROPOTKIN'S REVOLUTIONARY PAMPHLETS: *By Peter Kropotkin. Edited with Introduction by Roger N. Baldwin. Vanguard Press, New York City, pp. 307. Price 60 cents.*

Born a Prince of Czarist Russia, Peter Kropotkin became a noted scientist, and then forsook his class and his profession and became the foremost leader of communist-anarchism. With his mighty pen he dissected society, exerting tremendous influence upon all intellectual classes of his day,—scientists, intellectuals, and working men and women. He wrote nine serious and important volumes on the social sciences, but it was through his pamphlets,—printed cheaply that workers in every European land, as well as in China and Japan could read them,—that he exerted the greatest influence. All his pamphlets, except four, which have been published in the English language, have now been compiled in this volume. There is also an appendix containing his famous article on Anarchism written for the Encyclopaedia Britannica, an article treated most objectively and forming a very excellent reference for those who wish a brief resume of the history and principles of the whole

movement. The volume is so arranged that a systematic picture of Kropotkin's teachings may be had.

The volume includes pamphlets on The Spirit of Revolt; on Anarchism: its Basis and Principles; Anarchist morality; Anarchism, its Philosophy and Ideals; Modern Science and Anarchism; Law and Authority; Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners; Revolutionary Government; and the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Government.

One of the most important pamphlets in the volume is his "Appeal to the Young", which is ever fresh and young, and which has moved countless thousands of intellectual professional youth. It was written especially for the intellectuals, and in his preface he takes it for granted that his reader is a young man or woman who has studied a trade or a science for several years at the cost of society, and that he or she has not done this in order to use this training as an instrument of plunder or gain; that the man "must be depraved indeed and utterly cankered by vice who has not dreamed that one day he would apply his intelligence, his abilities, his knowledge to help on the enfranchisement of those who to-day grovel in misery and in ignorance."

Those who wish to have some knowledge of what Anarchism really is, instead of depending upon the ignorant references in the daily press and government reports, could gain much by reading this volume. They will learn quickly enough that an Anarchist is not a man with a bomb in one pocket and a dagger in the other, but a man who holds to a certain social system of co-operation and mutual aid as a life's principle. A principle which will enable thousands of working men and women (such as Sacco and Vanzetti), or intellectuals and scientists of which Kropotkin was a type, to give up a life of ease and luxury, or to face death, is not a principle to be lightly treated. One does not say "be an Anarchist", but one does have the duty of urging, in the words of Goethe: "Light, more light!"

THE STUDY OF MUSIC IN GERMANY: Edited by Karl Kiesel and Ernst Otto Thiele. Published by the University Department of the North German Lloyd in collaboration with the Union of German Students of Music, 1927. Berlin, Margaretenstr. 10. 66 pp. Price not given.

The most complete volume about the study of music in Germany, which has appeared, in the volume under review. It is very beautifully produced, with illustrations, and with every kind of information which a student, desirous of studying music in Germany, should know. There are chapters on The Concert in Germany, Musical Festivals, The New Era in Music, Latest Developments of the Science of Music in Germany, The Voice of the Teacher, Musical Science at the German Universities, The Study of the History of Music, the German Conservatories, Young Germany's Musical Movement, German Opera Staging, The Berlin Collection of Musical Instruments, and a Musical Journey through Germany. At the end of the volume are complete lists, with addresses, of all the musical universities of Germany, of important State, Municipal and private music schools, of the institutes of music at the various Universities, of institutions devoted to church and school music, important music

libraries, leading opera houses, and the cost of living and of study of music in Germany. Every question that a student of music might ask is here answered.

The volume gives some idea of the part played by music in the life of the German people. This role is tremendous, for the Germans are a people who have produced most of the great composers, and to-day in Germany every child is brought up in an atmosphere in which music is cultivated. The musical festivals at the birthplaces of the great composers, are yearly events in Germany—for instance, the Beethoven Festival in Bonn, the Wagner, Brahms and Pfitzner festivals in Munich, the Mozart festival in Salzburg. These festivals, as well as the cultivation of music amongst the masses, keeps alive the traditions by which music is not an amusement of the selected few, but an integral part of the life of the common people. We can easily compare Germany with England and America to see the role played by music. England is known as "the land without music," or at best of very mediocre music. In America there are two opera houses. But in Germany there are some sixty opera houses, dozens of philharmonia orchestras, untold numbers of choruses composed of workmen and women, as well as men and women from other classes. The revival of old German folk songs, and later the cultivation of the classics, is an integral part of the German youth movement.

Those who wish more detailed information should write for the volume under review. It is in the English language.

PASSING THROUGH GERMANY: Published by Dr. Kiesel, Berlin, Margaretenstr. 10. 160 pp.

This is an exceptional guide for English-speaking visitors touring Germany. The English is of a very high order, and the volume is published to give travellers a more complete idea of Germany than they get in ordinary guide-books. Attention is drawn to cultural and educational institutions and in this way an attempt is made to give the visitor more than a sight-seeing view of Germany. All the important historical places are, of course, described, all the beautiful points for sight-seeing are given, but the volume also gives us historical sketches of places and personalities. The book is illustrated with very excellent photographs and lithographs.

A. S.

THE EVIL RELIGION DOES: By Morrison I. Swift. The Liberty Press. Boston—1927, \$ 2.00.

This is a poor performance of a propagandist who has lost his mental balance through racial prejudice and racial hatred. It is neither a thoughtful nor a thought-provoking work and as such does not deserve any serious criticism. The author thinks that the main tenet of Christianity is "love". Christ was an Asiatic and the Asiatic doctrine of love has been the cause of all mischief to the world. It emerged in Asia several centuries after the first initiation of intelligence by the Greeks, nearly twenty-five centuries ago. Love is Asiatic in essence, while intelligence is European! Love turns evolution into retrogression and degeneration. The way of solution is through intelligence. The Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of all men is a direct corollary of the doctrine of the

supremacy of love. The acceptance of Christianity implies the acceptance of the doctrine of the brotherhood of all men and that implies the giving of unrestricted advantage to Jews and Chinese in America, which would ultimately mean the preponderance of these Asiatic races in America and the destruction of American civilisation. America, therefore, needs a substitute for Christianity and the Church. "Were Christians thus Christianised, all immigration bars would be thrown aside, and since China is the most populous and prolific oriental people with Japan her equal in fecundity, successive tidal waves of these two populations would inundate America". It would mean not only the de-Christianisation of all Christians but also the dying of the white race on the North American continent, and then in Europe. In five out of the ten chapters of the book the author gives vent to his hatred and jealousy of the Jewish people in the most shameless, selfish, uncivil and brutal manner. Race hatred can hardly be manifested in a bitterer form. The author hates Christ, because he was a Jew, and hates Christianity, because of its doctrine of love and universal brotherhood, which, in his opinion, had softened the minds of the Americans in allowing the Jews and other orientals to stay and ply their trade in America.

In the first chapter of the book, the author says that the watchword of the Asiatic religion of Christianity is love, whereas "intelligence", which was first discovered in Greece, is the watchword of modern civilisation. He then continues to show the evil effects of love divorced from intelligence and the superiority of intelligence. But though he claims himself to be an apostle of intelligence, he does not show this noble quality to such an extent as to discern the common fact that there is no natural opposition between love and intelligence and that if love divorced from intelligence is the source of many superstitions, intelligence without love would not only be unable to exert any constructive influence on society, but might as well destroy every fabric of civilization. The primary stages of the effect of French enlightenment in the French revolution and the manufacture in our day of weapons of war of ever-increasing destructive power may be pointed out as an illustration of this fact. Love and intelligence are both to be regarded as the two legs of the progressive march of civilisation and either of them without the other might make a lame society slip down on the downward path of degradation and ruin.

If the author is ignorant of the great wisdom and learning of the ancient Indians long before the intellectual career of the Greeks, why does he say that before the Greeks no one dreamed of the powers of intellect? He never heard of the Hindus, the Egyptians and the Chinese! "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread". But such bold rushes are almost becoming an American virtue. Not to speak of this Mr. Swift, even a professor like Mr. Thilly of the Cornell University says in his *History of Philosophy* (New York, 1914, p. 3), "A universal history of philosophy would include the philosophies of all peoples. Not all peoples, however, have produced real systems of thought, and the speculation of only a few can be said to have had a history. Many do not rise beyond the mythical stage. Even the

theories of oriental peoples, the Hindus, Egyptians, Chinese, consist in the main, of mythological and ethical doctrines, and are not thoroughgoing systems of thought. They are shot through with poetry and faith." The Americans seem to have passed their laws of immigration not only against world immigration but also against world knowledge. American knowledge for America, Texas science for Texas. This immigration law forbidding free competition with the people of the world, this artificial insulation of knowledge and activity will gradually bring America down on the sloping hill of culture. Yankee ignorance is sometimes as colossal as Yankee dollars are plentiful.

S. N. DASGUPTA

A PAGEANT OF INDIA: By Adolf Waley, Pp. X+556. (Constable & Co. 1927). Price 15s. net.

This is a history of India from the invasion of Alexander the Great to the death of Aurangzib (1707 A.D.). But it differs from all other histories of our country by concentrating attention solely on the great personalities and ages and rigidly omitting all minor characters and incidents which make Indian history so distracting to the reader. The author's aim was "that the actors in this Pageant should, wherever possible, speak for themselves in their own words as handed down by ancient tradition or as revealed by the historians of those days." And he has succeeded in making the reader see the great epochs of Indian history like a moving scene. His narrative is eminently attractive and the makers of India's history certainly live in his pages, instead of being mere names and shadows. The human element of history has been specially emphasised and illustrated by frequent resort to sources like Jahangir's autobiography, the translations in Elliot and Dowson, *Albarnamah*, besides Tod's *Rajasthan*, Sarkar's *Aurangzib* and *Shivaji*, &c.

Naturally Mr. Waley has produced the best results in his five long chapters on the Great Mughals, because here the materials are most abundant and the heroes most striking. But in doing "the graphic" he has sacrificed depth and accuracy. The people and the economic aspect of history were probably deliberately excluded by him, as a writer concerned with the heroes only. Hence, this work should not be judged by comparison with the regular type of histories.

In a work covering such an enormous length of time and containing so many hundreds of proper names, mistakes are to be expected in a writer who is admittedly not a specialist. But Mr. Waley, in his fondness for picturesque touches, has not exercised his critical faculty sufficiently, so that truth and fiction, contemporary official records and modern romances jostle together in many of his pages, and incline serious students to look askance at this book.

We note a few of the numerous errors in it. Page 4, the discoveries at Mohenjo Daro were made by Mr. Banerji and at Harappa by D. R. Sahani. P. 17, Chanakya was not a minister of Dhanananda. P. 24, the temple of Bodhi Gaya does not "still remain in Buddhist hands." P. 37, were there *Rajputs* in the Sunga period (circa 130 B.C.)? P. 57, Sakuntala was not a Brahman girl, but "fit to be married to a Kshatriya" as Kalidasa says. P. 62, the origin of the Malava era is wrongly given.

P. 126, *Sangagoli* disguises the name *Samjukta*. P. 164, Marwar mistranslated as "the Region of Death." P. 228 and elsewhere *Singram Singh* should be *Saigram Singh*. P. 249 footnote, *Guru* does not mean guardian, but religious preceptor, P. 357 *zer* means below. P. 415 the Boughton myth is repeated. P. 414 the Emperor's court chronicler tells a different tale of Jahanara's burning.

• P. 425, Shuja was the second (not eldest) son of the Emperor (as our author admits on p. 434). There is no proof of Shuja having embraced the Shia religion; even Aurangzib never accused him of heresy. P. 437, the story of the duping of Murad is opposed to the extant state papers. P. 462, the guards did not behead Sulaiman Shukoh, but he was poisoned to death. P. 464, Aurangzib did not "forbid music or singing throughout the empire," but only at Court. P. 469, repeats the myth of a daughter of Aurangzib (*Zinat* this time, instead of *Zeb*) having fallen in love with Shivaji in 1666. P. 470, Shivaji was under surveillance for 3 months (not four). P. 488 the negotiations between Shivaji and Vyankoji are correctly described in the English and French Factory Records, which contradict the tradition quoted from Parasnes and Kincaid here. P. 505, Prince Akbar did not go to Panhala fort, nor was he lodged at *Parli* (but at a small village named *Pali*, east of Bombay island). P. 525 Pam Nayak died when on a visit to Aurangzib soon after the fall of Bijapur. The myriads of Marathas assembled at Raigarh at the coronation of Shivaji must have shouted in Marathi and not in Hindi (Maharaj kij ai).

NANA FARNAVIS, LIFE OF : By A. Macdonald, reprinted with an autobiographical memoir. With an introduction by H. G. Robinson. 5. Illustrations. (Oxford University Press, Rs. 5).

This life of the great Maratha statesman was "compiled from original MSS., family records, and verbose conversations with the relatives and personal attendants of Nana Farnavis," by Captain Macdonald in 1851. The original edition, of which only 250 copies were printed, is now very scarce and costly, and the Oxford University has very wisely added this work to its series of reprints of rare India books, and enriched the reprint by adding Briggs' translation of the autobiographical memoir of the early life of the Nana (the Marathi text of which has been printed in the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha*).

The illustrations are all new, and incomparably superior to the wretched lithographs (done in Bombay) of the first edition. The paper and printing are admirable.

TIBET, PAST AND PRESENT : By Sir Charles Bell, cheap ed., pp. XII+326. with 40 illustrations and 2 maps. Oxford University Press, 1927. Price 10s. net.

Sir Charles Bell was British Political Representative in Tibet for ten years, 1908-1918, and a personal friend of the Dalai Lama. The opportunities that he had of securing accurate information about the country and personally observing it, were unrivalled, and this very useful account of the country, the people, their history and relations with other states, has become the standard work on Tibet. It is further embellished with a narrative of the British mission to Lhasa, the Dalai Lama's visit to India, the Simla Conference (1914),

and Sir Charles Bell's own suggestion as to British policy. He loves the people and has compressed a fund of information into this volume, without, however, impairing its readableness. The appendices contain the texts of important treaties, inscriptions, &c. This cheap edition ought to be in the hands of all who are interested in this little-known land.

PAPER CURRENCY IN INDIA : By B. B. Das Gupta, M. A., Ph.D., B. Sc. (Econ), Lond., with a Foreward by Prof. J. C. Coyajee. Published by the Calcutta University, 1927, pp. XVIII+332.

The subject of Indian currency and finance is highly technical one and the many thorny problems brought into light in the course of recent discussions of the last Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance demonstrated, not for the first time, the need of a special work dealing with the paper currency. The book under notice supplies this want and the author of it, Dr. Das Gupta, deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian economics and those engaged in currency controversies for having, for the first time, singled out the whole theory and system of Indian paper currency for a clear analytic treatment, shorn of the many non-economic issues that rightly or wrongly have been allowed to clog it. But his critical examination of the present position and theory of Indian paper currency is preceded by an account of its development so that we get for the first time a study of the problem in its proper historical perspective. The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains a description of the system of paper currency as it existed before 1861, the year when the business of issuing notes passed from the banks to the Government of the country. In the second part the author traces the growth of the system from 1861 to the present times, and in the course of it he makes a critical examination of the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission. The suggestions he makes are marked by a balanced and sound judgment and deserve careful consideration.

There are three appendices giving the Paper Currency Acts of 1861 and of 1923 and 1925 and extracts from the Currency Bill of 1927. There are two excellent bibliographies—one for each part of the book.

HUNDRED PER CENT INDIAN, By C. G. Shah, Price As. 6 New Era Series, pp. IV and 57.

The "hundred per cent, Indian" is the prototype of the "hundred per cent, American"—the bigoted nationalist, who in order to achieve a perfect unalloyed patriotism rejects all foreign goods, whether cultural or commercial. It is the mentality of such a type that the author exposes and criticizes in his closely reasoned and powerful essay. But when our author identifies the psychology of such a type with that of Mahatma Gandhi and thinks that Mahatma's philosophy idealises a narrow patriotism, we beg, not to differ from him, but just to suggest that he is perhaps—we may be wrong—a little wide of the mark. It is so easy to misunderstand great men.

ART AS WILL AND IDEA : By C. Jinarajadasa, Vice-President of the Theosophical Society, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1927, pp. 197.

A small pamphlet containing six discourses on art in the clear and charming style characteristic of the author.

H. S.

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU POLITY AND POLITICAL THEORIES: *By Narayan Chandra Bandopadhyaya M.A. Part I, pp. X+327. Price Rs. 8. Published by R. Cambay & Co. 15, College Square, Calcutta, 1927.*

The author has already established his reputation by publishing a series of studies on the political and economic life of the ancient Hindus. His "Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India" and his "Kautilya" have demonstrated his capacity for patient analysis of historical data as well as that for comprehensive generalisation. In the present work he surveys the socio-political evolution of the Hindus from the dim prehistoric past down to the establishment of the centralised monarchy under the Mauryas. As is inevitable in such a broad survey, the author is obliged to state briefly or dispose of summarily many complicated problems that challenged the attention of his predecessors in the same field of research. But coming out of the rather dangerous speculative zones of Indo-European and Aryo-Dravidian history, the author makes a laudable attempt to reconstruct the political life of the ancient Hindus out of the surer data contained in the Vedic, the post-Vedic and the Epic literature. He evokes our admiration by his painstaking citations of original texts as well as by his healthy historical scepticism which refuses to be dazzled by the superficial parallelisms with the Western political history. "It is often difficult", says the writer, "to render the ideas expressed by words of Indian vocabulary by using similar ones from the terminology of the West. The word Polity, for instance, never connotes the ideas contained in the word *Rashtra* and it is doubtful whether the *Rajya* can be safely rendered into English by the word *State*." This historical sanity characterises the works of Bandyopadhyaya and makes them eminently useful for the students who are entering the field. His grasp of the ethnological and anthropological significance of many rituals lends to his studies an additional interest. His intensive study of the various tribes and tribal constitutions of ancient India and his co-ordination of the data of the *Brahmana* literature, with those of the Great Epics, make this first part of his survey specially valuable. His development of the idea of Dharma, of elective loyalty, of king as "the moral guardian of the community" and such other items make his book eminently readable and interesting. We recommend it to the students of Indology and of comparative politics.

MANU'S LAND AND TRADE LAWS: *By R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, B. A., Higginsbothams, Madras. 1927.*

New discoveries upset periodically the academic stomach of some scholars. Here is a case in point. The Sumerian hypothesis of Hall was backed by the wild conjecture of Waddell connecting "the Phoenicians of the 30th century B. C. with the Indo-Sumero-British (!) Confederacy of Central Asia" and identifying them with the Panchalas of Mahabharata! This Waddellian revelation threw Mr. Ayyar into a paroxysm

of historical speculation and he ended by discovering in his turn that the "Code of Manu is essentially Sumerian in origin and was compiled from the same source as king Hammurabi's Code of Babylon, the Assyrian Code and the Hattic Code of Cappadocia." We would request the learned author to condescend to leave for a while the supernal heights of Sumerology and read Manu's Code, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Arthashastra, etc., in the originals and not in the English translations. That may help him to form clearer ideas about "Manu's Land and Trade Laws."

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDA AND UPANISHADS: *By Arthur Berriedale Keith. Pp. XVIII+683. Price 45Sh. Harvard Oriental Series. Vols. 31 and 32.*

These two sumptuous volumes embody the researches of Prof. Keith into the Samhita-Brahmana strata of Indian culture. The manuscript was ready for print as early as 1916 (June), but the gods of the European political Olympus frowned and the book could not go to the press till as late as June 1924! The British politicians were too much engrossed with "Imperial concerns" to think of the culture of India, especially of the dim Vedic ages! So Prof. Keith had to wait and wait till Prof. Lanman arranged to publish these volumes in his memorable Harvard Oriental Series. The comment of Prof. Keith is significant.

"..... Some share of the blame must fall on the deplorably inadequate provision made for Sanskrit research in this (Edinburgh) University, as the result in part of public indifference, in part of the many insistent demands on strictly limited academic resources. It is deeply to be regretted that British opinion should be so heedless of the duty of contributing to the investigation of the ancient civilisation of a land whence Britain has received so much of her power and wealth."

That such a renowned scholar should be forced to seek the hospitality of an American publishing board is no doubt a case of "inexcusable neglect" and is symptomatic of the progressive invasion of the spirit of material exploitation of India without reference to her rich cultural legacies. What a retrogression from the days of Sir William Jones, Colebrooke and Alexander Cunningham!

The two volumes are condensed summaries of practically the entire mass of discussions on Vedic antiquities. The language, race and superstitions, the cults, rituals, and speculations of the Vedic Indians have been described and tested in the light of Comparative Philology, Mythology and Religion. The main sections of the book discuss the nature of the Gods and Demons of the Veda, the Vedic Ritual and the Philosophy of the Veda. The treatment, as is characteristic of Prof. Keith, is exhaustive with up-to-date references so that if any one finds it inconvenient to accept the reading of the author he may form his independent judgment by consulting the original sources. In spite of a rather summary treatment of individual theories and isolated topics, this book of Prof. Keith will stand as the most complete and up-to-date compendium of Vedic lore in the English language. Eight important appendices help the readers to follow the latest speculation into the age of the Avesta and the Rigveda, the Indo-

European fire cult, the cremation and burial and specially the Dravidian element in Indian thought. The Harvard Oriental Series, under its devoted editor Prof. Lanman, has spared no pains to make the book a model for oriental publication. An exhaustive general and Sanskrit index enhances the value of the book, which should be in the hands of every student of Indology.

K. N.

THE CHILDREN'S LIFE OF JESUS (IN THE BIBLE'S OWN WORDS): Arranged by Arthur Mee: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., London.

In the present volume the life history of Jesus has been traced not from historical sources or documents, but from the Bible itself. In a word, the Bible has been re-arranged in a way suitable and pleasant to the children. The words and style of the Bible have been kept intact. The arrangement is so skilful and nice, without the slightest injustice to the Biblical text, that the book attracts the reader at a glance and extorts admiration. It is profusely illustrated, and the illustrations are fine. The get-up also is nice. We are confident, the book will be highly liked and appreciated by children.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE: By Swami Abhedananda. Published by Brahmachari Santa Chaitanya. Ramkrishna Vedanta Society, Calcutta.

Enunciation of the knowledge of the true self is the theme of the volume. To know one's self is a very difficult thing, and the author helps the reader to overcome that difficulty by looking at self from different view-points. It will serve as a guide-book for those who strive for self-development and a true understanding of human nature.

P. Sen-Gupta.

BENGALI

DULALI: By Ramendu Dutt. To be had of Messrs Guradas Chatterji & Sons, 203-1-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

This is a book of short stories. The author is a young writer, but his poems and stories bear mark of his literary talents. The stories in the volume before us are simple, clear and quite good in style. They afford a very pleasant reading.

SWAMI GFETA: By Purnananda Swami. Collected and arranged by Shivakrishna Dutta. R. A. Brendra Library, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price as 10.

This is a book on spiritual topics. It will be valuable to those who are interested in matters religious.

P. Sen-Gupta.

VISVA-BHARATI PUBLICATIONS

We have received the following neatly got-up volumes of Tagore's works, published by Rai Saheb Jagadananda Ray from the Visva-Bharati, Granthalaya 217, Cornwallis St. Calcutta.

1. BALAKA—Third Edition, pp. 117. Price Re 1-12 as.

2. SISHU BHOLANATH—pp. 86, Price Re. 1

3. MUKU—Fourth Edition, pp. 60. Price Six annas

4. GORA—Fourth Edition, pp. 649. Price Rs. 3.

5. SANKALAN—First Edition, pp. 385. Price 1-14as.

These are all very well-known works of Tagore. The fourth is a book of Selections.

H. S.

HINDI-SANSKRIT

JAINA INSCRIPTIONS PART II (containing Index of Places, Glossary of Names of Acharyas, &c.): Collected and compiled by Purin Chant Nahar, M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. Calcutta, 1927: price Rs. 5 (Pages 132+84+26).

This is the second volume of Jaina inscriptions published by Mr. Puranchand Nahar, who has been doing yeoman's service to the cause of Jaina epigraphy by making accessible to the student of Jaina epigraphy and history the vast material hidden in temples. The present volume contains the transcripts in Nagari characters of 1111 epigraphs taken from 86 places so far apart as Ranpur in the east to Barmer in Marwar in the west and from Delhi in the north to Malda in the south. As the oldest of the transcribed inscriptions dates back only from the ninth century A. D. and the vast bulk of the inscriptions refer themselves to the 16th century A. D. and later dates, the antiquarian interest of the collection is strictly limited and the compiler cannot therefore be blamed for not having illustrated the facsimiles or photographs of more than a few inscriptions. The fact that not more than a dozen of the inscriptions in the entire group of over 1100 inscriptions mostly on images are undated is an eloquent testimony to the chronological sense of the Jainas. The historical value is, however, not so great, as in most of the cases, the name of the ruling sovereign does not occur.

The Nagari type used for the book is of an antiquated character in which several letters not familiar to the reader frequently occur. Typographical mistakes are considerable. One should have liked to see the correct reading of originals with amendments in brackets according to established epigraphical usage. The value of the book would have been enhanced if it were accompanied by explanatory notes and translation at least of the more important inscriptions. There is no list of plates, but the various indexes giving lists of place-names, lists of kings, lists of Gotras and Gachchas or clans of the acharyas and lay-worshippers are valuable. It is hoped that a critical general introduction, if possible in English, will be published at least along with the last volume of the series. In that case, the general public will be able better to judge of the value of the contribution of the Jainas to the history and culture of ancient India.

K. N. D.

NEPALI

VIKRAMOVASI: By Lt. Gen. Kaiser Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E.

Every language in the early stages of its development has to enrich itself with translations

of classical masterpieces, and it augurs well for the future of Nepali literature, that Lt. Gen. Kaiser Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E., the 3rd son of H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal, has made his first debut in the field of letters with a Nepali translation of Kalidasa's great drama, *Vikramorvasi*.

Lt. Gen. Kaiser, a worthy son of a worthy father, is eminently fitted for the task he undertook. The success he has achieved in translating a great Sanskrit drama into his country's vernacular reflects no small credit on his literary acumen.

A translator's task is always difficult, for the translation, if it is made too literal, often fails to retain the spirit of the original. Gen. Kaiser, however, seems to have succeeded in a task in which many less gifted men would have failed. The chief merit of his work lies in the simplicity and elegance of his style, and in the avoidance of Sanskritic words, as far as possible. It is pleasant to find that the great poet hardly suffers at the hands of his translator, whose principal aim seems to have been to enable his readers to appreciate something of the grandeur and beauty of Kalidasa's poetic style and thought.

The story of the love of *Pururavas* and *Urcasi* which is the theme of the drama, is perhaps too well-known to need repetition here. Suffice it to say that out of the Pauranic legends and other mythological sources, Kalidas wrought this drama of infinite tenderness and pathos, dealing with the love of a gallant prince for a celestial nymph whom it falls to his lot to rescue from the clutches of a demon who was carrying her off. The love of the two souls is depicted in all its phases—the ecstasy of their longing for each other, the rapture of their union, the agony of their separation, and finally, the consummation of their reunion on earth, and in heaven, effected through the power of love transforming the human lover into a divinity. In the whole range of dramatic literature, there is hardly anything comparable to the frantic grief of *Pururavas* for his lady-love, who, without the former's knowledge, had been changed into a vine, and for whom the lover moved heaven and earth, enquiring of every bird and beast, of every hill and dale, of her whereabouts (Act IV). It recalls the heart-piercing lamentations of Ram Chandra for his beloved Sita, after she had been carried away by Ravana.

Such is the work, the translation of which by Gen. Kaiser has been a real service done to his country, being a welcome addition to the scanty literature extant in Nepali. If Gen. Kaiser's book leads to greater appreciation of literature amongst his countrymen, as it is hoped it will, his labours in the fields of Parnassus will not have been altogether vain.

Animesh Ch. Ray Choudhury.

PERSIAN

MIRAT-I-AHMADI: By Ali Muhammad Khan, Persian text, vol. II, edited by Prof. Sayyid Nawab Ali, with a Foreword by Jadunath Sarkar. Gakwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. Pages viii+624. Price Rs. 12.

The Gakwad's Government has earned the titude of students of Indian history, by making

this extremely valuable account of Gujrat affairs from 1707 to 1760 A. D. available to the public. The author, Ali Muhammad Khan, was the last diwan of the province of Gujrat under Mughal rule (1747-1761) and an indefatigable collector of state papers, statistics and historical and topographical information of all kinds. The high value of the work is thus emphasised by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar:—

"From the reign of Akbar onwards, his book is unique among the Persian histories of India inasmuch as the author has incorporated in it the full texts of a very large number of official letters and orders of the Imperial Government [of Delhi].—Thus, the best raw materials of social and administrative history have been preserved for us by him.... For the half century following the death of Aurangzib, the *Mirat* gives the fullest history... of that province. In fact, we have no such complete, graphic, and systematic account of that decline and fall [of the Mughal empire] in any other province.

"The narrative history is supplemented by a second [really third] volume giving a very detailed topographical description of the province, the lives of its saints, an account of the official classes, their salaries and duties, and the administrative system in general. In short, the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is the only work of the class after Abul Fazl's justly famous *Ain-i-Akbari*, as a source of accurate information of diverse kinds relating to the Mughal empire."

Of the text the first volume (ending with the death of Aurangzib, 1707) and the third were lithographed in Bombay, but so wretchedly as to be "the despair and rage of serious students." There seems to have been an earlier edition of the entire work, lithographed at Palanpur more than forty years ago, but we have not been able to trace it.

Prof. Nawab Ali has here printed the second volume (covering the eventful period from the death of Aurangzib to the Maratha annexation of Gujrat) at the excellent Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta. (Misprints in respect of dots and diacritical marks have not been entirely avoided.) The first and third volumes of the text are announced as in the course of printing and we shall welcome them heartily.

X.

HINDI

PREMA PATHA (OR THE PATH OF LOVE):—A NOVEL: By Pandit Bhagawati Prasad Bajpeyi—Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laherna Sarai, Pages 4+286. Price Rs. 2 only.

Ramesh feels irresistibly attracted towards Tara, a cousin of his wife. This attraction increases when Tara becomes a widow—indeed it develops into an infatuation. The story, however, does not end in elopement, widow-remarriage or death.

There are several things in the story which jar on one's artistic sense. It is difficult to conceive of a young Hindu widow who talks of love in the way Tara does, and still remains so perfectly green and unsophisticated. From what we have seen of the two characters, Ramesh and Tara, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the solution arrived at by the author. Tara's rebuff and Ramesh's

transformation both seem strange, unconvincing and unaccountable.

The author has hampered his story by his frequent discussions on various topics—social and otherwise. We fail to understand why the editor of the *Modern Review* should have been brought in and taken to task for allotting so much of the space at his disposal to the writings of Rabindranath Tagore.

MEGHNADA VADHA: *Translated from the Bengali by Madhupa. Published by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi Pp 190+290+13. Price 3-8.*

In many respects it is a remarkable performance. It is true there is hardly anything original in the long introduction, but the author has laboriously compiled from different sources, all that is worth knowing about the life and work of the poet. He has taken great pains to place before his readers a perfectly faithful and literal translation of Michael Madhusudan Datta's poem. He has also done his best to bring out the force of the original verse in Hindi.

Unfortunately he has attempted the impossible. In spite of his best efforts we do not find in his version the unparalleled majesty and grandeur of the Bengali poem. In his anxiety to be literal he has in many places violently twisted and tortured the Hindi Language so that it is with difficulty that we grasp the meaning. He has imparted force to the rhythm, but has not been able to avoid monotony.

M. B.

SANGIT GITANJALI: (*A book of notations of poems set to music by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore*): By Pandit Bhimrao Shastri.

Rabindranath's Gitanjali has acquired a world-wide fame, but few outside Bengal know him as a musical composer of a very high order. Having drunk deep from the fountain of Oriental Music Dr. Tagore broke away from the shackles of convention which hampered progress and new creations in the domain of this fine art. The editor of this volume has rendered great service to the musical world outside Bengal by transcribing into Hindi notations accurate renderings of these immortal songs of the poet. Pandit Bhimrao Shastri is a professor of music of the Vishva-Bharati and during his long residence at Shantiniketan he took great pains in mastering Dr. Tagore's songs, and the delicate subtleties of the tunes have been carefully preserved in the notations contained in this book. We recommend this volume to all who are interested in music.

D. T.

VANAMALA: *A collection of short stories to which are appended two one-act plays*: By Chandiprasad B.A., Hridayesha. Published by the Chand Office. Allahabad, pp 4+548. Price 3.

It is refreshing in these days to find an author writing short stories without making any appeal to the lubricity of the readers. In all the stories the author has maintained a dignified moral tone. As a matter of fact, in his anxiety to retain this ideal he has on many occasions sacrificed art. He seems to be too conscious of his mission. Thus, some of his characters take to direct preaching, while some rush out into sentimental rant. The conversation even between husband and wife or mother and son is generally stilted and artificial.

Melodramatic and improbable situations spoil the charm of some of his stories. His defence of suicide in one of his stories is a study in fallacious reasoning.

The same faults appear in his plays. The effect of the first play has been completely marred by the final outburst of Shyama. The other play, Vinasha-lila, is sheer horror-mongering and so absolutely hopeless.

The printing and general get-up of the book are excellent.

VIDHAVA-VIVAHA-M'ANSA: By Gangaprasad Upadhyaya, M. A. Published by the Chand Office, Allahabad. Pp 35+3+216. Price Rs. 3.

Within a short space the author has collected a great mass of material to prove the necessity of widow-remarriage. Practically every argument that can be brought forward for widow-remarriage has been briefly and forcibly stated. Advocates of widow-remarriage will find it a very useful handbook. The book does not give a history of the agitation for widow-remarriage in India, which is a short-coming. In the 11th and the 12th chapters the author has given some instances of the evils of enforced widow hood. We would have been glad if the author had spared us these disgusting details. These are well-known evils and not necessarily confined to widows; and a collection of sordid facts does not help the argument. The letters have their value as human documents; but here, too, the author should have shown more discrimination.

The poems should not have found a place in this book. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent; but the pictures are a disgrace—the sooner they are removed the better.

M. B.

MARATHI

MATRI-PADA: By Dr. Bhaskar Mahadev Tembe. Pp. 154, with 10 Illustrations. Price Rs. 1½ (Yeolmal, Berar)

This is another of the useful works in which Dr. Tembe is trying to diffuse accurate knowledge on health matters by means of popular booklets in the vernacular. The present volume deals with maternity and the care of infants in eleven chapters, besides an introductory one and a thirteenth giving practical information (country remedies) on a variety of subjects connected with motherhood. The type is large, the printing clear, and the language simple. This series ought to have a wide circulation in Marathi-speaking households.

X,

GUJARATI

STORIES OF TRAGIC PLAYS IN GREEK LITERATURE: By Mrs. Lavangika P. Mehta, B. A. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, pp. 250. Price Re. 0-10-0. (1926).

This is a translation of an English book on the subject published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society. It gives a connected idea of the tragedies

written by such well-known Greek dramatists as Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Such a book was wanted in Gujarati to give us an idea of the best that was in Greek Literature in this line, and we congratulate Mrs. Lavangika on her having done it so well and so ably.

KANKAVATI : *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Saurashtra Press, Rampur. Paper cover, pp. 105. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1927).*

Married and unmarried girls in all provinces of India have their own vows to observe and rites and ceremonies to be performed on special days before particular gods and idols with a view to win their blessings and favor. Such observances are called **વ્રત** in Gujarati and a large amount of popular lore has accumulated round each one of such **વ્રત**. Tales relating to such observances are collected and set out, one may say scientifically, in this little book, which furnishes delightful reading and perpetuates certain valuable literature which otherwise would have disappeared.

JVAN PRABHAT OF ITALY : *By Lalliprasad S. Dave, B. A.*

An original production on the rise of modern Italy.

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD : *By Kalyanrai N. Joshi.*

A translated treatise on the subject of the earlier civilisation of mankind.

SCIENCE OF POWER OF BENJAMIN KIDD : *By Manilal C. Parikh, B. A., LL. B.*

A good translation.

MALLA VIDYA : *By Bhagirath Harkhaji Jeshthi.*

A treatise on the art and science of wrestling, written from original sources with illustrations and practical hints on the subject.

ELEMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGY : Himatlal K. Bakshi, B. A.

A translation of an English work.

The above five books are published by the Commissioner of Education and Vidyadhikari of the Baroda State.

THE LIFE OF GURU DATTATREYA AND SATI ANASUA MATA : *By Dattatreya Buva of Surat.*

It gives full information about these two saintly personages.

BURATO DIPAK, PART II : *By Kakalbhai Kothari.* It narrates the pathetic details of the life of the last of the Moguls and his family members. It is as affecting and well translated as the first Part.

SATYA VIR SHRADHDHANAND : *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Rampur. Paper cover. Pp. 124. Re-0-8-0. (1927.)*

A very admirable original work, full of details of the life-work of one of the best of our countrymen. It should be widely read. Its low price should help it in gaining a large circle of readers.

SHODASH GRANTHA : *By Shastri Keshav Sharma of Mungrol.*

Gives Sanskrit Slokas with their Gujarati verse equivalents, of several prayers written by Shrimad Vallabhacharyya,

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

More "Strange Coincidences."

As on page 607 of your November issue you have pointed out "a strange coincidence" between what Miss C. D. Fawcett wrote in 1901-2 and what Messrs. Anathnath Chatterjee and Tarak Chandra Das have written in 1927, I am emboldened to point out some such coincidences in Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee's "Foundations of Indian Economics."

On page 156 of the book the following sentence occurs—"The most skilful hand-spinners in India are those of Dacca; they are producing today yarns of a fineness that no machinery in the world could spin from the inferior staple which they use. It would thus appear that the European spinner, with all his beautiful machinery, may still have something to learn from the hand-spinner."

Now, compare with the above, the following

lines from Sir George Watt's *The Commercial Products of India* (page 617):

"The point of interest in these Dacca muslins, however, lies in the fact that the hand-spinners of Dacca are producing to-day yarns of fineness that no machinery in the world could spin from the inferior staple which they use. Dr. Taylor wrote in 1840 that the Dacca spinners failed to use the fine American cottons, and gave as their reason the fact that the English yarn swells on bleaching, while that of Dacca shrinks and becomes finer and stronger. It would then appear that the European spinner with all his beautiful machinery may still have something to learn from the hand-spinner" (Quoted by Shah in *Trade, Tariffs and Transport in India*, page 128, footnote).

It is not necessary here to discuss whether Mr. Mookerjee's "to-day" and Sir George Watt's "to-day"

referred to the same period of history; nor whether Mr. Mookerjee's omission of the reference to Dr. Taylor was intelligent.

Then on pages 363-64 of Mr. Mookerjee's book, we read—

"The evidence given before the 'Sweating System Committee' has shown how the furniture and ready-made clothing palaces and the bazaars of London are mere exhibitions of samples or markets for the sale of the produce of the small industries. Thousands of sweaters, some of them having their own workshops and others merely distributing work to sub-sweaters who distribute it again amidst the destitute supply those palaces and bazaars with goods made in the slums or in very small workshops. The commerce is centralised in those bazaars not the industry."

Now see what Kropotkin says in his *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (page 280):—

"The evidence given before the 'Sweating System Committee' has shown how far the furniture and readymade clothing palaces and the 'Bonheur des Dames' bazaars of London are mere exhibitions of samples or markets for the sale of the produce of the small industries. Thousands of sweaters, some of them having their own workshops, and others merely distributing work to sub-sweaters who distribute it again amidst the destitute, supply those palaces and bazaars with goods made in the slums or in very small workshops. The commerce is centralised in those bazaars—not the industry" (Nelson, new and revised edition)

Mr. Mookerjee has been good enough to omit the French expression "Bonheur des Dames" obviously for the convenience of his Indian readers.

Again on page 370 of Mr. Mookerjee's book we find:

"If we analyse the respective advantages of both the great and small industries we find the following three factors are in favour of the former:—(1) division of labour and its harmonic organisation; (2) economy in the cost of motive power; and (3) the advantages offered for the purchase of raw materials, tools etc., and the sale of the produce. Of these three factors, the first exist in small industries as well and to the same extent as in the great ones (watchmaking, toy-making and so on:) the second is more and more eliminated by the progress achieved in applied science."

Cf. Kropotkin:—

"The work of O. Lohwarz is interesting by its analysis of the respective advantages of both the great and the small industries, which brings the author to formulate the following three factors in favour of the former:

(1) economy in the cost of motive power;

(2) division of labour and its harmonic organisation; and (3) the advantages offered for the sale of the produce. Of these three factors, the first is more and more eliminated every year by the progress achieved in the transmission of power; the second exists in small industries as well and to the same extent as in the great ones (watch-making, toy-making and so on), (*Ibid*) Appendix, X, page 469).

Moulmein

Ganapati.

Social Revolt Both to Rise and Rouse

You have done me the honour of commenting in your valuable Review for November (at page 627) upon a remark, that I made in one of my speeches. At the end of your note you observe "We do not know whether in Madras the Non-Brahmin social (or is it merely political?) revolt against Brahmins has led the Chettis and other Non-Brahmins to interdine and intermarry with castes considered inferior to them. It is a poor revolt which only wishes to rise but not also to raise."

This gives the impression, that I have ignored the fundamental point that you have raised. The very next sentence to the one that you have quoted in my speech will show that I drew pointed attention to this aspect of the Social Revolt of the Non-Brahmin movement. The portion of my speech that I refer to is as follows:—

"But the justification for and the success of this social revolt will entirely depend upon an uncompromising repudiation of the entire system on the part of those who have inaugurated the revolt. If such social revolts have not so far met with that measure of success which they deserve, it is due to the fact that communities which claim equality with those above them are not themselves ready to recognise the claims of those below them. So long as a community will in its turn treat certain other communities as inferior in social status, it would have no moral justification for its own claim to equality in social status."

R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.

Post-graduate Anthropology in Calcutta University

We do not know why the ex-student who wrote to the October issue of *The Modern Review* stopped with Mr. Bijoy Chandra Majumdar after criticising him for a very few lines only. Mr. Majumdar is at least one of the prominent figures of that remarkable band of part-time lecturers whom the students never understand as to what he means to teach. His lectures have been described as "fire-side chattings" and "theatrical stage-acting gossip"; but they are something more and worse than that. Thus very often he uses such language and expressions with his usual theatrical gestures as seem hardly the language which the professors should use before students: such as * * * and on some occasions he is mad with his characteristic effusions towards the leading personalities and communities of India. Such are only a few of the specimens that the students are forced to hear in almost all his lectures, forming almost 99.9 p.c. of them. We ask any of the public-spirited persons of Bengal to attend any of his lectures, incognito and publish his opinion about it. He is only a B.L. of the Calcutta University and, we understand a superannuated pensioner of the Sambaipur State with no training in Anthropology whatsoever. Moreover, as he is quite blind, he cannot freely acquire new knowledge. He is appointed to teach Sociology and Religion but the students never

1 On account of their non-scientific and indecent nature we have omitted the examples given.

—Editor, M. R.

understand where sociology and religion come in in his lectures. Sometimes students are asked to read extracts from Bengali Magazines and Newspapers in his class and he comments on them, posing as if that would be the standard of Post-graduate teaching. Regarding the examinations, he sets questions which are not only not anthropological in nature but in some cases absolutely meaningless. Some of these have already been published in the papers; so I do not like to mention them here. We challenge Mr. Majumdar to refute any of the statements given above.

If we are not entirely mistaken, several lecturers have already been dismissed from the Calcutta University for incompetency. Are not the authorities going to take any measure in this case also? Public money is not so cheap, nor should the standard of teaching of the Post-graduate classes be so low.

ANOTHER EX-STUDENT

"A Plea for a Change in the Hindu Law of Marriage"

I have read Mr. D. C. Maitra's "A plea for a

change in the Hindu law of marriage" in the November number of your Review with very great interest. The writer forgets that the whole basic principle of the Hindu law of marriage is that it is considered a sacrament, not a contract, as in other systems of law. The tie once made is irrevocable for life. The writer advocates a radical reform in the social system of the Hindus under the guise of a plea for a change in the Hindu law. The example chosen is neither happy nor typical. The remedy suggested would appear to put a premium on vice and immorality. Mr. Maitra is entitled to plead for a reform in the social system. It is for the Society to accept or reject the same according as it is conducive to the betterment of Society or otherwise. But so long as the Hindu society continues to consider the marriage tie as a sacramental one and not as a contract, I submit there is no necessity for a change in the Hindu law of marriage or for the repeal of S. 497 of the Penal Code. To say the least, Mr. Maitra's proposal is premature and would be to put the cart before the horse.

G. SWAMINATHAN

PROFESSOR HEINRICH LUEDERS' EASTWARD HO!

By TARACHAND ROY

Lecturer at the University of Berlin

ON the 18th of October, leaves Heinrich Lueders Senior Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Berlin, for India. He proceeds first to Ceylon where he intends to enjoy a fortnight's sojourn and thence to the Land of the Vedas. He would tour through the whole of India, in order to obtain firsthand knowledge of the manners and customs of the people, to the study of whose languages and literature he has unremittingly devoted well-nigh 40 years of his life.

Prof. Lueders has been invited by the Calcutta University to deliver a series of six lectures on "The Archaeological Exploration of Central Asia in its bearings upon the history of Indian Literature and Civilisation."

Prof. Lueders intends to visit quite a number of places in India. Mrs. Lueders, who accompanies him on this voyage, has been kind enough to favour me with the following list: Madura, Trichinopoly, Srirangam, Tanjore, Madras, Ootacamund, Mangalore, Bijapur, Bombay, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Mount

Abu, Ajmer, Udaipur, Jaipur, Agra, Muttra, Gwalior, Allahabad, Benares, Gaya, Calcutta, Puri, Darjeeling, Patna, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Delhi, Simla, Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar and Karachi. Towards the end of March 1928 they sail from Karachi for Europe.

Heinrich Lueders was born on the 25th June 1869 in Luebeck, the birth-place of the great German poet Geibel and Thomas Mann, one of the greatest living writers of modern Germany. He was sent there to school in the "Katharineum" where he passed the final examination in 1888. Thereafter he studied in the universities of Munich (under Prof. Kuhn) and Goettingen where Kielhorn, sometime Professor of Oriental Languages at the Deccan College, Poona, was teaching Sanskrit. Heinrich Lueders devoted himself to the study of this language under his guidance. He took his Ph. D degree in 1894 by submitting a thesis on "The Vyasaśikṣa, especially in its relation to the Taittiriya Pratisakhya", for which he was awarded a special prize.

In 1895 Heinrich Lueders was appointed Librarian and Assistant Keeper at the Indian Institute in Oxford, where he worked almost till the dawn of the twentieth century. In 1899 he was admitted as an academical teacher of Sanskrit into the Philosophical Faculty of the Goettingen University. In 1903 he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Rostock. In 1908 he was transferred in the same capacity to Kiel, in 1909 to Berlin as Professor of Indology. In 1909 he was elected member of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, in 1920 he was made its permanent Secretary. Professor Lueders is a corresponding member of the "Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Goettingen", Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, "Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Oslo, Society for Science and Art in Utrecht, Kern Institute in Leiden and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He is Knight of the Order "Pour la merite" and President of the "Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft".

Professor Lueders' activities have been many-sided and manifold. He has made deep researches in Vedic literature and culture (*cf.* "The Game of Dice in Ancient India", etc.), written critical essays on the Upanishads and devoted himself to the study of the Epic and Pali literatures and their relation to each other. He has written several treatises on the legends of Risyasringa and Krsna. We find a short summary of the story of the Jatakas from his pen in the introduction to the "Buddhistische Maerchen", translated from the Pali by his wife Dr. Else Lueders.

Considerable scholarly work has been done by Professor Lueders in the domain of Epigraphy (*Cf.* The Asoka Inscriptions, etc.) He has succeeded in proving from a Khroiti inscription that the Kusana kings called themselves "Caesars".

In Berlin Professor Lueders has carried on researches in deciphering the valuable manuscripts, found in Turkestan in Central Asia. It was he who discovered the oldest Brahmi manuscript which contained the oldest Indian drama, the Sariputrakarakana of Asvaghosa, a work of the greatest importance in the history of Indian literature. He further discovered a manuscript of the 4th century, the original of the so-called Sutralamkara, attributed to Asvaghosa, which has come down to us in a Chinese translation only. Professor Lueders was able to

prove that Kumaralata, not Asvaghosa, was the author of this collection of Buddhist stories and that its title is Kalpanamanditika, not Sutralamkara. He has edited these fragments with a critical appreciation.

Professor Lueders discovered in a leather manuscript dating as far back as time of the Kusanas fragments of a work on medicine which is most probably older than Caraka. He has also published fragments of the Bhedasamhita which is known to us in a single manuscript of Tanjore only. He has contributed a great number of very thoughtful articles to several scientific journals that have thrown a flood of light on very important ethnological and linguistic problems of ancient Turkistan.

Prof. and Mrs. Lueders

Professor Heinrich Lueders is one of the foremost Sanskrit scholars of modern Europe. "He (Lueders) is undoubtedly one of the greatest Indologists of the present day!" said Sten Konow to me when he was here last year to see our far-famed poet Rabindranath Tagore, whose lectures and poems I had the honour to interpret in German during his tour in this country. Professor Lueders is a towering personality in the "Gelehrtenwelt" of Berlin. Tall, strong, summary and severe, he is a man of uncommon organising ability, unshakable convictions, indomitable energy and lion-like determination of purpose. Dowered with a comprehensive intellect, he is not hidebound in the impervious skin of dull and stagnant conservatism, but espouses the cause of progressive ideas, but only of such progressive ideas as struggle into fruitage in the sunshine of soul-force

and do not smother the higher instincts of man and the nobler impulses of the soul.

Professor Lueders is of the opinion that the irresistible march of civilisation has worked havoc with the spiritual advancement of the West. The "Americanism" of Europe is waxing apace and carrying off its inhabitants at a tangent from the circle of true happiness. The western civilisation is more mechanical than spiritual, more worldly than religious. It regards man as a machine and not as a living being, endowed with feelings. Its materialism serves to pamper the intellect, but has no food for the heart. I cannot help quoting Rabindranath Tagore in this connection: "Thus man with his mental and material power far outgrowing his moral strength," says he, "is like an exaggerated giraffe whose head has suddenly shot up miles away from the rest of him, making normal communication difficult to establish. Its greedy head with its huge dental organisation has been munching all the topmost foliage of the world, but the nourishment is too late in reaching his digestive organs, and his heart is suffering from want of blood."

"The long-lived culture of India," said Professor Lueders the other day, "has a special fascination for us, since it accentuates the world of the spirit and assigns a higher place to the quest of eternal truths than to anything else under the sun. We admire its unflinching continuity, the wave of unbroken tradition reaching to the present day. One of the most outstanding features of Indian culture is the inseparableness of Religion and Philosophy in India."

Q. "Does it not hinder Philosophy in its free development?"

A. "Yes, that is true, but on the other hand, it lends a special dignity and solemnity to Philosophy. Philosophy is in such a case no mere play of the intellect. It is a thousand pities that the professors of Philosophy in Europe know so little of the great achievements of the Indian mind in the domain of thought. That is, of course, due to the difficulty of the language in which the works on Indian philosophy are written. Very few of these professors know Sanskrit. Professor Deussen in Kiel was a laudable exception."

Q. "What do you think of his translation of Sarirakabhasya on the Brahma-Sutras?"

A. "It is the work of a pioneer and does great credit to him. Thibaut's translation is more scientific and exact. He had, of course, the great advantage of the ever-ready assis-

tance of the Indian Pandits, whose unrivalled scholarship cannot be too highly spoken of and who are unfortunately gradually dying out."

Professor Lueders regrets to say that very little original work has been done in India for many centuries. We have had no creative genius in the domain of Grammar since Patanjali. Philosophy has hardly advanced beyond the stage of theological scholasticism. I cannot but endorse these views. Every one of us is aware of the fact that in India the hands of progress are bound fast at its back with the rope of tradition. We are not allowed to question the validity of religious and philosophic teachings, hallowed by the incense of time. All independent thinking is nipped in the bud. We must modify our mentality, if we are to march abreast of the times. Our great Kalidasa has said in *Malavikagnimitra*:

उराश्चमित्रे न साधुसर्वम्,
न चापि काव्यम् नवमितावदात्
सन्तः परीक्षान्यतरदभजन्ते,
मृदाः परप्रत्ययेनेयबुद्धिः ।

Professor Lueders warns us, however, against taking a fancy to mere imitation of others. We must remain true to our nature and not try to engraft such growths upon the tree of our evolution as are foreign to our genius.

Professor Lueders is very glad to see that the Indians are awakening to a deeper interest in Science and Art at home. The last twenty years have been a period of incessant activity. Much useful research-work has been done. On the other hand, much intellectual energy has been wasted in vain, since those scholars who do not know German have been treading the track, trod by us a decade back. The importance of the study of the German language cannot be too highly emphasised, since it is the *sine qua non* of all scientific work.

Professor Lueders regards the *Brhadaranyaka* and *Chhandogya Upanisads* as the most important ones for the study of Indian philosophy. He admires Sankara for the ethereal subtlety of his intellect and his depth of thought, but is more inclined to accept the interpretation of Ramanuja, since they are more in keeping with the spirit of the passages commented upon.

Professor Lueders is of the opinion that Hindi is the only language that is best suited.

to be the *lingua franca* of India. It is understood by almost all the Indians. It has hardly any elements that militate against the genius of India as a whole. As regards the script, one might stick to the Devanagari letters or make use of the Latin alphabet with the requisite modifications. We in Europe, said Professor Lueders, read Indian texts (Vedas, Epics, Dramas or Pali stories) in transliteration with as much ease and accuracy as an Indian scholar would do it in the original script.

Professor and Mrs. Lueders are looking forward with great joy to their visit to India. Dr. Else Lueders is an exceedingly charming personality. There is nothing artificial about her. She is marked by a natural suavity of temper full of throbbing life. She is one of

the best ladies that I have come across in Germany. She evinces a very keen interest in Indian affairs. The Great War has spelled great harm to spiritual progress in Germany, says she. It has proved highly detrimental to the composure of the soul. It is but natural that we turn towards India for help at such an hour. India is for the German people the time-honoured home of spiritualism.

I hope that my countrymen would leave no stone unturned in honouring and showing the most cordial hospitality to the distinguished guests who are always ready to help the Indian students in Germany to the best of their powers.

BERLIN—Charlottenburg.

October 11, 1927

LEOPOLD STOKOWSKY

By RAGINI DEVI

LEOPOLD Stokowski, * the famous Conductor of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, is visiting India.

Mr. Stokowski is a world figure in the realm of Western music, and his orchestra is recognized as an organization of talented musicians, so well-balanced, so well-trained and thoroughly skilled in musicianship, that it is accepted without debate as the finest symphonic orchestra America has ever known.

American press reviews describe Mr. Stokowski as "genius," "superman," "prophet," "electrifying personality," "the conductor who inspires"—attributes which are a most convincing testimonial to his greatness.

After many triumphant seasons of concerts, Mr. Stokowski is taking a much needed rest. He has left the United States on an extended tour, not as an orchestral conductor, but as a simple pilgrim, to rest, to meditate and to

* Leopold Stokowski, Conductor of The Philadelphia Orchestra, which is said to be one of the best in the world, is coming to India to study Indian music. He is of Polish origin, and has for years been interested in various forms of Indian philosophy and religion. Amongst other places he will visit are Bombay, Baroda, Amhedabad, Abu, Udaipur, Chitor, Ajmer, Jaipur, Delhi, Agra, Benares, Darjeeling, Calcutta, Madras, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Colombo, Kandy, Nuwara, Eliya, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa. He hopes to take back to America and Europe something of the music and thought of India, so as to make greater understanding and sympathy between the East and West.



Leopold Stokowsky

find new inspiration spiritually and musically.

He has chosen India for his pilgrimage because he has for years drawn inspiration from the various forms of Hindu religious philosophy, and hopes to derive a fuller knowledge of Truth under the guidance of a Guru.

He is also very much interested in Hindu classical music and rhythms. Several Ragas which the writer sang for him to the accompaniment of *Tambura* he thought melodically beautiful. He had also heard some exquisite *vina* music which impressed him deeply, he said.

His travels will take him through Ceylon, and from South India to North as far as Darjeeling. He will also visit the historical temples and the museums of art throughout

India. During his travels he hopes to hear the finest musicians in each province, and to study the theory of Hindu music as well.

He is seeking to know the ancient and true culture of India. It is always the Voice of Eternal Truth speaking through the Vedas, the Bhagabad Gita and other sacred texts, which is heard in the Western world, and impels their people to come with hope to India. It is the spirit of Nada Brahma that somehow still lives in Hindu music despite the confusion of centuries which stirs their hearts.

Mr. Stokowski hopes to take back to America and Europe a message of Truth as revealed in the religion, art and music of India, and thereby bring about a greater understanding and sympathy between the East and the West.

CONDITIONS OF NATIVE AND COLOURED LABOR AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

A Reuter's telegram from Berlin, dated October 13, gives the following interesting news published in the *Manchester Guardian* of the 14th instant:—

"At to-day's meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office the question of native labour came up for discussion. The Executive Body proposed to place this question on the agenda of the next conference, but Mr. Humbert Wolfe, the British Government delegate, objected on the ground that the next conference was already overburdened with work. He was supported by the German Government delegate.

M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, took the opposite view. He declared that the question was ripe for discussion and that the British Government itself had often in the League of Nations spoken in favour of a settlement of this problem, in which the morality of the whole world was engaged. The Canadian delegate was also in favour of dealing with the question.

The British objection was finally sustained by eleven votes against seven. *Most of the workers' delegates voted against it, but the British workers' delegates abstained from voting.*

It was decided to hold the next conference in Geneva on May 30, 1928. The British delegate had suggested October."

It is significant that the British workers' delegates, by abstaining from voting, virtually supported the British Government's delegate on this vital issue. This action strengthens the existing impression that *official British Labor is Anti-Asiatic and is for white man's domination over and exploitation of the so-called coloured and native population of the world.*

The same issue of the *Manchester Guardian* publishes the following report of a protest-meeting against the recent law governing the administration of the native population of South Africa:—

"A meeting was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, last night, to protest against the Native Administration Act of South Africa. Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, who presided, said the Act robbed the local authorities on which the natives had some representation of their power, and made them mere creatures of the South African Government.

These new authorities were given absolute power over the land which was occupied by the native people of South Africa. All the legal rights of land enjoyed by the natives were destroyed, and magistrates were given power to prohibit all

public meetings organised by the natives of South Africa. The Government was empowered to compel any native, even if not charged with any offence, to live where it specified, and magistrates were empowered to sentence any native for using words in speech or writing which were intended to result in a feeling of hostility towards the white population. The indigenous people of South Africa were politically enslaved, and the term self-government was an absolute misrepresentation of the actual condition of affairs there.

Among those who wrote sympathising with the protest were Lord Olivier and Bishop Gore."

Political and economic slavery exists within the British Empire and indeed it is not an over-statement of fact if it is said, as it is often said by many responsible British leaders, that the British Empire is the greatest of the "slave-empires" of the world. Naturally the British Government's Representative in the International Labor Office of the League of Nations would oppose any investigation of the true situation.

It is impossible to discuss in detail the true condition of Native and colored labor in South Africa within the scope of this article; but it may be said that Racial Discrimination and hostile class legislation against the interests of Asiatic and Negro laborers by the white is something akin to legalised peonage and slavery. Those who wish to know the truth about condition of "Natives" (Negroes) in South Africa should read the book "Anatomy of African Misery" by Lord Olivier (Hogarth Press, 1927). "The Crisis," the foremost of the magazines published by the Negroes in America, and which is the organ of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (69, Fifth Ave, New York City gives the following vivid description of this remarkable book:—

"This is by long odds the best book which has appeared on the race problem of South Africa. No person who wishes to be intelligent on the tremendous complications between white and black in this part of the world can afford to be without this small searching and stimulating volume. In twenty chapters he notes the introduction of slavery into South Africa by the Dutch East India Company; the way this idea of slavery was inherited by the incoming poor whites and the extraordinary effect produced when capitalism came and began to dig diamonds.

"The value of diamonds is entirely emblematic; they are a monopolized symbol, the blazon of solid lucre and funded property, worn by women as an advertisement that they are maintained by rich men, and by men as an advertisement that they are the sort that can get rich quick and can lend you money. The special type of instinct which Providence had implanted in Mr. Cecil Rhodes unerringly inspired him to discern that a monopoly of the supply of the finest diamonds was the most

auspicious and appropriate foundation imaginable for a policy of commercial Imperialism."

"The tradition of slavery and caste exploited by capitalistic imperialism spread over the whole Southern half of the continent and led to astonishing contradictions and cruelties. It led, for instance, to giving 280,000,000 acres of land to a million and a half Europeans while five million natives had only partial rights in 20,000,000 acres. In other words, it set up the extraordinary dictum that the native must not be allowed to have land in his own country and that any and every white man is entitled to have whatever land he wants and natives to work it. And to this now the South Africans are trying to add further discriminations and experiments to keep natives from being recognized or paid as skilled laborers. The author quotes a letter:

"The attitude of the colonists is absolutely suicidal. They rely solely on machine guns for their supremacy. All the labor of the country is performed by natives: the whites are degenerating very quickly; they have been morally defeated by the native's power of suffering, by his tenacity of life and lastly but most importantly, by the black man's sense of humor."

It is useless to try to quote further the excellent things in this book. The fact of the matter is as Lord Olivier insists that South Africa is wrecking civilization in its attempt to push the aspiring and educated Negroes down below the lazy impudent and good for nothing white man. In his concluding chapter he says:

"The immediate provocation to the writing of this Anatomy has been the new departure of the South African Government, unique in the history of civilized peoples, in importing the principle of the colour bar into the industrial law of a state heretofore based on the Christian and British Imperial theory of equal human right. That declaration is a menace to the peace of the world."

It is a fact that the British Empire is founded on exploitation of India and virtual slave-labor all over the world. During the World War, and during the signing of the treaty of Versailles, the British Government, British authors and missionaries carried on propaganda against Germany to the effect that the colonial administration and policy of Imperial Germany was detrimental to the native population of Africa, so Germany should be deprived of her colonial possessions which was usurped by Great Britain and her partners in the World War, under cover of the Mandate System. If an International Commission impartially investigates British policy towards the Native (Negro) and Colored (Asiatic) Labor, then the truth will be known to the world and that truth will be no less sensational than the condition was in the Belgian Congo. Thus the British Government's representative aided by those of other states which are seeking British co-operation in the League of Nations has succeeded to exclude the question of

discussion of Native Labor from the agenda of the next session of the International Labor Conference to be held on May 30, 1928.

II

The Indian public, Indian Statesmen and especially the All-Indian National Congress and the Indian Legislative Assembly should carefully study the history of the proposal for an investigation of Native and Colored Labor by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations; because this is a distinct and direct contribution of India's Labor Delegates to the International Labor Conference held at Geneva. In fact, it may be said that it is Asia's contribution to the cause of international working-class movement.

It was Hon. Mr. Joshi and his fellow delegate of the Indian Labor, a little over three years ago, who made the motion that conditions of Native (Negro) and coloured (Asiatic) labor should be investigated. They met with opposition from various quarters; but the Japanese and a few other delegates of the Working Class supported them. In 1926 Lala Lajpat Rai as the delegate for Indian Labor pressed for the passage of the resolution which originated with Mr. Joshi. Lalaji made a compromise, after mature deliberation, to the effect that the question of Native Labor (Negro Labor) should be investigated; and he dropped the question of Colored or Asiatic Labor. Lalaji possibly thought that he should make this compromise to accomplish something. (For details read my article on the subject in the *Modern Review* of August, 1926.) But now it seems that British duplicity and diplomacy has won a double victory of shelving the question of investigation of the Colored and Native Labor Question.

It should be also noted that the British representative made a very ingenious move that the International Labor Conference be held in October and not in May. The real and secret reason for such a move, as it can be seen by those who understand the British game, is to have the meeting of the International Labor Conference held at the time when the Indian Legislative Assembly will be in session. If they succeed in carrying out the change of time of the Conference, then such men as Mr. Joshi, Mr. Lajpat Rai and others will have to choose

between their presence in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi or the International Labor Conference at Geneva; and men like Sir Purusottamdas Thakurdas or, Mr. Haji, if chosen to represent Indian commercial interests in the International Conference, will find it difficult to do so, as their presence in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi should possibly receive first consideration.

From my personal knowledge I know that the question of investigation of coloured and native labor, if properly presented before the next International Labor Conference at Geneva, will receive support from Japanese, Chinese and other Asian delegates and most of the delegates from South American and Central American nations and those of France and other European nations which have no fear of being discredited before the world public. India should send men like Mr. Joshi, Mr. Lajpat Rai and others to the next International Labor Conference. They should be accompanied by other experts.

The All-India National Congress and the Indian Legislative Assembly should co-operate to send at once a delegation of at least three worthy Indians to study the whole situation of Colored and Native Labor in South Africa. This delegation should collect data and present their report as soon as possible, so that it can be printed and circulated before the meeting to the coming session of the International Labor Conference, among the responsible people and journalists of various nations. In this connection I must add that there are very few Indian publicmen, who have any first-hand knowledge about the condition of Indians in Africa. They protest against the ill-treatment of their countrymen, but they depend upon the observation of others and at times act as parrots, repeating the opinion of some other persons, who may be sincere well-wishers of the Indian people, but whose judgment on certain questions may be faulty.

Lastly, I wish to emphasise the point that lately one of the Indian Representatives to the League of Nations was cross-examined in Geneva on the existing social evils in India. Propaganda in an international scale is being carried on against Indian aspirations, because of the existing social evils. The Indian public should concentrate their efforts to purify their society, and at the same time should not lag behind to utilize every opportunity to expose the existing anti-social, barbarous practices perpetrated against the

people of Asia and the Negroes—who comprise about two-thirds of the population of the world.

India is down-trodden. India has much to learn from the West. India will have to reform her own society through the efforts of her own children. At the same time, India must assert that mere existence of social evils in any country cannot be a legitimate reason for its political bondage. It was about 65 years ago slavery was in existence in the United States of America; lynching is an American institution of today. (Up to the present it has not been possible to enact a law against Lynching.) Britain prides herself on being the "Mother of Parliaments",

but serfdom, feudalism and slavery flourished as British institutions even up to the early nineteenth century. British practices towards the Asiatic and negroes have been characterised as "a menace to civilization." In spite of these no American or Britisher will advocate political bondage of their people.

India must assert herself as a free nation by taking active part in International Affairs. If India can take leadership in bringing about the investigation of the Colored (Asiatic) and Native (Negro) Labor she will do a distinct service to the cause of human progress. Will the Indian publicmen and political leaders act with courage, knowledge and fore-sight?

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Chastity the Indian National Ideal

Prabuddha Bharata observes :—

We can never advocate anything which affects the ideal of chastity in the slightest measure. Our national ideal is chastity. The choice is not arbitrary but is inspired by the knowledge that through chastity alone man can ever reach the Truth. No man or nation that seeks to find the Eternal can minimise its importance. The Hindu national and individual ideal is the experience of the Real. Therefore the Hindu hugs the ideal of chastity to his bosom as a most precious heritage. The West as a whole and generally speaking also individually does not aim so high. It aims at worldly and intellectual achievements. The Western civilisation is at best intellectual and not pre-eminently spiritual like the Indian. It is no wonder therefore that it does not attach much importance to chastity. When we seek *bhoga*, enjoyment, chastity is of little consequence. But for *tyaga*, renunciation (and therefore the acquisition of the spiritual), it is indispensable. Were we therefore to imitate the West in this respect, we would not only lose our ideal but also be debilitated and reduced to spineless existence.

It has been said that without the sunshine of feminine charms the powers of man cannot fully blossom, that there is in every man's heart a secret desire for the taste of joy and love which thirsts for satisfaction, and that without such satisfaction life becomes dry and imperfect and powers are dwarfed. As to the necessity of feminine influence for life's fruition, it may be partly true. But if looking on a woman as a physical and mental being and a thing of enjoyment (however refined) be beneficial, will not a spiritual and worshipful attitude towards her be

a thousand times more beneficial? To look upon woman as mother is a million times more honourable to her and helpful to ourselves than a behaviour that has at least an indirect reference to her physical and youthful charms. The heart no doubt longs for the sweets of love. But it is absurd to maintain that it must always be satisfied. We hold that these innate longings are capable of being idealised and spiritualised; and then only do they contribute to the success of life. It may be that those in whom the carnal passions are too strong will have to satisfy their yearnings for love and joy through sexual experience. But those in whom the higher consciousness is even partly awakened can spiritualise those feelings and realise thereby a superior life and joy. Hinduism concedes that the undeveloped should marry. But marriage is not an end in itself. It is after all a compromise, a concession to weakness and is redeemed only by being sublimated to spiritual companionship. Romance is secondary to this ideal of marriage and the predominant tendency is the spiritualisation of emotions and impulses.

Management of Indian Railways

According to *Indian Railways*, one means of effecting improvement in the

* Swami Vivekananda observes in one of his letters: "Without the grace of Sakti. (Woman) nothing is to be accomplished. What do I find in America and Europe?—the worship of Sakti. Yet they worship Her ignorantly through sense-gratification. Imagine, then, what a lot of good they will achieve who will worship Her with purity, in a Sattvika spirit, looking upon Her as Mother!"

management of Indian railways is to educate the people of the country, who are mostly illiterate, in the principles that should guide the Indian railways.

The management of Indian Railways rests with those who are foreigners. Despite their tall talks of efficiency they are dwarfs to catch the moon. If they are efficient managers why are there many defects in the Indian Railway constructions, why do passengers cry for scarcity of water, space and comfort, why do merchants complain of high rates and other irregularities, why do employees grumble for injustices and victimisations and all denounce them for their supernatural top-heaviness? Guarded by the Government of bullets, the managers are being termed as managers; otherwise the world could see them how able managers they are. This kind of Railway running in any other independent country would not have been tolerated for a moment. The passengers, employees, merchants and all others of those countries would tell them straight to vanish if they were found reluctant to mend matters. But alas! this is India, 95 per cent of the people of this country is timid and ignorant.

The five-percent educated men of India have their different associations to criticise the affairs of the administrators of Indian Railways. They are not successful in any way, because they have non-co-operated with their firm energy and with their illiterate brethren. Passengers, through their associations petition for comforts, employees for justice, merchants for favourable rates and routes, but no-body effects a little with their blunt weapon of petition only. The Railways show them firm attitude, why can't they show them theirs? Petitions, we dare say, will make their attitude more firm.

Instead of petitioning the Railways administrators, let them educate, while travelling, their unlettered brethren in trains. Let all educated inter and third class passengers take one compartment each and educate the rest in the principles that should guide the Indian Railways. Gradually they will see the obduracy of the managers will cease, and their all—they will find.

Inferiority and Superiority Not Racial

Mr. John Eddy Asirvatham, Ph. D., writes in the *National Christian Council Review* :—

Differences in themselves do not constitute superiority or inferiority. To say that a race-horse differs from a draught-horse is not the same as saying that the one is superior to the other under all conceivable circumstances. If in the past races which were imbued with an aggressive spirit carried everything before them, it does not mean that they will continue to do so always. It is conceivable that circumstances will so alter in the future that races imbued with passive virtues will enjoy the advantages now enjoyed by the aggressive types.

If there are differences, there are also resemblances. Crows are black all the world over.

Human nature is pretty nearly the same everywhere. Races do not differ significantly in psychological endowments. 'Race,' says M. Demolin, 'is not a cause; it is a consequence.' In his book on Anthropology, Marett observes that as, judged simply by his emotions, man is very much alike everywhere, from China to Peru. Elsewhere in the same book, the writer notes, 'whereas customs differ immensely, the emotions, one may even say the sentiments, that form the raw material of morality are much the same everywhere.' Mr. Oldham gives it as his considered opinion that the basal qualities of the human mind are the same among all peoples. There are the same dominant instincts, same primary emotions, and same capacity for judgment and reason. To quote Ratzel, 'Variations are numerous, but not deep.'

If human beings have a common human nature, what are we to say of the allegation that there is an instinctive prejudice on the part of one race towards another, especially if one of them happens to be coloured? Much of this prejudice, we believe, is not instinctive at all. It is the result of early education and social suggestion. With reference to England, Rev. H. A. Popley says, 'Boys and girls hear a great deal of the faults and vices of other peoples before they learn of their virtues. We know the Italian is dirty and the Frenchman a frog-eater long before we know of the imperishable art culture of Italy or the literary treasures of France. In regard to the coloured peoples, the contrast is still more striking. Most English boys know only of the "blackhole of Calcutta" and the treachery of Nana Sahib, and nothing of the greatness of Asoka and Akbar. These instinctive prejudices must be inhibited in youth by proper education.' Moreover, a whole nation like the French are comparatively free from the bitter colour feeling evinced by some other races. As a matter of fact, we find that when the coloured are few in number and do not offer any serious competition in the economic field, or are not a thorn in the side of the dominant white race in the political world, there is hardly any prejudice.

The Teacher is the School

In the *Young Men of India* Mr. N. K. Venkateswaran expresses the opinion that

The teacher is the school. It was so of old. It is so wherever education bears its finest blossoms.

In the spacious days of old, India was the land of *Gurus*. That word is still a hallow word wherever in India her ancient traditions live. The blessing of the *Guru* still forms the greater part of every true Indian's outfit for life. The great universities of ancient India were like the resplendence of shining lights. The procession of adoring youth come from all quarters, thronged at their feet. Instruction was unnecessary. The mere contact was enough. They came here to light their lamps at the great festival of lights. The key to knowledge was their quest, the spark to make a fire of their own. To them the teacher was all, the fountain from which inspiration flowed through a thousand perennial channels.

Wherever teaching is seen to rise above the purely mechanical humdrum business to which it has been extensively degraded in modern times, there the teacher also is seen to rise to his true stature, transcending the school and creating a new school, whose bricks have been quarried from nellowed wisdom. The school-house may be modest or grand, but the glory of the school radiates from him alone.

for it. In any case co-operation is the main thing needful, and truly did His Royal Majesty on the occasion of his coronation in India observe: "If the system of co-operation can be introduced and utilised to the full, I forsee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country."

Reminiscences of Sister Nivedita

Economic Difficulties of Bengal Raiyats

Khan Bahadur S. A. Latif writes in the *Indian Journal of Economics* :—

The economic difficulties which a Bengal raiyat has to contend against are accentuated by the exceedingly small size of his holding. The fertility of the soil in Bengal and the various fruit crops (e.g., betelnut, cocoanut, jack, mango, plaintain etc.) which he derives from his holding do not serve as an adequate set off. The only panacea lies in education and co-operation. Cultivators require to be educated in methods of intensive cultivation. They should learn how to grow a variety of crops on the same plot of land without impairing the quality of the soil by the use of different kinds of manures. They may be taught to go beyond the results of experiences of their fathers in order to keep abreast of the changes of the day and to follow closely the movements of agricultural science and practice. Real agricultural education which will teach a cultivator how to improve his profession instead of shunning his ancestral calling will make up a good deal for the so-called "disability of agriculture." The socialistic ideal of a centralised agricultural system must replace the growing economic individualism. The old rural communalism which has died out in many provinces without being accompanied by the birth of any new conception of social solidarity should be restored. The old communal habits should be adapted to new social and agricultural needs. Co-operative associations for carrying out experiments in new methods of agriculture and organisation should be formed throughout the country.

In the matter of size of the holding the Japanese and the Bengali are almost similarly circumstanced. But the Japanese cultivator is far more prosperous than his Bengal compeer, and this is due to his superior methods of agriculture and better organisation. In Japan there are diverse forms of co-operative organisations and brotherhoods. There are societies for the improvement of seeds and manures, for killing insects and destroying weeds for breeding cattle and the like. The evil of fragmentation is dealt with in that country by the adoption of methods of communalism which prevailed in the days of yore in India. The Japanese law permits a certain majority of farmers in a village to apply for forcible allotment and "restripping" of the land, each man receiving a consolidated block in one or two places. In the Punjab co-operative consolidation by consent has been effected in a number of villages. There should be some sort of legislation to enforce the consolidation of holdings where a majority of cultivators in any area for adequate reasons apply

The Vedanta Kesari gives a translation of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's reminiscences of Sister Nivedita, originally written in Bengali and contributed to the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. We reproduce almost the whole of it below.

In 1902, just before the Durga Puja, Sister Nivedita spent a week at Buddha-Gaya. In response to her call I also went there from Patna. A few hours after my arrival she arrived from Calcutta accompanied by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Jagadishchandra Bose, Gupta Maharaj (Swami Sadananda—formerly an employee in the Gaya Railway Station), his nephew (whom the Sister always addressed simply as 'nephew') and Swami Saradananda. The guest house of the Mahant was fixed for our accommodation. The day-time we spent in discoursing on various topics relating to the life and teachings of the Lord Buddha, and in the bright shade of the cool evening we would meditate sitting under the great Bo Tree, or silently reflect on the past glory of the Buddhistic Age. We visited all the ancient monuments round the Temple of Buddha-Gaya and talked on them. At the sight of the thunder-bolt-marked seat of the great Master in the midst of jungles, enshrined in a lowly tile-shed almost on the verge of ruin, the Sister remarked: "He who sacrifices himself for truth becomes as powerful as a thunderbolt in the service of the gods."

Then and there she decided that this emblem of the thunderbolt should shine in the national flag of modern India. And many to-day use this mark as an emblem. Sir Jagadis too, has accepted this mark as the emblem of his famous "Bose Institute" of Calcutta.

One day in the afternoon the Sister took us to a neighbouring deserted homestead land and said: "Perhaps here stood Sujata's house. She was the daughter of the village-chief. Her character, how great, how sweet! Verily, an ideal for the house-holders. This is a place of pilgrimage to us". This was followed by the reading out of a few chapters from Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*.

Sister Nivedita used to say: In the beginning, "Buddhism was only Hinduism reformed—neither a new nor a hostile religion. Buddha declared that he himself was a Hindu reformer, like the followers of Sri Chaitanya, who called themselves purer and better Hindus: or like the Ramakrishna Order who are within the Hindu fold and perfectly Hindus in their religious faith, although they consider the teachings of their Master as the purest and best interpretation of the Hindu religion befitting the present age. Many years after the passing away of the Lord Buddha, sectarianism and

bigotry usurped the place of the true philosophy and gospel of the Blessed One and the Buddhists formed themselves into quite a separate sect."

And it was for this reason that the Sister became exceedingly glad when Prof Cecil Baldol and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, returning from Nepal, proved that both Hinduism and Buddhism existed there side by side in a friendly relation for centuries.

On another occasion—the railway line up to Rajagriha was then not open—the Sister went out to see the ruins of Rajagriha, the famous capital of Magadha, hallowed by the holy dust of Buddha's feet. Somehow she was detained there. And the next evening she had to deliver a public lecture at Lucknow and this had been widely circulated. In those days by journeying all the way from Rajagriha to Bihar Sharif in ekka (single-horse carriage), a man could not be in time to catch the train of that light railway line, and so he would have to wait there till the following day. But Nivedita with the help of a single guide crossing over the most formidable hills of Rajagriha walked almost the whole night, a distance of eleven miles through the lonely forests abounding with most ferocious animals like tigers and bears, and reached Tilaiya, a Railway station on the E. I. R., where she entrained herself and arrived at Lucknow just in time and thus kept her word.

Once in the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna, while the old Persian manuscripts and pictures were being turned over, the first page of the illustrated history of the Timur Dynasty was held before her eyes. And that contained the signature of the Emperor Shajahan. The Sister at once asked, "May I touch it?" And the permission was granted. Then the Sister, placing her hand on the signature and closing her eyes for a while began to picture in her mind's eye the glorious days of India under the Mughal rule.

Picking up a piece of broken ordinary brick from Nalanda (bearing neither the mark of any image nor any inscription—belonging to the Pal Dynasty) and a similar bit of sand plaster thrown away as useless from Saranath, she preserved them in her own reading room: and this helped her to visualise the picture of India in her palmy days.

She said: "If a man desires to love his own country, he must first know it; and in order to know it, he is to travel over it". In this connection she declared times without number that no real service can be rendered to the country merely by clapping of hands and thundering of voices in public meetings in big cities. She was extremely lavish of her praise for the students roaming over the mountains at Almora: and her praise of pilgrimages of ancient India as being a great opportunity to acquire knowledge was equally profuse. She said: "Travel over the country; study the condition of the people from house to house, from village to village: then and then alone you will be fit to serve your country."

In 1902, as the President of the Hindu Students' Association, Bankipore, I invited Sister Nivedita and Swami Saradananda to deliver lectures in connection with its annual celebration. They gladly accepted the invitation; and the sitting extended over two days. At that time a great enthusiasm prevailed amongst the student

community and the local gentry. And a welcome address was presented to the noble Sister. But in the course of her reply to the address, instead of blindly eulogising the audience in the usual way, she held before their eyes certain unpleasant but most useful truths. She observed: "Plunge not yourselves in pride recalling the ancient glory of the Aryans or the Buddhistic Age. Their descendants are to prove the worthiness of their descent by noble deeds, high thinking and their great renunciation and service. Be men! Become men! Never strike down your flag to a foreigner. Through original research India will once more attract the world's homage; hence every intelligent Indian's duty is to apply himself deeply to this work. And this work must be directed more towards science than philosophy. For, the recent discoveries in modern science by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose have amply demonstrated to the world at large that the brain of India is neither narrow nor dogmatic; and that the Indians can even in this field occupy the foremost place as they did in Sankhya and Vedanta in ancient times. Proceed on and apply yourselves whole-heartedly my friends, to modern scientific research and history on the same basis.

"Also, forget not that right up from the Vedic Age till to-day the stream of Indian history has been flowing on in the same course. Our relation with the past is great and most intimate. What we are to-day is the result of our noble heritage of the great past. And from this mighty tree of Indian culture and civilisation have branched out many a race and denomination; so we can ignore none. In the past we accepted and assimilated what was best in others; and it should be our endeavour now and in the future to follow the same. What I like to know is noble and best in a man or a nation: and the rest (i. e., the defects) are all perishable and hence of no avail".

Green Manures

Mr. C. M. Hutchinson suggests in the *Agricultural Journal of India* that

In view of the limited supplies of cow manure and oil-cakes available in India, more strenuous efforts should be made to extend the use of green manures throughout the country; much experimental work has been done on this subject, and in many parts of India the value of the method is well enough known to ensure its use, but the fact remains that over a large proportion of the arable area it is only occasionally practised. Several reasons exist for this failure to make use of such a valuable method of up-keep of soil fertility, one being the necessary loss of a crop and another the frequent failure to obtain any obvious advantage from its use. It may be suggested that the methods of securing freedom from such failure which have been worked out in various districts should be given wider publicity and added to by further investigation; it may be noted here that one of these well authenticated in Bihar, is the use of superphosphate in conjunction with the sowing of the green crop; this is an instance of the high value of an artificial fertilizer in Indian agricultural

practice and leads to the conclusion that there is no justification for the old established opinion that imported fertilizers can find no useful application for ryots' crops in this country. In any case it is important in the interests of the conservation of the soil humus that every effort should be made to introduce the practice of green-manuring wherever this is at present not in regular use, and that experiments should be carried out to ascertain the best methods of effecting this. It may be well to point out the advantages attaching to green-manuring as a method of up-keep of the soil humus as compared with the use of cow-manure or oil-cake; the first method involves no capital expenditure, which even in the case of cow-manure is almost invariably required; supplies of cowdung and oil-cake are not always available, nor would they ever be sufficient to meet the requirements of the whole country even if the former were not mostly consumed as fuel. The introduction of a green leguminous crop in the rotation not only serves as a partial fallow but helps to eradicate undesirable weeds.

Separate Board for Girls' Education

We read in the *Educational Review of Madras* :—

Mr. Oaten complained that though "we are now in the middle of a considerable expansion of girls' education and the demand for it is growing," the girls are being asked "to become worshippers at the shrine of the examination fetish, that baneful goddess whose influence has had such evil consequences for their brethren." It was to him a disquieting feature that examinations were coming to dominate our girls' education as they were dominating the education of boys. He thought that if there was a separate Board for girls' education in Bengal aiming at a combination of literary education with training in practical and useful arts, more happy results could be achieved.

We are aware of the fact that people are often apt to exaggerate the alleged separate needs of men and women in education. The highest achievements of learning and human thought should obviously be open to women as well as men and the bulk of the girls who come into our Universities do so largely for pursuing some professional career or other. It would be a pity if their education in such cases was in any way less efficient than the education of men. But we have no doubt whatever that a special Board of girls' education in an advisory capacity may still be very useful.

Child Marriage and Re-marriage of Widows

The Widows' Cause reprints the following passages from an address by Mahatma Gandhi:—

You will have to turn your attention to the crying evils of the child marriage system. Do not call it 'dharma' or a thing supported by shastras that you can marry a little girl foundling on the knee, that it could be straightway married and

asked to become a housewife. And, yet, I have known many of my friends, learned lawyers and doctors educated and enlightened men, marry girls before they were thirteen (laughter). Friends, it is no laughing matter, it is a matter for shame and tears. I tell you, there is no sadder evil in our society than this. You must think of this seriously and not with laughter. Our youth must resolve that they would not marry girls before they are fifteen. It is they who must help in this task of reform. You must all help in this cause both young and old.

You have doubtless heard of the great name of Ganga Ram. This great man has done great things in the Punjab by his engineering skill, as your great man, Sir Visweswaryya has done here in Mysore. But greater than all these is the work he has done for the cause of widow-re-marriage. Like that you must also do your bit to help in this cause of the widow. But I ask who is a widow? A widow is a person held in high veneration amongst us, but can you say that widowhood has come to a girl of 14 and 15 because she has lost her husband? If a parent due to poverty or other causes, married his girl of 13 who loses her husband and next year or immediately, can you say that she is a widow and that she has to suffer all the miseries of life ever after? Day after day this question has been arresting our attention very vitally and we cannot ignore it or afford to remain indifferent. Do not perpetuate suffering. When you men have got the right to marry again, why do you deny it to your ladies? You must recognise that you have got to restore this right and I ask, will you do this and serve your society most truly?

The Expansion of India

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in *Welfare*

One of the most difficult problems which India has to face in her struggle for Swaraj will be the maintenance of what may be called her free expansion abroad at the same time that she has to deal with the problem of political freedom at home.

The expansion of India may well demand a chapter for itself in the books written by future historians. It will have a certain resemblance to the well-known, 'Expansion of England' by Seeley in relation to English history. The one great factor of difference will necessarily be this, that the expansion of India has gone on from first to last practically without the force of arms to promote it abroad while England's expansion was continually effected by ambitious and predatory wars. India's expansion has never, even in the remote past, appeared to take this form. And certainly at the present moment, in her own subject condition, such an appeal to arms, even if it were imaginable is entirely out of the question.

Yet to-day it has been calculated that there are more than two and a half millions of Indian people domiciled abroad. Indeed if Burma were to be regarded as "abroad" there would be over three millions instead of over two millions, for Burma has been rapidly filling up in the last twenty years owing to Indian immigration.

The condition of China to-day in this direction is not unlike that of India. Here again China has expanded all over the South-East of the Asiatic continent with its adjacent islands. The population of peaceful Chinese outside China itself in these parts is reckoned at over eight millions. In Malaya and Burma, there is already a keen competition with India, in order to fill up the vacant spaces. But China in the past has been definitely a warrior and imperialist nation, expanding by force of military and naval armaments. At the present time, since the ruinous conflict with Japan in 1895, when China was disastrously beaten by Japan both in sea and land, China's expansion has gone on in an entirely peaceful manner.

It should further be noted that the biggest expansion of China is taking place to-day in the North rather than the South. It is estimated that more than twenty million of Chinese, from the Yangtsekiang and yellow River alluvial areas, have emigrated as permanent settlers to the northern plains of Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia. In the race against Russia and Japanese colonisation, the Chinese peasant has won all along the line. In comparison with a few hundred thousand of Japanese and Russian settlers (who have had every financial encouragement from their own Government behind them) it is an interesting fact, that all these millions of Chinese have easily settled down and occupied the soil in spite of every handicap in favour of their rivals. Whatever may happen to the Railways and the future military occupation of Manchuria, the agricultural occupation of that very fertile land will undoubtedly be carried on by Chinese village peasants and they will be the true masters of the country. No Russian or Japanese immigrant has any chance of making a living on the soil in competition with these sturdy Chinese peasants.

It is not unlikely that, in the long run, the Chinese will succeed in an exactly similar manner in Malaya, and even in Burma.

How to Develop our Industries

Mr. Banerwar Das observes in the *Bengal Technical Institute Magazine* :—

In order to develop industries a country must primarily depend on its own resources in material as well as in the initiative of its financiers and the brain power of its workers. The industries of a country should be developed along the lines of its present needs as far as compatible with its resources and available technical force. It is apparent that industrial research in some form or other is absolutely necessary to provide the country with some suggestions or plans that such and such industry or industries ought to be developed. The problem of attracting capital to the fields suggested and bringing about suitable co-operation between the financiers and technical experts for such developments is thus also an item in industrial research.

It will be a mistake to expect to build industries in India simply by copying or by learning some secrets or processes here and there in some European or American factories. It is not possible. We should of course take full advantage of what-

ever opportunities we may get abroad and learn whatever secrets or processes we can. Every little thing helps. Particularly we should aim to utilise the achievements of the West in the design and construction of machineries to our advantage in India. It is not an easy task. It requires brain to do this. We should not expect to manufacture everything or every machine in India. If there is an efficient machine made in Germany which is not made in India, we should buy it and employ it to do our work rather than waiting to manufacture it in India and then use it. However, we should know how to handle it and operate it efficiently. Operating a machine efficiently also requires brain and skill. I know of a local financier who spent over fifty thousand rupees to construct all the machineries needed for the manufacture of oil-cloths. These machines did not work and the plant is idle to-day. He could buy the whole equipment from Germany for only thirty-five thousand rupees with guarantee for satisfactory operation.

Japan is a living example before us and we should take lessons from her. Like the Japanese, we must depend on our own initiative and brain-power to solve our troubles and problems. Like the Japanese financiers, the Indian financiers must risk their fortunes in industrial enterprises. Japan has not been great by only copying, but she has been great by copying, creating and applying. India must also be prepared, to follow the same course.

Problems of Rural Bengal

In order to show that the problems of rural Bengal demands very careful and scientific study, Professor Upendranath Ball writes in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* :

The problems of rural Bengal demand a very careful and scientific study. The province is pre-eminently a rural province. More than 443 lakhs of its population live in villages, and a little above 32 lakhs in towns. In fact the urban population outside Calcutta is only 4 per cent, whereas the general urban population in India is 10.2 per cent and in England and Wales 79 per cent. The province, therefore, may be expected to be happy and prosperous only when the vast population of the country-side are in a position to enjoy health and prosperity.

The census figures of Bengal, however, tell us a harrowing tale. There has, no doubt, been a general increase in the population, but in the last decade no less than ten districts have shown decline. The districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore and Hooghly in Western Bengal, Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore in Central Bengal, and Pabna and Maida in Northern Bengal have lost, whereas the districts in Eastern Bengal, Howrah in Western Bengal, the Twentyfour, Paragans and Ktulna in Central Bengal, and the remaining districts of Northern Bengal have gained.

Since 1872 the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Hooghly and Nadia have decayed. The loss in population is an indication of economic decay. If people had sufficient resources to fight with the

diseases then the loss in life would not have been as great as it has been. The districts which have suffered were not unhealthy half a century ago. They were prosperous, and held a good position in agriculture, industry, and trade and commerce. Unless proper care is taken of these decadent parts ruin may spread to the other parts of the province as well.

Besides malaria, cholera and small-pox carry away a large number of victims annually. Other preventible diseases such as tuberculosis, dysentery and diarrhoea are ruthless in their ravages.

In almost every province in India mortality is heavier in towns than in villages. But the reverse is the case in Bengal. In 1915 the ratio of deaths in each 1,000 of population in rural and urban areas was as follows.

Provinces	Rural	Urban
Bengal	33.39	24.70
Madras	21.4	26.2
Bombay	25.31	30.28
U. P.	29.22	41.24
Punjab	36.35	36.17
Bihar and Orissa	32.2	30.9
Burma	26.76	37.76

Bengal Villages Neglected

Writing on the regeneration of rural Bengal, Professor Akshaykumar Sircar observes in the *Calcutta Review*.

Ever since the brain of rural Bengal has been paralysed by the accident of the socio-economic revolution of the last half of the nineteenth century when the flowers of the village left their rural home in quest of the golden grail of remunerative employment in towns, or honourable existence away from the zamindari zulum, under the effective Pax Britannica, the body-social of the village has been running towards dissolution; and the leaderless villagers have been left victims to the unscrupulous agents of lawyers and zemindars, without any power of initiative or concerted action. They can be roused from this comatose state only by their natural leaders, the scions of the respected families, who or whose ancestors left the village but have still kept some sort of relationship to it by their occasional pilgrimage to it or by their sentimental annual expenditure over their ancestral residence or on the occasion of the national festival of Bengal, the great Durgotsav. Unless these men who have been enlightened by education elsewhere and who are earning their livelihood elsewhere can be induced to come back to the village, no extraneous attempt at organisation of the village can be successful permanently. No doubt a benevolent official can do much through his powerful persuasion or patronage, prestige or authority, but his attempts will not be permanently and fully successful unless the villagers themselves can keep the fire, so kindly kindled, burning on, by the constant supply of the fuels of their own efforts. The same can be said of the patriotic party-programme of the political enthusiasts, which may be of use at the outset in creating a healthy stir in the moribund village life, but it is not much of a hazard to say that their village reconstruction scheme is foredoomed to failure, if for no other

reason, but for the ridiculously scanty resources of the framers of the scheme in comparison with the stupendous task advertised to be undertaken. Their resources are in the unsophisticated young men recruited for the purpose as volunteers through the force of hoodwinking rodomontade and in the money raised from the public for the purpose. But the futility of their attempts, the insincerity of their propaganda and the diversion of the fund to other party purposes, election expenditures, maintenance of party organs or subsidising political workers in the moffusil, as suspected and openly alleged by many, are surely to disgust and disillusion in no time those who pay money to them and those who are ready to work for them.

India's Defective Educational System

Dr. Sudhindra Bose begins an article in the *Scholar* with the following two paragraphs.

Only a few days ago I came across an astute American who has just returned from a trip of study and investigation in India. He stated as his considered judgment that India is lagging behind in the march of progress simply because of its defective educational system. The present method education in India, he said, produces clerks—not red-blooded intelligent men. Then get this: The meanest of all poverty which confronts Indians today is the pauperism of mind and spirit.

This is, to my thinking, the chief trouble with our Indian plan of education: it confers every kind of degree upon the young people, from the High School certificate to the Bachelor degree, except the degree of manhood—intellectual independence. The youth is rarely trained to think for himself and stand squarely upon his own feet. His mind seems to be constantly leaning upon a crutch. He is a docile little clerk without initiative and enterprise without much intellectual activity or independence. He must be directed and bossed by "higher-ups." He is a social drone. Worse, he is a piece of stuffed furniture. The main fault lies not with the students, who are usually good and rich in possibilities, but with their teachers, who subject them to a faulty system of education. It is quite tragic, this crude educational procedure. Yes, tragic. The young Indians can be trained right. I have full confidence, if we can find them the correct ways of teaching. They need four-square development.

Symptoms and Cure

We read in the *Oriental Watchman*:

Symptoms are an effort of nature to effect a cure. Hunger is nature's call for food, loss of appetite is nature's method of telling us food is not needed. The use of condiments or stimulants to whip the lagging appetite, does not create a real demand for food nor provide the means of taking care of it.

A headache may mean that something is wrong with the digestion,—undersleep, overwork, or some

other trouble that should be corrected. Taking a drug that benumbs or deadens the nerves so that the pain cannot be felt, does not remedy the trouble. Removing the cause, will take away the headache and will do it without the drug.

We might go on and deal the same with most of our physical life, and show that it is vain to rely on cures of any kind while cause exists. Nature does have her own medicine chest,—a world full of pure air, sunlight, good water, wholesome food, which used with intelligence, are curative; but always does she call for the removal of the cause before guaranteeing a cure.

Some Cottage Industries

According to Mr. S. C. Mitter, who has contributed an article on the cottage and small industries of Bengal to the *Mysore Economic Journal*:

The hand-loom weaving industry is the most important cottage industry in Bengal. It appears from the Census Report for 1921 that as many as 213,886 hand-looms are still working in Bengal of which only 53,168 or 24 per cent are fly-shuttle looms, and the value of their products is estimated to be nearly 6 crores of rupees per annum, i. e., 23 per cent of the total import of cloth through the Calcutta port which is the distributing centre for the whole of Northern India. The output of the fly-shuttle looms is claimed to be double that of the primitive pit-looms and so if we can only replace these primitive pit-looms in Bengal by fly-shuttle looms we can increase our national wealth by several crores of rupees. The products of the hand-looms are of a different class than the mill products and are not generally used by average agriculturists in Bengal. They generally use imported cloth or Indian mill-made cloth and if instead, they are taught to weave the cloth for their own requirements during the period of their forced idleness, they can reduce their domestic budget to a considerable extent and as, "a pice saved—is a pice gained," the total economic value of this great saving, if it can be carried to its logical end will be another few crores. The revival of hand-loom weaving industry will also revive the village carpentry as hand-loom including fly-shuttle looms can be easily prepared by them.

Another very profitable industry that can be adopted as a part-time occupation by the agriculturist is the jute spinning and weaving. This industry may be reduced into three processes—hackling, spinning and weaving. If any one prepares strings from jute, sunnhemp, etc., with the help of the hackling and spinning machines that have been devised by the Industries Department and the cost of which is only Rs. 10 each, he can easily earn about 10 annas to 12 annas per day. If these yarns are dyed and woven into mats, easy-chair cloths, etc., one can earn more. Then there is the silk industry in the country which is run on cottage lines and employs a large number of men and there is a great possibility of further development of this industry if run on proper lines.

Paragraphs from "Stri Dharma"

The following paragraphs are taken from "Stri Dharma":—

It is very significant of the mood of India towards free and full opportunities for women that the members of Legislative Council of the United Provinces have removed the sex disqualification which prevented women from entering the Council. The motion to allow them to be nominated or elected to the Council was moved by the Deputy-President. It received hearty support from all sections of the house and was adopted *unanimously*.

Well done, U. P.!

Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal, M. L. C.'s enthusiastic campaign for ending the Devadasi system, met with splendid success, the Legislative Council accepting unanimously her Amendment to the Religious Endowments Act for ending the evil. Some of the Devadasis cling to the idea of dedication to the temple, and argue that the temples will not receive their full service of song and dance to the God. They forget that while people look on these women as public property for purposes of "sanctified vice", the original intention cannot be performed purely by them as a caste. It is a case where.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways.

Least one good custom should corrupt the world."
More harm is now done to people and to God by the persistence of the old order than by the transitional stage in which the office of the dancing girl is abolished. Heartiest congratulations to our Deputy-President of the Legislative Council on the passing of her Resolution!

Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun

We read in the *Bengal-Nagpur Railway Magazine*:—

In pursuance of the policy recently approved by the Secretary of State of increased recruitment of railway employees in India, the Railway Board has sanctioned the establishment of a Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun. The increasing complexity of railway operating problems demands improved methods of training the staff, particularly in the early stages of the career of a railway employee. Schools of Transportation have been established for the State Railways as the first step in improvement in training facilities. The Railway Board is of opinion that considerable improvement in the general standard of efficiency of officers employed on transportation is possible if a carefully considered scheme of periodical training and refresher courses exists. The great distances which separate the different parts of the railway system in India are a serious bar to free communication and interchange of experience in railway working between railway officers. The Railway Staff College will be the centre where railway problems can be studied and where expert transportation knowledge can be disseminated. The intention is that on recruitment each officer shall undergo a period of practical training in which actual railway work will be sandwiched with courses at the railway College and that thereafter he should

periodically go through certain refresher courses at the College. Company managed railways have been invited to take advantage of the training at the Staff College.

The Railway Board have decided on the following annual courses :—

(1) A twelve-weeks' course for the first year for probationary transportation, and commercial officers.

(2) An eight-week's course for similar second year officers.

(3) A six-weeks course in transportation for first year probationary civil engineering officers.

(4) A six-weeks' transportation course for junior scale officers as one of the qualifications for promotion to the senior scale.

(4) A similar course in commercial subjects for commercial officers, Junior scale.

(5) A four-weeks' transportation course for

senior scale officers as one of the qualifications for promotion to an administrative post.

(5) A similar course in commercial subjects for commercial officers, senior scale.

(6) A four-weeks' course for employees selected for the position of instructors in the different area schools.

(7) A six-weeks' course for selected senior subordinates.

In addition to the above it is the intention to arrange from time to time special courses, or series of courses, in important railway subjects, to be given not by the ordinary staff of the College but by acknowledged experts in those subjects. These courses will be arranged when the services of deputed lectures are available and a sufficient number of officers can be assembled to attend them, and they will cover such subjects as rates, railway economics, statistics, accounts, welfare and labour management, traffic, surveys, signalling and interlocking, etc.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Recent Gain in Religion

Harry Emerson Fosdick, "perhaps America's most popular preacher," writes in *The World Tomorrow* in course of an article on Recent Gains in Religion :—

Never was it more clear that religion is ineradicably rooted in human nature. Reduce it even to its simplest terms and it still means devotion to those concrete spiritual values, goodness, truth, beauty, love, which the human soul recognizes as suprapersonal and in consecration to which life finds its true meaning. To serve these values is to live a religious life, and to believe that these values reveal the creative reality, God, behind and in the universe is religion's central faith. Sciences may come and go but religion so rooted will persist as long as the race does. It may appear in Protean forms but it is as indestructible as earth, air, fire, or water. That has grown plain, not less, as psychology has probed deeper into the secrets of the spirit. There is no excuse now for identifying religion's future with the fortunes of its artificial adhesions—opinions, cults, rubrics, and institutions.

Because this is true, a great deal of the world's best religion exists outside religious organizations and often does not call itself religious at all. Only a narrow ecclesiastical mind will find that fact disconcerting. It is a rather something to rejoice over and count upon. It is because religion, even when it is unrecognized as such, is so indispensable a function of human life at its best that the churches have any chance at all. No wise minister thinks of himself as set to inoculate men with religion. He knows that men are religious; that a completely irreligious man, if such exists, is an insane anomaly; that human life is meaningless animal existence except as it serves spiritual values; and that the human mind will never per-

manently consent to think that spiritual values are a fortuitous accident born of atoms going it blind in a godless universe. He knows that when he does his work well he is working with and not against the deepest streams of human nature.

Such freedom from the obsession that any creed, cult, church or canon law constitutes religion, such humanizing of the religious experience, is a great gain. Religion so conceived is too vital to be exhaustively represented by any mental or institutional formulation. Religion creates such expressions and discards them as men wear clothes and cast them off. Religion is an indispensable way of life and it would persist though every historic form of it which we have known were quite outgrown.

This fact grows increasingly clear and to any one interested in religion it should be encouraging and liberating. It leads not to irreverence toward past expressions of the spirit but to just appreciation of them, and it prophesies a future for the religious life beyond any dreams that static and conventional conceptions ever made possible.

"Rebellion at Geneva"

We read in the same Review :—

There is legitimate ground for encouragement in the sturdy attitude of the smaller countries in the League Council and Assembly toward the great powers, before whom they have hitherto never been so outspoken. Representatives of Poland, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Lithuania, and other small nations have soundly denounced their colleagues from the larger nations for the latter's stubborn retention of huge armaments, for their secret understandings, for their failure to express their professed repudiation of war in deeds as well as in fine phrases. Britain in particular was made

to see in just what regard her present Tory Government is held by those who have taken the Covenant to mean what it says and who are not to be placated by words alone.

expression of the boy's face is one of childlike wonder: that of his mother is brooding and absorbed. A moving and original work which we hope will be seen in this country.

Mr. Mahendra Pratap on China

The Japan Weekly Chronicle writes:—

Mr. Mahendra Pratap, an Indian revolutionary leader, who was naturalised in Afghanistan some years ago, arrived at Yokohama from America on the 13th instant by the Tenyo-maru. This is his third visit to Japan.

In a statement which was handed the Press interviewers, he says that the present position of China is analogous to that of India from 1760 to 1820. In those days, India was provided with as efficient an army as that of Britain, but the struggles for supremacy which were going on among the small States into which the country was divided, afforded Britain an opportunity for invasion and the loss of independence ensued. Nothing is further from his intentions than to discourage his Chinese friends by drawing a pessimistic picture of the future of their country. He simply desires that they should take warning from the fate of India. China must be succoured now, or all chances of saving her may be gone. If China lost her independence, all hopes for the independence of India must be given up. This state of things would prove vital to Japan's welfare also. From this point of view, he earnestly appeals to the Japanese love of humanity to aid the reunification movement of China.

He said that it was five years ago that he memorialised for the opening of trade between Japan and Afghanistan. He regretted that the two countries had not yet been brought closely together, but hoped that his desire would be realised in the near future.

Epstein's Madonna and Child

We read in *The Inquirer* of London:—

The very remarkable 'Madonna and Child' upon which Jacob Epstein has been engaged for two years, and which he has just taken across the Atlantic for exhibition in New York, will doubtless cause as much controversy as the famous Rima. It is Oriental in conception, but we are reminded as we look at the photographs of it which have appeared that Christianity came from the East and that this great work of art is for that reason truer to fact than many of its famous prototypes. There can be no objection, therefore, to the representation of Eastern types in the two figures for which Mr. Epstein had Indian models.

They have a straggly alien look to eyes accustomed to the Madonna and Child of European convention, and differ from other sculpture dealing with this subject in the representation of Jesus as a little boy of some six or seven years instead of a baby in the arms of his mother. He stands between the knees of the seated Madonna, who enfold him with her arms, and both are looking straight before them as if at some sight which has arrested their gaze at the same moment. The

Lenin and Gandhi

Ernst Lothar contributes to *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna an article reviewing Rene Fullop-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi*. We give below portions of this article as translated in *The Living Age*. First he describes Lenin.

'No! We can't get ahead that way!' said a young man when he heard the news of his brother's condemnation. This brother had tried to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. Later, when the executioner summoned his victim, the same young man proffered no words of sympathy or anguish. He merely repeated, 'We can't get ahead that way,' and those who heard him wore terrified expression. The young man was seventeen years old at the time. Two years later he appeared, an expelled student, at the meeting of a committee to render relief to famine-stricken Russia. The unknown young man listened to a few speeches and then sprang to his feet shouting, 'No! We want no help!' It would be wrong, he claimed, to alleviate the famine, for that merely meant helping the Tsar. The thing to do was to make hunger more widespread and thus hasten the fall of the detestable regime. He spoke with such vehemence that those who heard him could not keep their seats. They drove him from the platform as a madman. It happened in Samara.

Twenty-eight years later he returned to this platform, but instead of being driven away as a madman he was now worshipped as a god. He had spent twenty-eight years in exile—twenty-eight years in daily danger of his life, twenty-eight years of hard secret work.

Lenin was an unbelievably poor orator,—any actor or professional agitator could have done much better,—but the ideas that he expressed were magnificent, upsetting. No melody, no poetic allusions, no burdensome metaphors. He produced facts that carried everything before them.

His quick black eyes had a goal which they pursued relentlessly.

His success did not deceive him, and in the midst of his triumph he remained cold and cautious, and exercised authority at once.

No superiority, no useless syllables, no note of triumph sounded in his voice. He spoke in simple words with the precision, coolness, and accurate objectivity of a mathematician.

No sooner did he acquire power than he ruled. He did not attack things like a weakling or like one who had not made up his mind; the light touch was foreign to his nature.

Nothing disturbed his absolute peace, and he did not know the meaning of fear.

At heart he was sentimental, idealistic, and religious.

His religion was pure expediency. He cast off all idealistic philosophies, like those held by the counter-revolutionists, and pursued the direct route of material production. He mobilized his whole

organization against religion, and denounced God as 'the archfiend of the Communist State.' He damned every creed, for to him one was as bad as another. He sacrificed faith, art, and learning on the altar of utility.

Fundamentally this man loved power and machines. 'My political opponents,' he said, 'were crushed because they should a trace of pity.....Do you actually believe that you can subdue your enemies without deadly conflict? To think so is an unpardonable weakness and a pacifist illusion! Or: Do you imagine that we could have been victorious in the Revolution without a reign of terror? Or that we could have had a dictator? We could have had mush, but no dictator! Speaking to Gor'kii of his ruthlessness, he said: 'Can humanity survive in a disorganized camp? Can we permit ourselves to be weak-hearted and generous? Pardon me, we are not imbeciles! We know what we want, and nobody can stop us from doing what we believe is right.' When his wife begged mercy for some people about to be executed, he answered: 'I will hear none of my wife's prayers: they are useless.' He also said: 'Freedom is a bourgeois prejudice.' These examples of his pitilessness show that he developed Bolshevism by heeding past revolutionary experience. The moral code of the new regime was political expediency. 'We all tell lies,' he asserted: 'and morality is developed from external and unnatural class prejudices. We Communists believe that morality was designed in the interests of class warfare.'

Power! If the enemy is strong, a greater force must crush him. Lenin thought pacifism both ridiculous and contemptible. He did not believe in sticking to one course and following it to the limit. The path made no difference, and he changed his policies overnight when the peasantry began to revolt against their wretched condition. He scrapped his radical system of war Communism and went over to the New Economic policy. Then Dora Kaplan, the social revolutionist, shot him, and shortly thereafter he died. As he grew weaker he hurriedly turned away from his untried systems of private property and gave his attention to concessions to foreign corporations, stabilization of the currency, and commercial guarantees. Was he playing false? Lenin laughed. He had upset Communist economics overnight and substituted something like the capitalist system. Did he lack principle? He laughed again. The old way was false, and the New had much more to offer. The new system should be followed to the limit. No compromise! Power!

Strength and power were to be derived from the machine.

He modelled his reforms on those of Peter the Great, the first Russian revolutionist. Asia and Europe would find a common meeting place in the machine. Away with the mediæval system and mediæval methods of work! The most modern technical ideas would be imported to his nation from Europe and America! Yesterday the Middle Ages, to-day a dictator, and to-morrow machines. Motor ploughs. Harvesters. Electrification of the entire country. American, German, and English engineers and workers. An 'Institute for Invention.' A league to propagate the utilization of time to the smallest possible fraction. A new breed of machine workers. The great Russian nation must

take on another face. Skyscrapers of concrete, iron and glass. Russia a super-America, but no submission to foreigners.

Impossible? Lenin laughed. To the will nothing is impossible. Inspired will, inspired organization. This apostle of power had traversed a century of Russian development in a single night.

Lenin was a man whose imperious words could change the mind and face of a million people; a man with astounding objectivity; a man who scorned weakness and sentimentality; a man who felt that the word 'romantic,' expressed the height of foolishness and absurdity; a man who embodied hate, worshiped the machine, yet remained a dreamer. In him were combined the doubts of the agnostic and the objectivity of the romantic, exactitude and fantasy, reality and utopia. He was a volcano of cold thought, a genius of icy fire. A strain of asceticism ran through that strong mind of his that worshiped power. When he died the limit had not been reached. He left behind him a Russia that was neither Europe nor Asia. Only chaos remained.

The writer then passes on to Gandhi.

On the other hand, we have Gandhi. Here, among a primitive people, lives a man whom we can without blasphemy describe as Christlike. He is the godliest, purest, and most lovable creature on earth. To the Hindu Gandhi is Mahatma, 'big of soul.'

Gandhi is ugly. He has a flat, drooping nose, a broad thin mouth, a straggly moustache, and the teeth of his lower jaw are missing. Gandhi shaves his head, and his overgrown, crooked ears protrude. No white shirt covers his thin nutbrown body. His neck, arms, and legs are exceedingly small. He is ugly indeed.

But he is also beautiful. In a face far from handsome lie two dark eyes, celestial, sweet, and soft. All light is gathered by these large, open eyes, and all light emanates from them. They are the eyes of a young child in a face fifty-eight years old. There is also the trace of a smile. This smile, always close to the surface, breaks forth as soon as he begins to speak, lingers, then disappears momentarily. Celestial light and laughter illuminate the face of this ugly man. He is beautiful.

Drunkenness does not mark his brow. Romain Rolland has described him with single word 'determination.' Gandhi does not put himself on a pedestal and strike a virtuous pose. Nor does he attract his followers with fulsome words, miraculous visions, or magic. He does not garb himself in episcopal robes; he is naked, and a strong proof of the saying, 'The naked man is good.'

A hundred million people have heard him. He need only open his lips, and they listen. His platform has six planks and two policies. He teaches the divine duty to spin at home and to use only homespun garments in order to keep the workers busy and his people united, for it is through English imports that they are made subservient. He teaches them to venerate the cow as the symbol of all that is productive. He who humbles himself before this animal deserves mercy from the hands of men and gentle treatment all his days. He teaches unbounded purity, abstinence, and self-control. In order to paralyze British rule, he teaches non-cooperation between natives, and the English. He teaches the equality of the pariah

and forbids the ancient belief of uncleanness. He teaches the union of Hindu and Mohammedan into a single Indian nation. These are his six planks. Then he has a twofold policy of Ahimsa and Satyagraha. Ahimsa, or peace, is passive love, while Satyagraha, or power, is active love.

The first thing that strikes one about this programme is its diversity and its combination of religion and politics. It shows Gandhi as both prophet and statesman. He represents humanity, and rules a nation by making statecraft and morality identical. He himself is infinite and authoritative, a unique combination of idealism and reality. He lives like a beggar. 'His whole life,' says Tagore, 'is just another name for sacrifice.' But his sacrifice is made with great serenity, and in harmony with Heaven.

At the age of ten he stole a gold piece from his older brother. Immediately he was so overwhelmed with remorse that he wrote a confession to his sick father. With tears in his eyes the parent read the paper. That moment was the turning point in Gandhi's life, for he saw the strong emotion of his father, who did not offer a single word of reproach, only a silent gesture—Ahimsa, Love is all.

Gandhi lived in Sabarmati, a little town five miles from Ahmadabad. He slept on a piece of linen under the open sky. Books formed his pillow. The walls of his room were bare. He owned a bookcase, a rude writing desk, and a trunk. In the trunk were two cloths woven by himself. They were all the property Gandhi owned. He was as thin and poor as the humblest pariah. At sunrise and at sunset he ate a little rice and skimmed milk, dry bread, lemon, and nuts. He drank neither alcohol, tea, nor coffee. Arising at four in the morning, before the sun was up, he would go out on the terrace that runs along the river accompanied by Kasturbai, the girl whom he married when she was twelve years old, and who must submit to this wretched life. Here he would pray. Some of his pupils from the National University at Ahmadabad, from whose flagpole flies the white, green, and red flag of Mahatma, joined those who came to him in the morning to pray and to sing holy songs from the Gita and Upanishads. Dawn ushered in the ascetic's day—a day of sacrifice, a day of teaching, a blessed day. For forty years he lived such a life in peace. When imprisoned—and he spent a great deal of time in jail—he found little difference between life in his own home and in the cell, for with him frugality always came first. While in jail he exhibited his usual remarkable tranquility of spirit. For forty years he lived like a beggar.

His parents were rich, his father having been Minister of Finance; yet Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, born in the province of Gujrat, and raised as a rich man's child, became the father of all humanity.

In Bombay he tried to practise law. What a lawyer! He sought neither clients, trials, nor collection cases, but only righteousness. He dropped cases when he learned that his clients had falsely informed him and were in the wrong, and he did not take over a case without examining it thoroughly to see whether there was any likelihood of falsehood. Finally he gave up this law mill and abandoned all he had gained to live among his poor students. In 1908 a Mohammedan tried to

kill him, and Gandhi appeared as a witness for the defence. 'This man,' he said, 'was wrong, for he believed I had injured him, and he sought to avenge the injury. I therefore earnestly beg that nobody appears against him, for I believe in him, and love him, and hope to win his love for me.'

Nobody had ever done such a thing before, and the would-be assassin wrote a letter of deep veneration to Gandhi. Since then three hundred million have been converted to his creed—three hundred million men are enrolled under Mahatma the uncrowned king of India. With what weapon did he accomplish all this? He scorned the usual methods, and succeeded in winning people to his banner with the weapon of love.

Gandhi maintains that force and hate are futile. Love is the supreme power. He does not spout empty idle words when his eyes shine with celestial light. He speaks real truth. He is a steady star by night, and in the morning his power is great. Great is the sweetness and heavenly the confidence of his knowledge. His every breath is power. He is godly enough to be clothed in a white cloud.

He took the daughter of a pariah into his house, the orphan girl Lakshmi, and called her 'the little Untouchable,' treating her as though she were his own child. She was a symbol for her seven hundred thousand brothers and sisters that are called unclean and Untouchable in India. Thus did Gandhi smash one of the customs of the country, for his example revolutionized the land with love.

Like every apostle, Gandhi is a revolutionist. But he accomplishes his purpose by example and abstention rather than by force. In *Young India* he publishes what is in his heart, and he teaches in the established university. He circulates among the people and spreads his ideas about spinning. Nothing can compare with his persuasive power in advocating hand-spinning as a means of uniting India with a common social and national bond. He hopes the home industry will bind all classes together and become the economic foundation of the country. He revolts against the cult of the machine and against the modern manufacture of silk and woven material, and revives the handicraft of past ages. Perhaps it is all absurd. But what lies behind this fantasy? Is not this spinning angel a child in some respects? Yes, but a realist too.

Gandhi travelled far and wide among the Indian people in order to break up the English regime. No Indian, he taught, should pay taxes to England, enlist in the army, take over any government work, or accept any government appointment. This command he emphasized with prayer and fasting. Once he refrained from eating for twenty-one days—a unique symphony of prayer, abnegation, and statesmanship! Inwardly romantic, but with a realistic goal, this naked man who preaches spinning, and practises it three hours a day, has opposed a Power without using force. Gandhi was haled before the law. The prosecution for the State said that he had been guilty of 'inciting a rebellion against the established rule of British India.'

The case was called before the district judge, C. N. Bloomfield, and Gandhi said on the witness stand: 'I do not advocate force. You have your choice between my system of peaceful and quiet

resistance and the danger a furious uprising of the people. I do not ask your pardon, and offer no weak excuse, but I should sincerely like to see an end to all fighting. I have been guilty of breaking a law, and to submit to the law is the highest duty of every citizen.....He related how he had supported England for ten years, and how the hopes which he had placed in her had all gone for naught. Therefore, he had turned to the opposing camp of peaceful resistance.

When Gandhi had concluded, the judge said: "There are people here in India who believe that our law does not apply to you, and they would give you freedom. For my part, I am obliged to sentence you to six years' imprisonment, although I wish to say that nobody would be happier than I too let you go free..." The judge closed the case with a prison sentence. Gandhi smiled, curtsied, kissed the hand of the judge, and went to jail for six years.

The prison of Yeroda was not hard. He had his spinning wheel, his books, and his heart. He continued to say, 'I am as happy as a lark.' But prison life made him deathly sick, and an operation was necessary. 'Happy as a lark,' sang the naked, weak, and mighty man.

His life is not unlike that of Lenin, for it springs from reality and works toward utopia. Like Lenin's it contains a boundless reservoir of power. But Gandhi's utopia is boundless love, a grand utopia extending from the broad heavens to the depths of the earth.

The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement

In his "Survey of International Affairs," Vol. I, dealing with the Islamic World since the Peace Settlement, Professor Arnold J. Toynbee of Oxford points out that Islam was again taking an active instead of a passive role in history. *The Daily Telegraph* summarises the Professor's views thus:—

There was, on one hand, the desire to throw off European ascendancy, and, on the other, the desire to adopt European methods wherever practicable. Russia in the struggle took the Asiatic side.

A most important fact, but one seldom kept in mind, is that, though outbreaks against European Powers were always quelled, it was often the rebel who benefited in the end. The Turks, defeated in the end, The Turks, defeated in the Great War, declared a 'war after the war,' refused a dictated peace, and negotiated a settlement on a footing of equality; the suppression of the Egyptian rising was followed by the Milner Report; the defeat of the Afghans brought about the renunciation by the British of control over Afghan foreign policy; the suppression of the Iraqi rebellion in 1920 was followed by the translocation of the mandate over Iraq into an Anglo-Iraq Treaty; while the successive defeats of Wahabi raiders by the Royal Air Force resulted in an extension of Ibn Sand's dominions. What, therefore, is one to conclude out that rebellion pays the rebel? Whether it pays the conqueror to make a habit of giving

concessions is, however, another matter. Indeed, Britain, in the Middle East, has been accused by shrewd observers of pursuing a pro-Arab and not a pro-British policy.

Russia's Revolutionary Morals

In his article on Russia's Revolutionary Morals in *Current History*, V. F. Calverton turns his attention first to religion.

That Russia is against the priest is not to be doubted. The very declarations of Bukharin, in reference to the atheism implicit in the doctrine of the materialist conception of history, announce that fact with clarity and vigor. Yet people are allowed to worship where they will, though their religious activities are given no aid or encouragement. The attitude of the government is critical but not destructive. Its purpose is to destroy religion by educating the youth in the supremacy of science rather than by coercing the old through the extinction of their ritual. In this aim the Bolsheviki have been singularly successful. The youth of Russia is largely without religion.

The Soviet attitude toward youth is next dwelt upon.

It has been the habit of Western countries to exalt age and curb youth. In this attitude the spirit of senescence has predominated. Our judges, for example, are almost uniformly men of late years. In fact, our whole officialdom, with but few exceptions, is either middle-aged or old. This is true not only of America, but of the countries of Europe also. Youth is inconspicuous. Youthful vision in matters of state is considered an impertinence. Ideas and measures are often scorned as being expressions of the exuberance of youth. In the U. S. S. R. the attitude towards youth is refreshingly different. Youth there is a factor in the new society. Its activities become a matter of deep consideration and significance. Its ideas are given serious attention; its opinions are given voice in approximately every organization or representative body in the nation.

A description is then given of the Children's Nurseries and Children's Gardens.

In the Children's Nurseries and children's Gardens one can find a very interesting and excellent example of such influence. In Stalingrad there are six Children's Nurseries for children between the ages of 2 and 4 and three Children's Gardens for children over the age of 4. The treatment of the children is remarkably effective. It is always the social attitude that determines the direction of the treatment and the nature of the training. When the mother brings the child to the nursery for instance, her entire responsibility for the child for the day is in abeyance until she returns for it in the evening. She can go about her day's toil without the least worry for her child's welfare. When each child is brought in in the morning it is given a bath and a bag is assigned to it for its clothes; then it is dressed in the fresh neat clothes of the Nursery, and is cared for by nurses specially equipped for this work. Every day, before the child is allowed the privilege of the Nursery, it

is thoroughly examined by the doctor, and if discovered to have a contagious disease, is immediately excluded and sent to a clinic. This is no slight advantage in Russia where before the Czar's downfall disease was appallingly widespread and child mortality dismayingly frequent. In addition to such care, each child receives four meals a day, and is given instruction according to its age and capacity for response. In the Gardens, of course, there are playgrounds with juvenile athletics in conspicuous display. Six of these institutions have been established in Stalingrad since 1924; there was none before that time. They can be found in many parts of Russia. It would be ridiculous to imagine that these institutions are in such abundance that the entire child population of Russia can be cared for in such exemplary fashion. Lack of capital hinders the construction not only of homes sufficiently numerous to cope with this problem, but with many problems that necessitate developments too costly to be undertaken in anything like adequate style at the present time.

Some idea is then given of the advantages enjoyed by workers.

The eight-hour day is universal throughout the Soviet Union; the office workers, it should be added, have only a six-hour day. Every worker has a vacation of two weeks with pay, and with an opportunity of turning to the country, if he be an urban proletarian, for his recreative retreat. Not only are all medical services free for the workers of the U. S. S. R., but for cases of tuberculosis there are regular sanatoriums to which the worker can go, without expense, for treatment and cure. While the worker receives only a wage commensurate with the needs of his life, that is, according to the necessities of his occupation or profession, he secures so many returns in the form of social benefits, a few of which we have already enumerated—vacations, recreation, medical attention, education, insurance and the like—that one can really make no comparison between the actual wage of a Russian worker, let us say, and an English worker.

Any person not classed as a worker in Soviet Russia cannot vote, can receive no benefits and has no political status at all. He is taxed on every side. He must use his private resources to secure education or medical attendance. Everything, from his recreation to his residence, is made expensive for him. His theatre ticket, for example, will cost him ten times as much as the price the worker will have to pay for it.

Next, the position of women is treated of.

The woman is always treated on an equal basis with the man. Her economic and political rights are in every sense similar. In the matter of position, or rights in the trade union, there is no discrimination between the sexes whatsoever. Indeed, in public meetings women speakers are often as frequent as men, and in the courts women judges are by no means unknown. In instances of pregnancy she is especially protected. Both before and after birth she is given time away from work, ranging from six to eight weeks, with pay and with medical attention. In addition to her full pay she receives an extra stipend for food for nine months following the birth, if herself feeds

the child. Even after the mother returns to work she is permitted a half-hour in every three and a half hours to feed and care for her child. Any it is important to observe that these privileges do not carry with them the qualifications of the Western World as to the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the child. The treatment is the same for all mothers and all children, regardless of marital registration or its absence. In this way, of course, the old stigma which was inevitably attached to the unmarried mother, and which extended its baneful influence to the child, is annihilated. This change in moral attitude alone is phenomenal.

The writer then proceeds to describe what has been done to combat prostitution.

Prostitution does remain, but it is no longer official. In fact, prostitution under the Soviets has been rendered illegal. But the decree does not make it cease. It is true, one must remember, that prostitution once was a profession in old Russia. Brothels were licensed, opened with ceremonies by the police and blessed by the Church. This evil thus had a sanction which it has now entirely lost.

The Russian Communists, however, are realistic and do not attempt to deny evils that exist, but endeavor to combat them.

It is the first place a constant propaganda is carried on all over the U. S. S. R. against prostitution. Every means of meeting the masses in this matter is utilized, from the printed sheet to the movie. In a photoplay, entitled *The Prostitute*, for example, the whole career of the courtesan is portrayed, with a direct attempt to show the dangerous consequences of her life for both herself and those who frequent her haunts. One of the most direct ways that has been employed to combat this evil has been the organization of homes for unemployed, houseworking girls (*Izve-tiya*, Nov. 11, 1926).

As a result of these efforts on the part of the Russians to study and solve this problem, H. A. Semashko, Commissar of Health, reports that prostitution is on the decline, and that one of the best statistical proofs of this fact is that the percentage of infection from prostitutes is far below that of the pre-war period.

As regards the homeless children, we are told:

The main attempt of the Bolsheviks has been to teach these boys a trade, find them employment, and thus save them from their former life. For a time even corporal punishment had been used, but this tactic was found to be futile. Education has proved to be the only sound method. Since 1922 the numbers of homeless children have been reduced from 1,000,000 to less than 150,000. This reduction attests the efficiency of the educational method.

As regards the new marriage and divorce system, the writer says:—

Marriage now is entirely a civil function. All the old impediments to marriage—religious prohibitions and the like—vestiges of the feudal attitude in Russia, are destroyed. The empty noise 'about the nationalization of women' is nothing more than myth.

The inequality of sexes which is prevalent throughout the rest of the Western World, the

double code of morality, have no existence or meaning in contemporary Russia.

When a woman marries in the Soviet Union she does not sacrifice her property to her husband and her right to what she may earn during her marital existence. Section 106 of the Marital Code declares that "marriage does not establish community of property between the married persons." Another instance of the equality and freedom inherent to the woman according to the present code is to be found in section 104, which states that "the change of residence of one of the parties to a marriage shall not impose an obligation upon the other party to follow the former." Thus the woman is given equality of freedom with all the rights appertaining to that privilege.

The new sex attitude in Soviet Russia is based upon the principle that the matter of sex relationship in itself does not constitute a social problem unless children are involved. Marital relationships between the sexes are regulated by registration, the same as in any other country. It is in divorce that the U. S. S. R. deviates from the Western standard. The first consideration in the case of divorce is that of the children. This is the social of the problem. If there are no children divorce is singularly simple. If two people find their marital life marred by incompatibilities of temperament and reaction they can get divorce upon that ground.

The writer concludes with an account of the Soviet's attitude toward birth-control and abortion.

Birth-control is written about in a manner that would at once astonish and terrify a modern American.

Abortion is not condemned but legalized.

During the period of 1922-24, more than 55 000 legal abortions were performed in Russian district hospitals. (*Journal of American Medical Association*) Volume 88, No. 4, Section 259).

As a consequence, abortion has not been abused. The birthrate statistics prove that beyond question. The number of births per 1,000 of population in 1913 was 43.8; in 1924 the number was 43.6. The increase of births over deaths was 16.5 in 1913 and 21.5 in 1926.

The mere legalising of a thing does not make it beneficial and moral. Nor does the greater increase of births over deaths under a system of legalised abortion prove that such a system is worthy of support. Supposing Russia took to legalising and regularising infanticide in such a way as still to show that under such regulation the increase in population would remain greater than before, would infanticide become moral? One wonders where a scientific animal existence would stop.

Large Families

The New York *Evening Graphic* lays stress on a view of large families which the

modern neo-Malthusian age is apt to lose sight of. It says:—

Men who have large families are men who do great things. This important truth is confirmed by the scientific observation of an eminent biologist, Dr. Frederick Adams Woods. This authority recently made an intensive study of men listed in "Who's Who." The results of his observation are astounding. Out of a selected group of men he found that more than 25 per cent. of those who had married and who were fathers of four or more children won high distinction. Less than 7 per cent. of those who remained unmarried, or who had married but had no children, won any sort of fame. This proves, Dr. Woods says, a definite relationship between high achievement and big families. "Those who have the most children are the ones on the average who achieve the most success. Those who at some time in their life marry but never have any offspring are about in the same standing, but the falling off for the unmarried is very marked." These important observations should be deeply considered. Rearing children is part of man's natural life. Evading this responsibility brings retribution. The man without a family is but a fraction of himself. He can never be more than a fraction successful. There is an indescribable, exquisite feeling of affection that parents have for their offspring. This deepest of all human emotions reaches its glorious climax in mother love. Father love, while not so often mentioned, is not far behind mother love in ardor. It is a sentiment that warms and expands the character. It diffuses itself through countless unspoken thoughts and in many unselfish actions. Where it has possession of mind and heart, fear, intolerance, hatred and bigotry are driven out. Stripped of these enemies of success, a man is bound to advance faster and further than the one who is not so fortunate. Thus, while it often seems as though the father was doing everything for his children and getting nothing in return, it can be seen that the very existence of his youngsters can so remodel a man's character as to impel him forward on the road of fame. Perhaps one of the primary reasons for the success of men with large families is that none but robust, vital men dare to have a number of children.

Social Work and Labor Legislation

G. A. Johnston writes in *International Labour Review*.

Social work and labour legislation are not like parallel lines, which however far they are produced do not meet. Social work and labour legislation are not like concentric circles, one of which contains the other. Social work and labour legislation are like intersecting circles, each of which contains an area common to both and an area peculiar to itself. Labour legislation, as we have seen, covers certain fields which are covered by social work, but it is also concerned with other fields into which social work does not enter. Social work, similarly, deals with certain problems with which labour legislation deals, but it also treats other questions, with which labour legislation has nothing to do.

And what of the relation of social work and

labour legislation in the area that is common to both? Do they overlap? Do they compete? Do they even conflict? If governmental and voluntary agencies are engaged in social service substantially identical in character, the question naturally arises of the desirability of having both sets of agencies in the same field.

There is, in fact, very little overlapping and still less conflict. In the first place, it frequently happens that when Governmental and voluntary agencies are to be found doing similar work, the work is done in different countries. Some forms of social service which in Germany and in England for instance, are carried on by governmental agencies are done in the United States by voluntary institutions. In the second place, even where governmental and voluntary effort are both engaged in one field in the same country, for instance, in the prevention of industrial accidents, the work they do rarely overlaps. Their work is complementary.

The functions of public services and of voluntary associations in respect to social work differ in two respects. In the first place, the social services of the state deal with normal needs and normal circumstances. They lay down normal standards and aim at regulating the normal relations of normal human beings. The social work of voluntary associations, on the other hand, tends, in certain of its aspects, to be "case work". The voluntary society can deal with the particularised individual, and the individual is never "normal"! This distinction is specially true where both the state and the voluntary society co-operate in the same country and locality.

In the second place, the voluntary society often goes in advance of the state to conduct experiments and to blaze new trails. The voluntary societies go out as patrols in front of the big battalions of the state, and it is on the basis of what the voluntary societies find that the state decides whether to occupy the field or not. Historically most forms of state social service have first been put into operation by the voluntary society, and it is only when the need has been seen to be real and general that the state has decided to organise the service itself.

It results from the close correlation of the social services of the state and the social activities of the voluntary societies that the human agents of both may and should be regarded as social workers. The official of the public employment exchange is as much a social worker as the helper in a voluntary association. This is increasingly recognised by the Schools of Social Study, which aim at training workers not only for voluntary societies but for employment by the state in its social services.

Women in Buddha's Eye

In *The Young East* Mr. Taiken Kimura shows by citing instances from the Buddhist scriptures that

The attitude of Gautama toward women varied according to the occasions. For instance, when a follower of him was worrying himself because of his love for a woman, Gautama helped him to get rid of his trouble by mentioning

various weak points of a woman. But, when a man criticised a woman as a weak and sinful creature, Gautama told him that a woman was as good as a man. The Buddha had, on the whole, however, a good respect for woman.

In ordinary cases, the Buddha taught his countrymen to respect a woman as well as a man, placing husband and wife on a footing of equality.

When the Buddha opened a sort of school for seekers after the truth, he refused to accept women as his pupils at first. But some time after, he was obliged to admit his own aunt into his school as the first woman among his followers. And following her example, many other women entered his school one after another. The Buddha feared that co-education might give rise to various troubles, and lead his school to ruin. His aunt, the first woman pupil of his school, however, was a person of wisdom and iron will. Thanks to her instruction and guidance, no illicit relations between male and female pupils were ever reported, and many of the female pupils turned out to be successful followers of the Buddha.

The school, or, properly speaking, an order, was classified into four different courses, the fourth course being the highest. And no distinction was recognized by the Buddha between male and female pupils.

Thus Buddhism gave a high position to women as Buddhist disciples, whereas Confucius and Christ rather made light of women, though the latter always had sympathies with women as weak creatures. This is undeniable from the fact that many of the Christian Churches did not like women to preach, while most of the great Christian disciples of the mediaeval age regarded women as if they had been offsprings of Satan. Some of them even declared that women had no soul. If we consider these facts together with the fact that the Church of England is still undecided whether women should be allowed to stand on the pulpit or not, it is really remarkable that thirty centuries ago, Buddha gave to woman followers as much right as to man followers.

Then, why is it that Buddhism is mistaken for religion with no respect for women, while Christianity is praised for its respect for women? The answer is simple. The western women became aware of the right of individuals as early as the days of the Roman Empire. And they fought desperately for the establishment of women's right in society. They demanded the same degree of right as enjoyed by men in every quarter of social life. At last, the Churches, which had long stood firm against the demands of women, had to yield to the repeated demands of clamorous women, who demanded more and more right in the Church until they attained an equal footing as men. This is to say that Christianity had no respect toward women at first, but, was obliged to pay them respect owing to their indefatigable demands. On other hand, the women of the Eastern countries had been trained by the teachings of Confucius and of Brahmanism not to make any demands after their right. And in the long course of time, the women of such Buddhist countries as China, Japan, etc. have come to consider that women are inferior to men in every respect, with the deplorable result that many of the Buddhist priests in those countries also forgot that the Buddha entertained due respect towards women.

Impartiality in Trials

In the *Nation and Athenaeum* Leonard Woolf collects some facts and opinions from *Historical Trials* by Sir John Macdonell, a distinguished lawyer who was King's Remembrancer and Senior Master of the Supreme Court of Judicature. Says he:—

It is almost impossible not to feel, after reading this book that 'the law' is a horrible thing, a terrible engine that has been used at all times by those in power to butcher unfortunate people whose opinions they have not liked or whose existence has been politically inconvenient.

There is hardly a single case in which Sir John Macdonell can find that the accused person got a fair trial or that the law, such as it was at the time, was properly administered. None of the political prisoners got a fair trial.

The legal persecution of opinion is even more interesting and horrifying. Socrates, Giordano Bruno, Galileo, and Servetus were all tried for holding opinions distasteful to persons in their own day but for which the world now honors them. It is possibly not without significance that, of all the martyrs of justice whose cases are examined by Sir John Macdonell, Socrates, in a pre-Christian and Pagan court, got the fairest trial. Sir John himself stresses the point. The prosecution and condemnation at Athens were, he says 'at least done decently and in order and with no desire to stifle the voice of the victim, and there are none of the circumstances of brutality which I shall often have to note in mediaeval and modern trials.' He points out that, if Socrates had been tried by an ecclesiastical court, as were Bruno and Campanella, he would have been tortured, charged with sorcery or magic, 'cut off' from his disciples, and delivered over, shattered and crushed in body, to the civil power to be burned.' If he had been tried in England at any time before the middle of the nineteenth century, his treatment would have been hardly better. Certainly Socrates had a far fairer trial than Bruno, Galileo, or Servetus. Guilty or not guilty of heresy, the doom of these three men was sealed as soon as they fell into the hands of the law.

As regards "the complete impartiality of judges," Mr. Woolf says:

There are many people who consider that it is particularly heinous kind of less majesty to question the complete impartiality of judges. I cannot understand this attitude in anyone who is not a judge or the most conservative of Tories. If four judges are completely impartial, they are the only judges in the world who have ever been so. That, in itself, would make one begin to hesitate. But justice never has been and is not even-handed in cases where religion, patriotism, politics, or class interests enter.

There are one or two judges on the English Bench who could not be trusted to give a fair trial to, say, a Communist or an Indian Nationalist or, indeed, to any 'agitator.' The administration of our blasphemy laws is a recurrent scandal. And the moral is that the law should be given as little say as possible in the matters of politics and opinion.

Ghazi Kemal Pasha and Religion

The Inquirer of London writes:—

Like many political reformers the Ghazi is showing much impatience with the religious traditions of his country, and wishes to make a clean sweep of the whole lot, including the Koran. He is said to have pitched this scared book across the room on one occasion, remarking that progress could not be fettered by rules and regulations laid down for a past generation. We of all people should find no fault with the attitude indicated by his words, though the action which accompanied them would seem to us extremely ill-judged. Neither can we pretend to be dismayed because modern tendencies and ideas are emptying the mosques and reducing the number of "believers" who keep the Feast of Ramazan. The same thing is going on in our own country, and yet we are optimistically looking for some good to come out of all this. But we hope there are enough thoughtful minds in Turkey and elsewhere to keep alive the best elements in Mohammedanism, while they strive to clear away from it the accretions of false ideas and the superstitious customs of an earlier day.

Student Segregation in U. S. A.

We read in *The World Tomorrow*:

Negro workmen are good enough to labor for white owners in the factories of Gary, Indiana. Negroes constitute something like one-sixth of the city's population. But apparently Negro boys and girls are not good enough to receive education along with white boys and girls in a high school named, ironically enough, after Ralph Waldo Emerson. The continued strike of eight hundred students demanding segregation for some two dozen colored fellow-students proved too much for the educational authorities, who at first took a firm stand for law and democracy. A compromise has been affected; but like too many compromises, it is in reality a victory for prejudice. The Negro pupils, with the exception of the three seniors nearly through and three others who will be placed in another high school where there is a large body of Negro students, are to be transferred to a new \$15,000 temporary school building for colored pupils as soon as it can be erected.

Gary at its worst is only a symptom of a growing tendency in many parts of the North toward the refusal of democratic association with colored boys and girls in the schools. Segregation of students on color lines is an evil not solely because of the injustice involved and the bitterness engendered; it is contrary to any true conception of education. Education, of all public activities, should be devoid of bigotry and free for the rich lessons of human fraternity.

Contrast with the above the news that in Madras the trustees of Pachaiappa's School have decided to admit pupils belonging to the depressed classes, the so-called untouchables.

INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

News and Portraits

Generally Indian women are not able to prosecute their studies for university examinations after they are married. But it is a pleasing feature to note that several Bengali lady-students have been able to prosecute their studies—thanks to the encouragement and opportunities afforded by their guardians—even after their marriage.

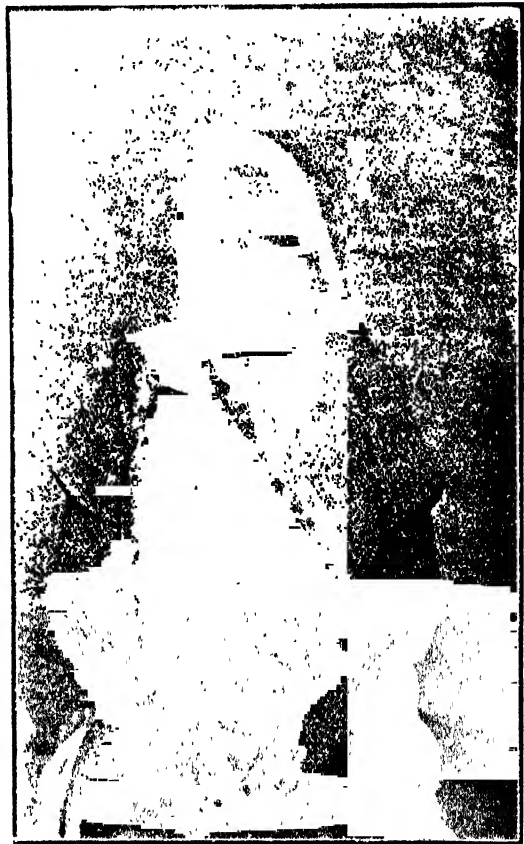


Srimati Mrinmayee Dutt

SRIMATI MRINMAYEE DUTT, daughter of Mr. Jogendranath Das of Sylhet has passed the B.A. examination of the Calcutta University with Honours (second-class first) in Sanskrit. She was married before she passed the I.A.

examination and prosecuted her studies at home. She appeared as a private candidate at the last B.A. examination.

SRIMATI SUBARNALATA PURKAYESTHA, daughter of the late Kamini Kumar Das, a well-known public worker of Comilla and Chittagong, has passed the last B.A. examination of the Calcutta University from the Diocesan College.



Mrs. D. K. Mistry

Photo By I. N. A.

Calcutta. Mrs. Subarnalata prosecuted her studies even after her marriage.

MISS RENU DAS GUPTA, daughter of Mr. Ramesh Chandra Das of Comilla, has been successful at the last B.A. examination. Miss Das Gupta's success deserves special mention inasmuch as she did not attend any school



Mrs. E. Roberts

Photo By Indian News Agency

or college and appeared as a private candidate in successive university examinations.

It is reported that MISS P. PARIJATHAM, B.A., will be the first Naidu lady-graduate to sit for the M.A. examination. She is now a student of the Madras Presidency College. Miss Parijatham passed her B.A. examination with distinction and was awarded Dr. T. M. Nair Memorial Gold Medal, The R. Akkamma



Miss P. Parijatham

Garu Gold Medal and the Lady Pentland Presentation Prize.

We are informed that MRS. E. ROBERTS and MRS. D. K. MISTRY of the Adi-Dravidian community have been nominated by the Madras Government as Councillors of Dindigal and Cannanore municipalities respectively.

THE JUTE EXPORT DUTY

By NALINI RANJAN SARKAR

OF all the provinces Bengal has been hardest hit by the blunders of the Meston Settlement. The exclusive appropriation of the jute export duty by the Government of India has aggravated the financial injustice done to this province and the transference of this head of revenue to the Government of Bengal has of late been the moot question of our provincial finances. It was first imposed in the year 1916 owing to the exigencies of war finance and since then it has continued as a part of our normal system of taxation. The Government of India have tenaciously clung to this source of revenue and successive Finance Members have

vied with one another in devising ingenious defences for the continuance and retention by them of this duty. Sir William Meyer, who was responsible for its introduction, based it on two grounds, namely that trade was prosperous at that time and that jute was a monopoly product the tax on which is shifted to the foreign consumer. Replying to Mr. K. C. Neogi, when he moved a token cut in 'Customs', Sir Basil improved considerably on his predecessors and dispensed with the former reason altogether. He "is almost certain that no part of the tax whatsoever is paid by the producer and that the whole of it falls on the consumer."

Though from his position of authority Sir Basil may feel entitled to be dogmatic, a careful examination of the whole question, either by itself or in conjunction with the wider question of the adjustment of the provincial tax-burden, will show that there is not even a semblance of equity in the continuance of the present system.

Even a superficial examination of the contribution of taxes by the various provinces would show that Bengal is not only paying its proper share, as it ought to do, towards the cost of the Central Government but, as a matter of actual fact, it is bearing proportionately a much greater burden of payment than any of the other provinces, and I may say with every confidence that the more closely we examine the question the stronger will appear the justice of our contentions.

The following table* will give a comparative idea of the taxes raised in the various provinces and the contributions made by them to the Central Government in 1925-26.

Name of Provinces.	Total Revenue raised in the Province.	Central	Provincial.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	23,76.78	9,05.43	14,71.35
Bombay	40,12.03	24,87.85	15,24.18
Bengal	40,07.90	29,37.72	10,70.18
United Provinces	14,42.17	3,55.49	10,86.68
Punjab	13,45.11	1,93.12	11,51.99
Burma	20,50.02	9,31.44	10,18.82
Bihar & Orissa	6,24.12	45.18	5,78.94
Central Provinces	5,97.68	62.54	5,35.14
Assam	2,88.78	38.73	2,50.05

Name of Province.	Collection on Railway account.	On A/c of Posts.	True charges of Customs.	Other Revenues.	Total Collection	Central	Provincial
Bengal	1705.7	173.05	1000.00	3273.68	5152.43	4082.25	1070.18
Bihar	910.2	38.17	450.00	590.57	1988.94	1410.06	578.94
Assam	219.9	included in Bengal	210.00	257.99	687.89	437.84	250.05
Burma	648.5	50.28	1417.54	2116.32	1096.50	1018.82
United Provinces	1410.7	95.46	850.00	1635.65	3991.81	2905.13	1086.68
Central Province	520.6	47.03	120.00	614.64	1302.27	767.13	535.14
Punjab	1015.4	144.53	620.00	1301.19	3081.12	1929.13	1151.99
Bombay	1214.4	173.42	450.00	2333.17	4170.99	2646.81	1524.18
Madras	1131.1	158.66	280.00	2453.93	4023.69	2552.34	1471.35

N. B. Figures in lakhs of rupees.

We have to take into account the contributions of individual provinces, which are not clearly shown to their credit, as in the case of Railway and Postal and Telegraph collections, where the lump profit alone is shewn for the entire country. In these cases the contribution of the provinces is real and

It is thus seen that out of a total revenue of over Rs. 79 crores, derived by the Central Government, Bengal contributed about 30 crores, and that, even excluding the jute export duty of 3½ crores, Bengal would be not only on a par with Bombay and other provinces but would still continue to pay in excess of any of them.

It may, however, still be argued with a great deal of force that though these taxes are collected in these provinces exclusively for the Central Government, the entire burden of such taxes is not borne by these provinces inasmuch as opium, salt and the dutiable goods are only partially consumed by them. So the figures, as they are found in these returns, are not a safe guide to go by and an allowance must be made on this account. If proper statistics were available, i. e., if actual consumption of salt, opium and other dutiable goods in each province could be found out, a proper survey and examination of the true sources of these taxes could have been made. But the Department of Statistics, like most other costly departments of government, has not served our real needs and no such accurate estimate is any longer deemed useful. Even the publication of the Inland Trade Returns, which could have enabled us to form a rough estimate, has been stopped since 1921. On the basis of the Inland Trade Returns of 1920-21 a prominent economist of Bombay has estimated the true incidence of taxation of the various provinces as follows :

must be taken into account in adjudging the share of each in the common burden.

I make bold to say that if this question of provincial contribution were thoroughly examined and the real contribution of provinces under all heads exactly ascertained, it would be found that, even apart from the jute export duty, Bengal is paying a bigger share to the revenues of the Central Govern-

* Figures correct up to lakhs.

ment than any other province, while the spending power left to her is less than that of Bombay, Madras, Punjab and U. P. so that Bengal is left with a revenue of Rs. 10.73 crores to minister to the needs of the most populous of all the provinces in India; while her population is 50 lakhs less than ours, Madras has 4 crores more spending power and Bombay has a spending power of over 4½ crores more with but less than half the population of Bengal.

It is no wonder that, having been in force for such a long time, the present practice has enlisted the support of many, and vested interests have conceived ingenious arguments for its continuance. Some of these critics try to persuade us that Bengal's financial ills are due to her Permanent Settlement. They quite forget that the disproportionate Central contribution of Bengal as compared with that of the other provinces is a question quite unconnected with any question of additional taxation. The question of the Permanent Settlement cannot at all come in before the contributions to Central revenue have been are based on some equitable basis and their disproportionate nature removed.

For the permanently settled tracts of India the annual loss to the respective Provincial Exchequers is in the neighbourhood of 6.04 crores. As calculated by Mr. Findlay Shirras this total is made up as follows :—

	Rs.
Bengal	2.12 crores
Bihar and Orissa	2.12 "
Madras	1.18 "
Assam	0.47 "
United Provinces	0.14 "
Ajmere Merwara	0.01 "

(The loss represents the difference between the existing rental and the rental that would have prevailed if the rates prevailing in the neighbouring temporarily settled areas were applied to the area under Permanent Settlement.)

Even if the Permanent Settlement be abolished all over India and the Bengal Government thereby increased its land revenue by 2.12 crores, the question of differential taxation would remain to justify Bengal's claim to the jute export duty or an equivalent balancing factor.

The Government of India, as being most directly hit by the proposed change, have come forward to deny most emphatically

the justice of this claim. They and their spokesmen have invented many a flimsy excuse to cover their refusal. Apart from the contentions that jute is a monopoly product the tax on which is paid in reality only by the foreign consumer, and that customs as a rule should go to the Central Government it has also been said that the transference of the jute export duty would involve the introduction of a divided head of revenue. The last mentioned point was advanced by no less a person than Sir Basil Blackett in reply to an address of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. He conveniently forgot that, however much academicians might look on it with disfavour, no country has been able to escape the division of the same head of revenue between the Central and Provincial Governments. In our own country the proceeds of the stamp duty are divided between the provinces and the Government of India. It is difficult to understand how small administrative inconveniences or copy-book maxims can be valid reasons for imposing unfair burdens on particular provinces.

It was during his second visit to the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, that Sir Basil advanced what he perhaps conceived to be the crushing argument that jute is a monopoly product, the tax on which is paid entirely by the foreign consumer, the native producer being thus left wholly untouched. While at first sight Sir Basil's argument may seem to be right, it is difficult to hold that view after one has gone fully into the question. If by calling jute a monopoly product one means that it is not grown in any other part of the world then there is no denying that proposition. But if the aim of the Government is to stress the economic import of that term then we have to say that the conditions under which jute is produced and sold to the foreign buyers are not characterised by any monopolistic feature whatsoever. The distinguishing characteristic of a monopoly is 'single-handed control of the entire supply,' which implies full power to dictate the price to the consumer. Far from this being true, the real state of affairs is that the producer is at the mercy of the foreign buyer and his agents who control the market in India. The millions of jute growers, competing with each other to sell their produce, are not organised and can neither restrict the output nor regulate the sales. Their helplessness is notorious.

They have absolutely no staying power and are invariably compelled by necessity to sell their produce at the best immediate offer to the middlemen, who are always ready to exploit their neediness. Even when a rise in price takes place, the cultivator does not profit by it. On the other hand, the foreign buyers form a close and powerful ring with an extensive organisation of agents, and can, by regulating the demand, force any price on the producers in this province. There is also the fact that, whenever the price of jute goes beyond a certain point, the consumer tries to do without it by resort to inferior substitutes or to bulk handling. Thus it will be seen that in spite of the fact that jute is not grown anywhere else in the world, it cannot be treated as a monopoly product so far as problems of price and taxation are concerned.

It is difficult to understand the complacency with which the Finance Member seems to feel that he gains 3½ crores every year without putting the people of this province to any privation. Though I am certain that he fills his office with great ability and has a particularly clear grasp of economic principles, it is indeed surprising that he forgets that all economic principles hold good only in the rough, and that one must be on particularly sure ground when dealing with the effect of taxes on those commodities which are commonly spoken of as monopolised.

Again, what are the conditions in which a monopolist would be able to shift the tax-burden on to the consumer?

"If we suppose him to be quite unfettered in his monopoly, rigorously determined on the extraction of the utmost profit possible, and thoroughly informed both as to the conditions of demand and his own increasing or diminishing costs—then he has a very pretty problem before him in readjusting his supply and his price after the imposition of the tax. He may be supposed to call mathematical formulae to his aid and to work out with exactness how far it will be to his advantage to submit to some part of the tax, how far to shift part of it to consumers."

It will be clear from the passage I have just quoted from Prof. Taussig that considering the ignorance of the Bengal peasants it would be most unsafe to presume that the jute export duty is simply shifted *en bloc* to the shoulders of the foreign buyer. A little reflection on the organisation of the jute trade would show that it is impossible for the Indian trader to shift the tax to the foreign buyer. The duty on the export of jute was levied in March, 1916.

This was followed by the appointment of the Director of Commercial Intelligence as Jute Commissioner to effect purchases of raw jute for the Dundee Mills. Later on, this system was changed for a new one⁴⁷⁸ involving purchase in London from selected firms and it has continued ever since. During the war period there was an official Jute Controller who purchased jute manufactures for the Government and the Allies at controlled rates. And when a considerable portion of the commodity is sold at controlled rates, the price naturally cannot rise higher in the case of private purchasers, especially when there is only one such purchaser in the field like the Jute Commissioner or a small ring of firms. This control of the price, of jute continued till early in 1919-20. And during the period it cannot be said that the jute-growers and jute-dealers of Bengal could have exacted a monopoly price much less dictated the price to their foreign customers and thereby shifted the tax to their monopolist and dictatorial buyers. Nor is it possible even now when the buyers form a close ring of half-a-dozen firms. Add to this the fact that the Mahajans are often financed by and are therefore the creatures of the foreign *bepari*, the *Bepari* being in turn the creature of the *mahajan*, and the ryot shackled by advances from the *bepari*, the money coming of course from the foreign buyer.

The frequent wide fluctuation in the price of jute, the extensive speculation in forward contract, all point to the fact that the jute-grower is not a monopolist in any real sense. The following observations recorded in the Administration Report of Bengal, 1925-26 will also prove that neither the Indian producer nor the Indian trader has any control over the price of jute and therefore cannot shift the export duty on the commodity to the buyer.

"Calcutta prices for first marks were 106 per bale in the 1st week of April 1925 and rose in the same month to 118. News of increased sowing then filtered through and prices receded till, with the issue of the preliminary forecast in July estimating an increase in area of 6.50 per cent, over the previous years, it was as low as Rs. 90 per bale in September. But hopes of a large crop were rudely dispelled in September, when the final forecast estimated the yield at only 78 lacs of bales, as compared with 81 lakhs in the previous year. The immediate result of this unexpected disparity between the two forecasts was almost chaotic. Buyers who had sat on the fence hoping for a fall in prices and mills with depleted stocks were caught unawares and prices soared in a

panic-stricken market, at times to heights at which hardly any business was done. By the end of October the highest rate for the year Rs 136 per bale, was reached. Later, when according to the official forecasts stocks should have been exhausted, supplies continued to come in, prices collapsed and the year closed with a lifeless market. The unsteadiness of prices was a source of heavy loss to many, in fact a large proportion of goods was shipped under contracts made at much lower prices than those ruling at the time of the export."

Who can say after this that the Indian can shift his burden to his foreign customer? Neither theoretical *a priori* reasoning nor an examination of the actual facts warrant such a convenient assumption. The very fact that there is wide fluctuation in the price every year is a proof to the contrary. The advocates of the Government view do not recognise that the onus of proof is on them and that it is for them to show that no substantial part of the burden affects the people of Bengal.

There is one other valid argument why the jute export duty should not be exclusively an item of central revenue. For it is obviously unfair that, when the jute cultivation and industry in Bengal needs various services, agricultural, sanitary, medical, educational, etc., the Government of India should absorb the entire revenue derivable from that source and leave it to the provincial Government to take care of the industry as well as it may with its empty purse. For, the jute industry is not like any other industry in Bengal. It is the mainstay of all the various classes of the people of Bengal and has as such to be carefully protected and fostered. And, more than that, there are dangers ahead to combat for which propaganda work is urgently required in different parts of the world.

The danger of cheaper substitutes has to be guarded against. And much might also be done for improving the quality of the crop and extending its markets abroad. None of these services could be rendered so long as the benefits of this staple industry are taken away by the Central Government. This is not all. As the jute tax is uniformly laid on all classes of jute without any reference to their price or quality, the production of the lower qualities is adversely affected. The reliefs have to be planned and executed by the provincial Government who have to do everything in this connection, the Central Government coming in only to take off the revenue.

Considered from every point of view it seems imperative that the jute export duty should properly belong to the provincial Government. I have already referred to the disparity in the burdens of expenditure devolving on the various provinces. And it may be remembered that so early as April 1922 the representatives of the Government of Bengal urged their claims to a further assignment of revenue at a conference of the Finance Members at Simla. The financial position of the Government of India which would have been put forward as an argument against that claim has greatly improved now and such a relief can be given without landing the central Government in any serious financial difficulty. Even if more revenue should be needed, the Government should seek to raise it by altering the Income Tax regulations so as to secure the full amount due to the Government. At present by exempting the incomes of a certain group of European companies and individuals from taxation the Government of India loses about 5 crores a year. The Taxation Enquiry Committee mention several classes of incomes that are not charged with Indian Income Tax. Our Income Tax Act does not extend to those incomes of residents which accrues or arises abroad and is not received or deemed to be received in British India. Moreover, profits and gains of business accruing or arising without British India are not chargeable even if received in British India, provided they are not so received or brought in within three years of the end of the year in which they accrued or arose. One wonders why this practice is followed in India, while in the United Kingdom the practice is to charge the entire income of persons resident and domiciled there, whether or not that income is received in the United Kingdom. Again, there is the case of non-residents whose income accrues and arises in India but escapes the Indian Income Tax. There are four classes of these as stated by the Taxation Enquiry Committee :—(1) persons drawing in other countries pensions that have been earned in India ; (2) persons resident out of India who draw interest on the sterling debt of India ; (3) non-resident firms which have agents or branches in India ; and (4) the owners of shipping resident in other countries who do business with India. Unfortunately the Taxation Enquiry Committee did not give sufficient consideration to the matter in the light of the practices of other countries. They

were palpably biassed and have shown more eagerness to protect the vested interests of Europeans than to do justice to India. There is no data in the numerous publications of the Government to show the exact amount of the loss caused by this privilege given to Europeans. Professor K. T. Shah, in his "Sixty Years of Indian Finance," puts the amount at roughly Rs. 5 crores per annum. If this amount can be secured, then the Government of India will find itself in plenty and cannot grudge Bengal this belated measure of justice.

There is no other country which seeks to maintain a system of federal and provincial taxation merely on a uniform basis of undivided heads of revenue. When that system results in such glaring injustice, they should be remedied by making over either a part or the whole of some other heads. Though customs may remain a central revenue, the large variety of reasons I have so far adduced suffice to show conclusively that the jute export duty must be made over to Bengal in its entirety.

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

The Crisis in East Africa

Few of us in India realise the seriousness of the crisis that is approaching our countrymen in East Africa. While we are fighting among ourselves a situation is developing in East Africa which may prove dangerous and harmful not only to the Indian settlers in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar but also to Indians at home. Australia, New-zealand, Canada, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have already shut their doors against us and now Lord Delamere and Sir Edward Grigg want to close East Africa also. Let us clearly understand it that this is the real aim of the White settlers in East Africa. They say "South Africa is the back-door for Indians to enter Africa ; Kenya is the front-door. We must not merely close the back-door at Durban, we must also close the front-door at Mombasa." From the point of view of emigration of our countrymen in future the prohibition of Indian emigration to East Africa will be a great tragedy indeed. East Africa is the natural outlet for India's expansion. An English gentleman, who lived in East Africa for several years, writes to Mr. S. G. Vaze, Editor of the Servants of India :—

"To a foreigner like me it seems incredible that India should be so taken up with party conflict and with trying to find out how to stop communal rioting and murder that the importance of this new policy in East Africa is not realised. Some

day I am certain a vast emigration movement will set in from India. Where will the emigrants go if East Africa is closed to them ? Part of the trouble is that men like Sir Edward Grigg and Lord Delamere are clever in covering up their ambition to gain complete domination. They completely humbug 'Christians' like Oldham and Ormsby-Gore. All India ought to be on fire over this attempt to fortify impregnably the European planters of Kenya so that no reforming government in Westminster will ever be able to disturb them."

The Aim of Lord Delamere

The *Nyasaland Times* has published an article which throws a good deal of light on the aim of Lord Delamere. Here is an extract from that article.

Reading Lord Delamere's speech at the opening of the Third Unofficial Conferences in conjunction with the reports of the two previous Conferences, and in conjunction with the declared policy of his party in Kenya, there is only one conclusion which can be arrived at, and that is, that the civilization referred to by Lord Delamere is the South Africa brand, which in the judgment of the world, is one of the most retrograde in recent times. Up to recent years South Africa followed to some extent the policy enunciated by Rhodes, of equal rights for all civilized men irrespective of race, creed or colour. Of late years, however, there has been an entire reversal of what may be called the approved World Policy and a narrow conception, founded on the crudest Nationalism and Racialism has taken its place. Lord Delamere and his Party seem to be enamoured of this South African civilization. It is this brand which he is endeavouring to impose on Kenya and from Kenya he hopes to spread it over Uganda.

and Tanganyika. Once this is accomplished then he hopes that it will be strong enough to dominate Nyasaland and North Eastern Rhodesia and so join up with Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

Then the *Nyasaland Times* proceeds :—

We have held that this particular kind of civilisation is unsuitable to Tropical Africa, and in our opinion Lord Delamere and his friends will never succeed in imposing it on these territories ; and not only so, but the attempt to do so will lead to bitter racial friction...We here cannot risk the racial bitterness which is the only result of a repressive policy. Not only so, but we must be true to the traditions and principles of that flag which waves from the Zambesi to the Nile and means *Freedom for all* irrespective of race creed or colour.

What the British Government is trying to do

Those who have been following the course of events in East Africa are quite convinced that the British Government is trying to establish an East African Empire. The Conference of the Governors, the propaganda by Sir Edward Grigg and the Federation Commission are only a part of that big programme. Mr. Andrews, in a remarkable series of articles to the Indian papers brought out this fact in a clear way. He wrote :—

I have often explained in the Indian press how Mr. Ormsby-Gore made the remarkable and popular statement that the British people in the course of their long history, have built up two great empires already, and were about to build up a third. The first empire was the American Dominion which took shape under the British flag in the 18th century. He pointed out that though United States had broken away from the British flag yet Canada remains as the ultimate effect of that great territory.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore declares further that the 19th century was the time in which the British people having lost America, went forward to build up their Indian empire. This second task, he regards, is now very nearly accomplished. He looks forward to India soon governing her own territories, and not needing any longer British protection. He states the date is soon coming when India will pass out of British protection just as the United States has passed.

At last he comes in the third place to the 20th century. He declares in a striking phrase that the 20th century is the psychological period in the history of humanity when Africa will come to its turn of development. He states that in the process of this development East Africa is waiting for British genius to regularise in a way that will be no less important in the history of humanity than the British rule in India which it preceded.

It is to be noted that the area of the British territories in East and Central Africa is greater than the whole of the Indian Empire including Burma and Ceylon.

We can now easily understand what the British Government is driving at. They will ruthlessly brush aside anything that comes in their way and helpless as we are, there is every possibility of our losing ground in East Africa. The prohibition of Indian Immigration into East Africa is a question of years now.

What shall we do ?

Thus we are fighting a losing battle ; still we must do something. Let us first understand it that the question of Indian emigration to East Africa does not concern merely Kenya, Uganda and other territories. It is a much wider question and concerns the future of India herself. We must not accept any compromise on this question and we must warn the Indian settlers in East Africa against doing so.

Then we must take our stand upon the mandate and try to prevent the inclusion of Tanganyika in any federal scheme. We should not forget that the grant of responsible Government even with a non-official majority instead of a white majority will lead to results very harmful to the cause of Africans and Indians. The idea of sharing of trusteeship of the Natives by the Indians is a mere camouflage. We ought not be a party to any exploitation of the Africans, not only that, but we must consider *their* interest to be of paramount importance in East Africa. The ultimate security of Indian interest in Africa lies in following this line of politics which is honest and in keeping with India's past traditions. It is to be hoped that our leaders in East Africa will take a long view of things.

Mr. Sastri's appeal to Transvaal Indians

Even those who do not like Mr. Sastri's political complexion will give him credit for the earnestness and sincerity with which he is doing his work in South Africa. The Indian Opinion of Oct. 21st publishes a lengthy speech of his at Johannesburg in which he made a stirring appeal to Transvaal Indians to unite and join hands with the Congress.

Here is an extract from his speech :

"It sometimes strikes me that I have not left India at all. When I see the mistakes you make, when I see the mistakes you want your leaders to commit, I still think I am in India, where to-day, after thousands of years, Hindus and Mahomedans still shed each other's blood and refuse to come together for the redemption of their

common mother. (A voice: "Shame.") Aye my friends, you don't seem to me to be much better. If your quarrels are not between Hindus and Mahomedans they are between Natal and the Transvaal, the Transvaal British Indian Association and the South African Indian Congress and Kaffirs and Canays (laughter). Are we right in letting this state of things continue when danger presses? Come, wake up, be men in your time. Think of your families and the troubles that await them.

Get this wrong step reversed, go back to Congress and, if you will, reform it. Why not? After all it is a simple matter of copy book wisdom. Anybody will tell you that when there are 70,000 people, 5,000 or 6,000 miles from their own country, living in another country most of whose people don't like them, don't want them, but want to expel them if possible—these 70,000 people should gang together like one man. (Loud applause). Is that not elementary wisdom?

Why should anyone stand in the way of unity, and when unity is broken why should anyone bar the way to reunion? In the midst of dangers—terrible dangers—to continue in this course is not fulfilling the trust given to you. I don't want 'no.' I have not come here for the purpose of dividing Transvaalers and Transvaalers, but I want the whole of the Indian community of the Union of South Africa to come together like one man."

Is it too much to hope that our countrymen in Transvaal will realise their mistake now and join the Congress again?

Serious News from British Guiana

Mr. Ayube, Secretary of the British Guiana East India Association, has sent a long letter to the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay, in which he describes how the British Government is trying to reduce the political status of British Guiana to that of a crown colony. British Guiana has a peculiar constitution of its own which puts it above the rank of a crown colony and makes it in certain respects like a self-governing Dominion. There is no racial inequality in British Guiana at present and the number of our people there is more than 125 thousands out of a population of 304 thousands. Ultimately they along with the negro population are bound to have a controlling voice in the finances of British Guiana. The big capitalists of Britain have now realised this final position and they are, therefore, trying to get the control of purse in the hands of the Governor or the Colonial Office.

Mr. Ayube has appealed to India in these words:—

"It is for the leaders of the Motherland to all and act quickly too...The Motherland has cham-

pioned the cause of her children in South Africa successfully. British Guiana's dark day is at hand and we look and hope for help."

Anti-Asiatic Agitation in New Zealand

The Secretary of the New Zealand Indian Association (country section) has sent me a copy of a pamphlet issued by the White New Zealand League of that Dominion. Here are some sentences from that pamphlet.—

"Refuse to deal with the Asiatics. Refuse to deal, trade or discourse with these Orientals. Show them the way to go home. It is a well-known fact that, in so far as competing with them in the silk trade, fruits and laundries, our white traders have not the ghost of a chance.....An eminent internationalist made the following observation:—

"East is East and West and West

And never the twain shall meet."

Think it over, friends and ask yourself what course you are going to take in this question.

Robert. J. O. Groves
Organising Secretary
White New Zealand League

Comment is needless.

Hindu-Muslim Question in the Colonies

The time has come when our compatriots abroad should be warned against introducing the communal questions, that have done so much harm here in India, among the domiciled Indian population in the colonies. It is a fact that every single excitement affecting India reaches the distant colonies sooner or later and letters have been received from Fiji and other colonies that the communal troubles have already begun there. We appeal to colonial Indians not to reproduce an ugly picture of India in 'Greater India'.

The Problem of Returned Emigrants

There is one important item of the South African Agreement which has not received due attention at the hands of the Indian public and that is regarding the returned emigrants from South Africa. The Indian Government, according to this item in the Agreement, has recognised its obligation to look after the returned emigrants for South Africa, and so far as possible to "protect them against squandering their cash and losing it to adventurers and help these returned emigrants to settle in occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitude or their resources.

It was in 1921 that our Government realised for the first time that it had a duty to perform towards the returned emigrants and gave considerable help in establishing an Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee at Calcutta. Now that the Government has decided to take up the work in right earnest so far as the South African returned emigrants are concerned, may we impress upon them that they ought not to differentiate between the returned emigrants of South Africa and those of Fiji or West Indies? There is a large number of returned emigrants at Matlabur, Calcutta living in a miserable condition. Cannot the Government do something for them? It will be a good thing if the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee is revived to take up this work again. We hope the Government will give serious consideration to this question.

Indians Overseas and our Congress

Mr. C. Chattur Singh of Fiji writes in one of his letters:—

"The Special Congress held at Delhi in 1923 passed a resolution to 'organise education propaganda in the country regarding the position of Indians in the Colonies' again at Cawnpore it resolved to open a Foreign Department to 'look after the interest of Indians abroad' etc, etc. Could it be believed that, so far as Fiji is concerned, nothing has been done!

When in May last the All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay I wrote a long letter in regards to prevailing condition of Indians in Fiji and had it handed to the General Secretary Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar. In spite of my request for an early acknowledgement, to date, I have received none.

Within the last ten years we have made innumerable appeals to India but our cry has been in wilderness! The name of India and Indians has been stigmatised abroad but our leaders at home are busy with wordy warfare!

Morally, socially, not to say politically, our countrymen are drifting from bad to worse in Fiji. Has India a teacher, preacher or a Sanyasi to send out there? Cannot India at least secure us an Agent to look after and safeguard our interest in far off Fiji?"

I have reproduced this portion of Mr. Chattur Singh's letter simply to show that it is worse than useless to pass resolutions which are not to be acted upon.

NOTES

Parliament's "Responsibility" and Our Right

In his speech on the Statutory Commission Lord Birkenhead has said in effect that the British Parliament cannot give up its responsibility to see that the affairs of India are well-administered. The talk of that body's "responsibility" in that connection is sheer hypocrisy. What is really meant is that the British people cannot allow the people of India to decide how the affairs of their own country should be managed, for if they became the arbiters of their own destiny, India would not be governed, as it is at present, solely—at least mainly, in British interests. So in effect the meaning of the British Parliament's responsibility is nothing more or less than its right, founded only on might, to see that India is governed and exploited for the furtherance of the interests of the British people.

Nothing shows more clearly the keen sense

of the British Parliament's responsibility towards India than the fact that the introduction of the Indian budget debate has generally served as a signal for its members to leave their seats, and it has always been a difficulty on such occasions to prevent a count out. Parliament has been practically content throughout to leave the destiny of India in the hands of the men on the spot.

However long the period during which we have been prevented from exercising our right to determine how our country is to be governed, that right is fundamental and can never be time-barred or lost. Whatever British politicians may say, we have that right still.

There are certain rights which are created by statute. But these do not exhaust the list of human rights. There are other and more fundamental human rights. When Thomas Paine spoke of the rights of man, he referred to these fundamental rights. When during the great world war, "the Allies" prated

of the right of self-determination of nations, they referred to one of these fundamental rights. If men had no other rights except those conferred on them by man-made laws, all nations in the world would even now remain in a state of servitude. It may not be practicable for some nations under certain circumstances to exercise the right of self-determination. But that can never mean that it is for that reason lost.

The British Parliament has at present the might to determine how India is to be governed. It has the might to attempt to impose its will on India, and, as in the past, so for some time to come, that attempt may succeed. But nevertheless our right of self-determination would persist, whatever the length of the period of its abeyance.

We have read the speeches of Lords Birkenhead, Reading, Olivier, Chelmsford, Winterton and Company on the Statutory Commission. But we are not convinced thereby that it would be wrong on our part to take our stand on the fundamental, inalienable and indestructible right of self-determination. We shall be told that we should be practical, that we should strive only for that which is obtainable. But how can one know the limit of the practical and the realisable unless one tries to obtain in full what he is entitled to? There is in fact no such fixed limit. It is for manhood to push the limit further and further by strenuous endeavour.

We do not pretend to be superior to those who are ready to take what is obtainable (meaning what Britishers may be willing to give) and to shape their conduct by what is practical and expedient. But we on our part may be permitted to cling to our fundamental right of self-determination, at the risk of being called dreamers, visionaries and irreconcilables.

It is not because of any special fondness for abstract rights that we insist on self-determination. We know best what is best for our country and what our nation is capable of.

We continue to think that no Indian should have anything to do with the present Statutory Commission appointed by the British Parliament, that our public associations should boycott it, and that the central and provincial legislatures should not form the committees referred to in Lord Birkenhead's speech.

But we should not stop short with the

boycott. Men elected by all our political parties should frame a constitution and try by all possible means to give effect to it. If we fail in the immediate future to agree or to give effect to an agreed constitution, we should not lose hope. For all failures are but temporary.

"Affront to India"

Our attitude in the matter of the Statutory Commission has not been determined by what has been called a calculated affront to India. For in our opinion, there cannot be a greater insult than to have to live under foreign domination.

Our attitude would have been what it is, even if a few Indians had been appointed members of the Commission. We do not, moreover, think that a commission is at all indispensably necessary. But assuming that it is, it should have consisted of non-official Indians elected by the Central Legislature, its choice not being limited to its own members. If necessary, one or two British or other foreign experts might have been added.

"The Task of the Commission"

The task of the commission is thus described in the Viceroy's statement :

"The task of the Commission will be no easy one. In the governing words of the Statute, which will constitute its terms of reference, it will be charged with:

"Inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable."

Plenty of materials exist for judging how the system of government has worked. Many, if not most, Indians who have worked as ministers or executive councillors have made statements on the working of dyarchy, which are in print. There are, besides, the reports of the Muadiman Committee and the evidence given before it. The growth of education can also be easily studied from the central and provincial educational reports. If more

details than are contained therein are required, they may be obtained from the central and provincial educational departments.

As for the development of representative institutions, the proceedings of the central and provincial legislatures, and the reports on the working of the district boards, local boards, municipalities and village unions provide ample material for studying the subject and arriving at conclusions.

If the system of government has not worked well, if there has not been satisfactory growth of education, and if there has not been sufficient development of representative institutions, the people of India are not solely or mainly to blame. It is the British Government in India which is mainly responsible for the backward condition of the country in these respects. A bad system of government cannot work well; there cannot be satisfactory growth of education, if the system of education be framed and worked by unsympathetic foreigners interested in retarding its growth and with insufficient understanding of the problem, and if wholly inadequate funds be available for educational purposes; and representative institutions cannot develop to a sufficient extent and in a satisfactory manner, if there be not adequate spread of education, if sufficient funds are not available and if the institutions have fundamental defects in their constitutions.

As to the points on which the commission is to report, the conclusions and recommendations would depend very much on its point of view.

An elected Indian commission would have naturally and quite rightly started with the idea that it certainly is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government—there is no question of “whether or not” in the matter. It would have naturally and quite rightly begun by assuming that it is certainly desirable to establish the principle of responsible government *to the fullest extent*, the successive stages being, if necessary, fixed by it definitely—all to be gone through in a very limited number of years. It would not have assuredly wanted to restrict the degree of responsible government now existing, but would have, on the contrary, sought to extend it.

Indians must be quite delighted to find that it would be open to the alien British parliamentary commission to conclude that it would *not* be desirable to establish the

principle of responsible government and to *restrict* the degree of responsible government now existing!

We are unable to say whether the British cabinet have already arrived at their own decision. Many people suspect that they have. In that case, the appointment of a commission must be mere eye-wash. But even if the cabinet have not settled the main future lines of India's seeming constitutional progress and real constitutional retrogression, if a report from the commission has really to be awaited, there are ample materials, as we have indicated, for it to report upon. The expenditure of large sums of money for the peregrinations of members of the commission and of committees of legislatures is mostly unnecessary. Though the British parliament will contribute £ 20,000, the main burden will fall on India. She is not to have any discretion in the matter. Foreigners have decided that a certain thing must be done by them; they have also settled how the thing is to be done. India's business is only to pay, and to obey the laws when the British parliament legislates as to how India is to be governed. All the noble lords who recently spoke in the house of lords and others who spoke in the house of commons want us to believe that it is a great honour, no insult, to have only to pay and obey.

About Boycotting the Commission or Not

While the majority of Indian political parties and political notabilities have declared in favour of boycotting the statutory commission, other voices, the voices of a few Hisabi Singhs (or Calculating Heroes), as *The Hindu Herald* calls them, are also heard. Some say, “We will join the boycott, if it be unanimous”. But how can it be unanimous, if some hesitate and hang back? One has to decide knowing full well that among so many millions of Indians some would surely be found not to boycott the commission. Some say, “We will join the boycott, if it can be made effective”. But how can one know beforehand whether the boycott would be effective? It is just as much for you as for others to make the boycott effective. Some say, “We will boycott the commission, if others do so.” That is like saying “We will do the honorable and patriotic thing if others do it.”

We do not say or suggest that co-opera-

tion with the Commission would be a sin like stealing or lying or some other immoral practices, though such co-operation would be wrong. But to make our meaning clear we may be allowed to observe that good men and true do not say: "We will not steal or lie, if all men unanimously resolve not to steal or lie, if an anti-stealing or anti-lying campaign can be made effective, and if others be honest and truthful."

A combination of threats and temptations is being used to induce men to accept the commission and co-operate with it. It is being said in effect that if Indians do not co-operate with the commission, they would lose much which they could otherwise obtain. On the other hand, if they co-operate, they would be gainers thereby. It is not in our power either to withhold advantages from our countrymen or confer boons on them. But we are convinced that India would lose nothing by boycotting the commission, but may gain much by it. If there be no other gain, there would be the great gain of conserving our self-respect. In the case of a complete boycott, three things may happen: the total withdrawal of the present commission, which is unlikely; its modification in such a manner as to appreciably meet the wishes of politically-minded Indians; or the drawing up of its report by the commission on the basis of such materials as are available. The last is what is most likely to happen. In the case of only a partial boycott of the commission, the report would be drawn up exactly in the same way, namely, on the basis of the materials made available. In any case—even in the case of complete co-operation on the part of the people, the greatest importance would be attached to the evidence or the material (call it by any name that may suit one's fancy) placed before the commission by the officials of the Government of India. That such material or evidence would not go to support home rule, may be safely taken for granted. Whatever the proposals of the committees of the Central Legislature, whatever they may say before the joint parliamentary committee to be appointed for considering the report of the commission, the British Government will do what it has made up its mind to do. What has been its attitude towards those recommendations of the Lee Commission which were favourable to Indians? Has not the Government found excuses to shelve even the majority recommendations of the Skeen Committee also?

Much is being made in certain quarters of the likelihood of the Labour Party coming into power when in 1930 Parliament is likely to legislate to give effect to the decisions on the statutory commission's report. But none but those who are determined to be dupes can now believe that, so far as India is concerned, there is anything to choose between a Tory and a Labour Government.

Surely we have had enough experience to be able to understand the imperialists' game. If we co-operate with them, they do not see any reason to go out of their way to placate us. If we stiffen our attitude, they seem inclined to meet us half-way, endeavouring all the while at the same time to frustrate our efforts to obtain freedom. If they succeed in doing so, they are emboldened to ride roughshod over our feelings. Note, how in the recent speeches of British statesmen, there are triumphant references to the fact that the boycotts proclaimed as parts of Non-co-operation have failed. But failures ought not to damp our ardour. *Nothing worth having can be obtained from the British imperialists without bringing adequate pressure to bear on them.* Bluffing is not such pressure. Things must be made really very inconvenient for them. And it should also be borne in mind that even while seeming to conciliate us, your imperialists may deceive you, as they deceived the anti-partition agitators of Bengal by the second partition of Bengal. We have constantly to look the gift horse in the mouth. We can not afford to be pleased unless we get exactly what we want. And no people can be finally pleased for all time to come. For there is no finality in politics.

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In Anticipation of Viceroy's Statement re Statutory Commission

On the 4th of November last, when the Viceroy had not yet made his statement relating to the Statutory Commission, the editor of this Review expressed the following views about it to a representative of the Free Press of India:—

"No Indian political party admits the right of the British Parliament, or for that matter, any other foreign body, to set itself up as a judge of our fitness for self-rule. But as it has the might, it thinks it has also the right to judge us. We cannot deprive it of its self-assumed role of judge. But if it wants us to believe that it wishes to be

fair, it ought to allow us to place before it a full and accurate presentation of our case for self-rule. This we can do only if the Statutory Commission which is to report to it consists at least of a majority of elected Indian members.

There are two forecasts of the character and functions of the Statutory Commission. One is that it will be a body sent out to report as well as to judge. The other is that it will simply be a rapporteur.

"But it is quite possible for a reporting body to ignore all or most of what would go in our favour and lay stress on what would go against us, just as Katherine Mayo has, under die-hard Tory inspiration and auspices, presented to the Western public only the case against India. What is needed is that we should be able to put in all that we can and want to say on our own behalf. This we cannot do unless the Commission has a non-official Indian majority holding advanced political views. Members of Parliament as a whole or even individually or the world public cannot be expected to read all the evidence. It is only the Report and Recommendations which will be generally read. So everything that we have to urge in our favour must be there. That can happen only if the majority of members are non-official Indians of advanced political views. There is a rumour that Indians may be co-opted from the different provinces to act as assessors whose function would be merely to cross-examine the witnesses. But very little new material in proof of our fitness for self-rule can be introduced into the main body of evidence by mere cross examination. And even if that were possible, a Commission consisting wholly of Britishers or of a majority of Britishers would be quite likely to omit such material from their Report.

"The British public, being an interested party, are loath to part with power. They have all along been fed with such statements as would go to convince them of the necessity for perpetual British dominance in India. Hence the need for making out an overwhelming case for self-rule. This has become all the more necessary owing to the anti-Indian activity of Miss Mayo, and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Reginald Craddock and other British die-hards. Hence my insistence on having an Indian majority and on the need of the Statutory Commission Report embodying all that can be said in favour of Indian self-rule."

After Publication of Viceroy's Statement

After publication of the Viceroy's statement the editor of this Review, on being interviewed by the Free Press of India on the 9th November, said:—

I have read with due care the Viceroy's statement announcing the appointment of the Statutory Commission. This statement and the personnel of the Commission are, in my opinion, entirely unsatisfactory.

The Viceroy argues that if Indians were appointed members of the Commission their conclusions would be coloured by their "natural and legitimate desire" "to see India a self-governing nation," and if British officials were appointed members their

judgment would be affected by their "long and close contact with the questions to which they would now be invited to apply impartial minds," but that a commission consisting solely of members of Parliament would be impartial and their conclusions would be uninfluenced by any preconceived notions. This is puerile and absurd.

The British people as a whole have gained immensely by keeping India in political and economic subjection. For this reason Britishers, with the exception of a small number of them, are as a rule in favour of maintaining India's present political and economic condition of dependence. Members of Parliament as such are in this respect of the same opinion as the rest of their countrymen. Those members of Parliament who have been appointed members of the Statutory Commission do not belong to the small number of exceptional Englishmen who really want India to be politically and economically free. Hence the Commission as constituted, can not be considered a really impartial body.

Assuming that Indians, if appointed members of the commission, would not have been unbiassed, I may say that a really impartial Commission can consist only of experienced, fearless and unbribeable statesmen belonging to nations which do not, directly or indirectly, derive any advantage from India's present state of political and economic dependence and which cannot be intimidated or directly or indirectly bribed by Great Britain. It would be out of place to discuss on the present occasion whether there are any such nations.

As for the biased or unbiassed character of the Indian nation, I may be allowed to say that every nation is entitled to form and does form its own estimate of its own political capacity—every nation is biased in its own favour. If we claim that right, if we are biased in our own favour, that is not unnatural—that is no crime. Whenever any nation wishes to make a forward move in the march of progress, it does not require the services of a Commission of foreigners to pronounce judgment on its capacity to make that move. As other nations have the right of self-determination, so have we.

I know, of course, that Parliament will not easily allow us to exercise this right of self-determination. It arrogates to itself the function of judge. We cannot effectively say nay. But if it is to perform its duties justly and fairly, it should have our complete case before it fairly stated. Parliament will not read the volumes of evidence. It will be guided by the report and the recommendations. As Indians do not form either the majority or a minority of the members of the Commission, they cannot write the report. They cannot write even a minority report, or even minutes of dissent. No amount of suggesting commenting or criticising on the part of the promised Joint Select Committee of the Central Legislature or of giving evidence, etc., can be a substitute for or in any degree equivalent to writing the report or a minority report or even minutes of dissent.

Therefore, I am in favour of an absolute boycott of the Commission. Let its report and conclusions go forth to the world as things with which the Indian people had nothing whatever to do in any capacity.

The Viceroy's statement holds out the bait of a

Joint Select Committee of the Central Legislature. The Legislative Assembly would be entirely wanting in self-respect if it agreed to appoint such a Committee. That body cannot have forgotten that in February 1924 it passed a resolution advocating a Round Table Conference. It was passed by an overwhelming majority, practically all the elected Indian members present voting in its favour. Again, in September 1925 a similar resolution was passed by the Legislative Assembly laying down the broad outlines of constitutional advance. The British Government in Britain and in India did not make the least response to either resolution. It treated both the resolutions with the utmost possible contempt. It arrogantly and contemptuously assumed that it had the right to non-co-operate with us while demanding a full measure of co-operation with it, that is to say, subservience or subordination on our part. It did not, it dare not, treat other parts of the Empire, ruled by White settlers, in this way.

Let no faint-hearted "practical" Indian believe that the British Government and people are the final arbiters of our destiny. There is a Higher Power that rules. If we are only true to ourselves, if we do not insult the God in us, if we help ourselves, that Power will surely come to our aid and lead us on to our goal, which is freedom.

'Boycott the Commission, then wholly and in every way.

The Viceroy's sophistical special pleading (for a purely Parliamentary Commission) is perfectly laughable. Does the Viceroy mean to say that the findings of all other previous Commissions which did not consist solely of members of Parliament were for that reason foredoomed to an unfavourable reception at its hands?

In Support of The Calcutta Boycott Resolution

On the 16th of November, a public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta was held under the presidency of Sir Abdur Rahim. A single resolution was passed at that meeting asking all individual Indians, all public associations and bodies and the central and provincial legislatures to have nothing to do with the Statutory Commission as constituted. In rising to support this resolution, the editor of this Review spoke as follows in part:—

The reasons assigned by the highest British functionaries for the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission are not the real reasons. What the real reasons are need not be mentioned and discussed here. I will here advert for a minute only to some of the so-called reasons for such exclusion assigned by these British politicians.

Stripped of all diplomatic verbiage, one of these reasons is that *all* Indians are biased in favour of their people, and therefore, they cannot be judges of their own fitness for self-rule; and hence a commission consisting of foreigners must be called in to test our fitness.

Similarly, as all British officials and men of business having anything to do with India may, have already formed their conclusions and thus become biased, they are also excluded. But absurdly enough, in the opinion of these British officials and their followers, members of Parliament are not biased in any way! What, however, is the fact? The fact is, the British nation as a whole has gained immensely in power, prestige and wealth, and has made remarkable progress in education, knowledge and culture by keeping India in political and economic bondage. That nation is, therefore, unwilling to see India politically and economically free. It is interested in keeping and wishes to keep India enslaved as long as it can. So, the whole British nation, including members of its Parliament, is prejudiced against the idea of Indian freedom. There may be a few Englishmen who are really in favour of India's freedom, but none of the members of the commission belong to that class of "faddists." So, I venture to say that as a rule no British Commission appointed by a British Government to judge of India's political capacity can be an impartial commission, and, in particular, this commission is not an impartial commission.

It is not the peculiar failing of the Indian people that they are prepossessed in their own favour. Every nation is so prepossessed; every nation has a good conceit of itself. Hence we find that before every successive Reform Act in England, including the Act giving the vote to British women, the British people did not call in the aid of non-British foreign commissions to gauge the political capacity of British men and women. They decided for themselves and made a forward march in the path of political progress. When Japan gave itself a representative constitution, it did not ask foreigners to pronounce a verdict on their powers of self-rule. The Japanese themselves framed their constitution for themselves. So has it been with many another nation.

But it will be objected, "They were all free peoples; you are not free." True enough, no doubt. But my question to the self-righteous Pecksniffs of British blood is:—"Why did you, then, during the World War prate of making the world safe for democracy, for freedom? Does not the world include India? Why did you and your allies prate of the right of self-determination of all peoples?"

And even among peoples who were not as free as the English and the Japanese, among peoples who were in a sense conquered and dependent peoples, the South Africans and the Irish did practically exercise the right of self-determination. They had to be allowed to do so, because the pressure they brought to bear on the British people was unlike the Indian sort, consisting of representations, petitions, protests, bluffing and ineffective economic boycott.

Another reason officially assigned for the exclusion of Indians from the commission may be summed up in the words of His Excellency the Viceroy. Says he in his statement:—".....in the case of the commission not consisting entirely of members of Parliament, Parliament would inevitably approach consideration of it with some element of mental reservation, due to an instinctive feeling that the advice in more than one case represented views to which the holder was previously com-

mitted. It would move uncertainly among conclusions the exact value of which, owing to unfamiliarity with the minds of their framers, it would feel unable to appraise."

But in the case of the present wholly Parliamentary Commission, His Excellency observes that: "the findings of some of its own members can count in advance upon a favorable reception at the hands of Parliament, which will recognise them to speak from a common platform of thought and to be applying standards of judgment which Parliament will feel instinctively to be its own."

We are no doubt doomed to eternal babyhood. But babies though we are, we cannot help asking the Viceroy, who is certainly neither a baby nor a nincompoop, whether the findings of all previous commissions of which all the members were not M. P. s.—and they form the vast majority—were for that reason fore-doomed to an unfavourable reception at the hands of Parliament?

No political party in India has ever admitted the right of the British Parliament to be sole judges of our political capacity and progress. But suppose a trial is needed, who should be the people under trial? I submit it is the British people, who claim to be our trustees, who should be in the dock. Have they done their duty to India? Certainly not. Take one small fact. Less than 70 years ago, the Negroes in America were bond-slaves in a state of savagery and illiteracy, and they were never a civilised people. But now more than 77 per cent of them are literate. But in India, with its hoary civilization, only about 7 per cent of the people are now literate after more than 150 years of British rule. And here chronic starvation and ravages of diseases are the rule everywhere.

So it is the British people who ought to be tried, because it is not we but the British people who have enjoyed supreme power in India for more than 150 years up to date and made all the arrangements for carrying on the work of the country in all departments of the state.

But if we are to show how we have or can run the race, may we not ask, how one can run with hands and legs tied by Dyarchy?

✓ Rabindranath Tagore on Miss Mayo's "Mother India"

Rabindranath Tagore, from whom we borrowed a copy of the American edition of Miss Mayo's "Mother India" before we got our own, has written the following letter to the *New York Nation* on the character of that book:—

To
THE EDITOR "NATION".

Sir,

I came to know from the advertising columns of your paper that Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" has been lauded by Arnold Bennett as "a shocking book, in the honourable sense." Unfortunately, for obvious reasons, there is a widely prevalent wish among the race that rules India to believe any detraction that may bring discredit upon India, and consequently the kind of shocks

that Miss Mayo has manufactured offers them a delicious luxury of indignation. The numerous lies mixed with facts that have been dexterously manipulated by her for the production of these shocks are daily being exposed in our journals; but these will never reach the circle of readers which it is easy for Miss Mayo to delude. Along with other eastern victims of lying propaganda, we in India also must defencelessly suffer mud-besmeared from unscrupulous literature: for your writers have their machinery of publicity which is cruelly efficient for raining slanders from a region usually unapproachable by us, shattering our fair name in an appallingly wholesale manner.

I happen to be one of those whom the writer has specially honoured with her attention and selected as a target for her midnight raid. Difficult though it is for me completely to defend myself from such a widespread range of mischief, I must try through your organ to reach the ears of at least some of my friends, who are on the other side of the Atlantic and have, I hope, the chivalry to suspend their judgment about the veracity of these shocking statements made by a casual tourist against a whole people, before lightly believing them to be honourable.

For my own defence, I shall use the following extract from a paper written by Mr. Natarajan, one of the most fearless critics of our social evils. He has incidentally dealt with the incriminating allegation against me deliberately concocted by the writer out of a few sentences from my contribution to Keyserling's "Book of Marriage"—cleverly burbling away their true meaning and shaping them into an utterly false testimony for her own nefarious purpose. Mr. Natarajan writes as follows:—

"Tagore sets forth his own ideal of marriage in five long pages at the end of his paper (Keyserling, pp. 117 *et seq.*) 'Let me,' he begins, 'as an individual Indian, offer in conclusion my own personal contribution to the discussion of the marriage question generally.' He holds that the marriage system all over the world—and not only in India—from the earliest ages till now, is a barrier in the way of the true union of man and woman, which is possible only when 'Society shall be able to offer a large field for the creative work of women's special faculty, without detracting from the creative work in the home.'

"If Miss Katherine Mayo was not a purblind propagandist but an honest enquirer, and if she had the patience to read Tagore's essay, she might have asked any one in Calcutta what the age of marriage of girls is in Tagore's own family. That she was determined to discredit the poet is evident."

Let me ask some of your readers to read my paper on Hindu marriage in Keyserling's book and challenge, in fairness to me, Miss Mayo to prove that it was my own opinion, as she asserts, that child marriage is "a flower of the sublimated spirit, a conquest over sexuality and materialism won by exalted intellect for the eugenic uplift of the race," implying "the conviction, simply, that Indian women must be securely bound and delivered before their womanhood is upon them, if they are to be kept in hand."

Let me in conclusion draw the attention of your readers to another amazing piece of false statement in which she introduces me, with a

sneer, as a defender of the "Ayurvedic" system of medicine against Western medical science. Let her prove this libel if she can.

There are, like myself, other numerous witnesses who, if they find their access to the Western readers, will be able to place their complaints before them, informing them how their views have been misinterpreted, their words mutilated, and facts tortured into a deformity which is worse than untruth.

SANTINIKETAN,
9 November, 1927.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Speeches in Parliament on the Statutory Commission

We have read the speeches made in the house of lords and the house of commons in London by members of the Government and others on the appointment of the statutory commission and its personnel, as cabled by Reuter, but we do not see any reason to change our opinions as previously expressed. We continue to think that Indians should have nothing to do with it. It would not be possible to comment on any of the speeches in detail. We shall merely draw attention to some points in some of them.

Lord Birkenhead's Speech

After stating that Britain saved India in one period of her history from a welter of anarchy, which gives a wrong idea of how the British power rose in India, Lord Birkenhead asked :—

Do you desire that the British Army should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the Civil Service should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the protection of the British Navy should be withdrawn from Indian shores? I have never found one Indian hostile to this Government, however critical of our proposals in relation to Indian development, who desired that the Army should be withdrawn, that the Indian Civil Service should be withdrawn, or that the protection of the Navy should be withdrawn...

The Parliament of this country by Act of Parliament assumed to itself the responsibilities and functions of the Company, which as the historical facts that I have shortly stated show is still confronted by precisely the same problems in India as confronted our predecessor at the moment, when in the first place the activities of our commercial and trading bodies supported by the force of arms composed the warring sects of India, when it is still conceded that our withdrawal to-morrow would reproduce precisely the conditions which existed when we went there. How can anyone in those circumstances pretend that whatever point may be disputable the responsibility of Parliament not only does not still serve, but is not an exclusive responsibility from which Parliament cannot

divorce itself without being false to the long and glorious history of the association of England and India?

Questions like those asked by Lord Birkenhead have been satisfactorily disposed of repeatedly. But British politicians studiously ignore such answers and go on asking them as if they were perfect posers. So recently as in our last number, the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland has answered such questions in his article entitled, "If the British were gone would India 'run with blood'?" Instead of repeating his arguments, we would ask our readers to read his article, if they have not done so yet.

To misrepresent the position taken up by one's opponent and then triumphantly to expose its hollowness and weakness, is a favorite though in the long run futile trick of dishonest controversialists. Lord Birkenhead adopts this trick. Nobody has ever asked that Britain should withdraw from India to-morrow or immediately; nobody wants that Britain should withdraw before making India sufficiently strong and organised to defend herself. What has been all along insisted upon by Indians is that they should be given adequate opportunities to get trained to defend their country by sea, air and land. They have asked to be allowed to man their own army, navy and air force. But the British Government has deliberately pursued a policy, and is still pursuing it, which keeps Indians weak, emasculated, unorganised, and untrained for the defence of their country. This policy England has pursued deliberately, probably for two reasons. One is that if Indians were sufficiently strong, trained and organised to defend the country, they would also be able to destroy the British dominance. The other is that if Indians were allowed to become capable of self-defence, British Imperialists would be deprived of the use of their favorite and necessary pose before the world that they, the British, were in India to protect them against one another and against foreign enemies. It is shameful that after deliberately making and keeping the people weak, British statesmen should use our present temporary inability to defend ourselves as an argument in favour of the perpetuation of our political servitude. Instead of using such an argument Englishmen should be ashamed to confess that after more than 160 years of their rule, there has been no improvement in India's powers of self-defence, and no improvement in the

mutual relations of the followers of different religions in the country, which is suggested by the words we have italicised in the above extract. The relations between Hindus and Musalmans, instead of improving, are getting worse with the continuation of British rule. Let us give only a few brief extracts relating to the state of things in different regions during the early years of British rule in India.

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *hookah*"—*The Topography of Dacca*, by Dr. Taylor, 1839, page 257.

"Rungpoor: The two religions are, however, on the most friendly terms..."—*The East India Gazetteer*, by Walter Hamilton, 1828, Vol. ii, p. 478.

"Kelat [the capital of Baluchistan]: The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Mooltan and Shikarpur, who occupy about 400 of the best houses, and are not only tolerated in their religion, but also allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda"—*Ibid.* Vol. ii, p. 81.

"Cabul: Many Hindus frequent Cabul, mostly from Peshawar, and as by their industry they contribute greatly to its prosperity, they are carefully cherished by the Afghan Government." *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 307.

"Deccan: There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes, who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindoos."—*Ibid.* Vol. i, page 484.

For a more detailed treatment of the subject, see *Towards Home Rule*, Part I.

In answer to the question, "Do you desire that the Civil Service should be withdrawn from India?" we say, "India can dispense with the services of the European members of the Civil service."

The whole series of Lord Birkenhead's questions imply that, because the British army and navy protect India in part, therefore, India should continue to be treated as a subject country. But the British army and navy protect Canada, Australia and South Africa also. Why are these countries not treated as subject countries? When giving them the right of self-rule, why did not Britain withdraw the protection of the British army and navy from them?

The Demand for a Constitution

Lord Birkenhead says that he has invited his critics in India, to put forward their

suggestions for a constitution, implying that he has not received any. This is not true. Two of the Legislative Assembly resolutions mentioned in previous notes, and some Congress and others presidential addresses contain such suggestions. "The Commonwealth of India Bill," known as Dr. Besant's Bill, has the support of a large number of Indian political leaders and was framed in consultation and collaboration with many of them. Therefore, it is not for lack of suggestions relating to an Indian constitution or even of a complete draft of it, that India has not been allowed to be free.

Commission a Jury or Body of Reporters?

In one passage of his speech Lord Birkenhead describes the function of the Commission to be "to report to Parliament." In the next passage, however, it is described as a jury. The functions of reporters and jurors are different. What exactly, then, is the commission's function?

If the commission is a jury, evidently there is going to be a trial. As we have suggested in a previous note, it is the British people, then, who ought to be tried for what they have done and omitted to do in India, not we.

We deny, moreover, that the commissioners being Britishers, are coming out to India "without any preconceived ideas" at all.

In India British offenders can and generally do claim to be tried by a jury of their "peers" or their own countrymen. If we are the undertrial prisoners, why should we be deprived of the right to be tried by a jury of our own countrymen?

Mr. Tulasi Goswami's Apotheosis

Lord Birkenhead has quoted Mr. Tulasi Goswami as an authority to prove that "there is no one in all India who can speak officially in the name of the Hindu community." Great Britain is a very much smaller country than India and the British Protestants are a far smaller community than the Hindus. But in spite of this difference, is there in all Britain any one who can speak officially in the name of the entire British Protestant community? We challenge Lord Birkenhead to name him.

There are in India many Moslems and

Hindus and others whose right to speak, not only on behalf of their respective co-religionists, but of the Indian nation or people as a whole, in matters political, can be disputed only by our enemies or by selfish and narrow-minded Indian sycophants of the British rulers of India.

As for the "honor" done to Mr. Goswami, we do not envy him. May the "honor" of being quoted by an enemy to prove his case against our country never fall to his or any other Indian's lot again!

Our politicians should beware of indulging in "terminological inexactitudes" even in attacking their Indian opponents. Our enemies are always on the look out for such ammunition.

"The Real India"

According to Lord Birkenhead and most other Britishers, the "real India" is inarticulate India.

I should suppose that out of the 230,000,000 in British India about 220,000,000 have never heard of the Commission, and I do not believe it would be a bold prediction to say that about 200,000,000 are unaware that they are living under the benefits of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Remember how infinitesimal is the number of those who vote in an election, and of that fractional percentage who vote, how large a proportion consists of the illiterate class who mark their papers because they are unable to read. We in this House, and those of another place, have a responsibility not for loudly articulate India, but for the real India—that India which consists as I have said of 300,000,000 people.

It is Lord Birkenhead and other philanthropists of his class who are responsible for the fact that such a large proportion of India's population is still illiterate. They ought to be ashamed of such a record of British rule. It is the "loudly articulate India" which has been agitating to remove illiteracy from the land, and it is the countrymen of Lord Birkenhead, who talk of their "responsibility", who have opposed the demand for universal education. Lord Birkenhead admits responsibility for the inarticulate, because they cannot call him and his people to account, and denies responsibility for the loudly articulate, because they can arraign and have arraigned the British people before the bar of history and humanity as being unfaithful and dishonest "trustees."

We speak the same language as India's

illiterate population. They are our kith and kin. But it is contended that we know less about their wants and care less for them than Britishers who have nothing in common with them. But the actual fact is that it is the articulate Indian who has been agitating for sanitary, medical, educational and agricultural improvements and it is the British bureaucracy in India who fail to make adequate provision for them.

Lord Birkenhead's argument is met, in part by the following extract from Lord Olivier's speech:—

"While it might be said that 200,000,000 of the Indian people might know nothing about the question of appointing the Commission, there could be no question that the Indian political reform parties generally did represent the conscious political will of the Indian people and they desired some measure of self-government."

Though we speak the language of our illiterate kith and kin and they speak ours, and though there is voluntary and involuntary contact between us all, *we* do not voice the wishes of the people as a whole; it is by political telepathy of an absolutely occult character that the absolutely sincere imperialists of Britain, speaking a foreign tongue, know, voice and meet the wishes of the *dumb, inarticulate* millions of India, by keeping them poor, disease ridden and illiterate. What a miracle!

"Communal Claims"

Lord Birkenhead has enumerated the some of different castes, sects and classes from which members would have had to be taken if Indians had to be given seats in the Commission. Says he:—

"Had we proceeded upon those lines we should have found ourselves with a commission of some 18 or 20 people. That such a body would have been convenient for the task assigned to them, no instructed person I believe will seriously contend."

We admire Lord Birkenhead's moderation. There are, in fact, in India a much larger number of racial, religious, and other groups than 18 or 20. If it be taken for granted that their *political* interests are different, if they be practically encouraged to think and say that their political interests are different, it would be quite easy to prove that the number of members of the commission, if Indians were to be included, should have been five hundred or a thousand.

We do not at all admit that a commission

of even 18 or 20 would have been too unmanageably big for a country like India.

If, in the language of Morley, Lord Minto had not "started the communal hare," we should have now heard far less, or not at all, of the conflicting *political* interests of different groups in India.

Those who are determined to find disunion in India can discover plenty of it here, and create more, too. But those who want to find unity and establish unity can find plenty of it and promote more. But neither the worst enemies, nor the best "friends" of the British people can say that they have made the best effort to make the various groups of people in India feel that their political and economic interests are identical.

Lord Birkenhead sheds crocodile tears for the depressed classes. But what has he or British rule done specially for them, pray?

Communal Tension

His lordship says that "the tension and acuteness to-day of these communal quarrels are greater in my judgment than they were some twelve or thirteen years ago in India." That is "a feather in the cap" of the Britishers! And there will be more of them if British rule and British policy endure.

Committees of Legislatures

We have read what Lord Birkenhead has said about the appointment of Committees of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. According to him, these committees will discharge "consultative functions". They will make proposals, suggestions, criticisms, &c. Therefore, substantially, they are to be witnesses and critics—glorified witnesses, if you like. But as it is the function of all commissions to examine witnesses, the formation of these committees cannot be a substitute for a commission consisting of a majority of independent Indian members. Listen what great privileges these committees will have:

"We afford them an opportunity of confronting our Commission with their own proposals, which can be made public, which can be analysed and criticised and can be accepted or rejected after that analysis and criticism.

What a great honour and privilege that

they can even be rejected! We ought now to start a raging tearing agitation demanding that the proposals of ordinary witnesses before any commission should not have the honour of being criticised, analysed, accepted or rejected. That honour and privilege should be reserved for the Committees of Legislatures.

Who will Elect the Committees?

The Committee of the Central Legislature will be appointed by that Legislature, that is, by the official, nominated and elected members combined. Provincial committees will be similarly constituted. Such committees cannot correctly represent non-official Indian opinion.

Yet Another Committee

Another Committee is spoken of in the speech of India's Secretary of State. We will quote the whole passage.

"Supposing that it be a fact that despite the constant contact in India between the central committee at the heart of the Government and the provincial committees of the Legislatures in each province to which the Commission will journey, if despite all those opportunities of ascertaining opinion, the Indians have failed to make good their view upon the independent, unbiassed judgment of the Commission, they are not even then compelled to acquiesce. *They will on the whole have been given an opportunity which, in my judgment, has never before been given in the whole history of constitution-making to any people who are in their position.*

We invite them, the central Government, to appoint a committee to come and sit with our joint committee. They can examine the Commission's report. They have been even given a function, if they could only understand it, more important than that of the Commission itself. When once the Commission had made its report it is finished, but its critics are most formally and specially invited to come and sit with the general committee in Parliament and develop any criticisms and objections they feel to the Commission's report.

Unique honor has been done, an absolutely unique privilege been given to a "people in their position." The pat on the back (or is it a kick?) is to be discerned in the words, "in their position."

But, my lord, it is not self-determination, which, you and your allies declared in days when your star did not seem to be particularly in the ascendant, you were fighting for.

Let us, however, see who is to appoint this final and glorious committee. "We invite them, the Central Government," says his

lordship, "to appoint a committee to come and sit with our joint committee." But the Central Government is not identical with "the Indians." So how can a committee appointed by the Central Government enable "the Indians" to "make good their view"? A right or a privilege given to the Central Government of India is not one given to the people of India.

Pluralism in the Calcutta University

If a vulgar adage could be mentioned in the same breath with scholarly virtues, we might be pardoned for quoting "Jack of all trades Master of none," in connection with the present state of pluralistic job-holding in the University of Calcutta. The idea conveyed by this saying is simple. To be a master in any department of thought or action, one must concentrate on a single thing wholeheartedly and devote as nearly as possible all his time and energy to it. We do not deny the existence of many-sided genius in rare cases; but we are concerned here with ordinary everyday lecturers and professors; not with freak scholars and thinkers who are masters of many diverse branches of knowledge, because they cannot help being so by their natural gifts and energy.

The University of Calcutta employs some individuals in multiple capacities and pays them different sums as salaries for the different posts held by them. This is not due to any sudden discovery of manifold talent in the persons concerned; but is probably the result of a conviction preceding the arguments, that is to say, that the talent was taken for granted, because it was found desirable that the different sums should go into the pockets of the gentlemen concerned. But even if they had been actually talented enough to hold simultaneously, let us say, *Post-Graduate* lecture-ships in history and chemistry, anthropology and aeronautics, mathematics and literature, or linguistics and law, it would not have been justifiable to employ them as lecturers in more than one subject. For when a post-graduate lecturer is appointed in any subject, it is not binding that he should know *only that subject*; but it is binding that he should devote the major portion of his working day to studies, discussions and lectures in that subject. If he works, say, twelve hours a day, he should spend at least more than six hours in reading books and other literature on the subject in

which he is a paid lecturer, in discussing the subject with students and fellow-lecturers and in actual lectures and class work. Mathematically it appears absurd that any man could devote a major part of his working day to each one of a series of subjects or vocations. Therefore, in order that a man could draw his salary with a clear conscience, it is necessary that he should not hold more than one paid appointment. A man cannot serve more than one master. Similarly also, a man cannot honestly be a post-graduate lecturer in or professor of more than one subject. For it is no more possible that he could be a *whole-hearted* worker in two fields of enquiry than that he could be the devoted servant of two different masters. And *half-hearted* service is no more desirable at the universities than it is at the King's or the Zemindar's Court.

Without going into personalities, we can emphatically say that this evil system of pluralistic job-holding is reducing University teaching to intellectual sprinting. A lecturer runs in the morning to deliver his law lectures, next rushes home for luncheon, next hurdles over his "cases" at the law courts where he "flourishes" as a practitioner, next races to do some post-graduate teaching in, say, history, next jumps into dozens of committees and boards, next... it makes one reel and totter even to think of it. Any champion hustler from Yankeestan would take his hat off to the Calcutta University Pluralist. The speed at which he works puts greased lightning on the same shelf with the slowest of glaciers.

Is it fair to the students whose money the University authorities are thus practically obtaining under false pretence? Giving them lecturers who hardly even get time to digest their meals, let alone keep well posted on their subjects, is a species of swindle which does not stop with the loss involved in paying for a thing and not getting it. It goes deeper and further into the lives of these poor defrauded boys, who are thus sent out into the world with insufficient education, to fight their intellectual battles, as it were, with blank shots. Who will work out to the fifth decimal place, how much this cheap and amateur education has to do with the present intellectual decadence of Bengal? And most probably, it *promotes* moral decadence also. Any number of sermons has been preached on the text that character-building is one of the main objects of education.

What sort of character is built under the influence of lecturers who are themselves frauds?

The University would not trust its carpenters to do the work of its electricians or its masons to do its plumbing. How is it then that its physician pretends to teach anthropology to students who will be M. A.'s in that subject? This brainless system of playing amateurishly with lectureships, examinerships, etc., appears to have only one serious aspect: Distribution of salaries and fees. Here we find that the upholders of the *status quo* are exactly those men (with one or two exceptions) and their friends and relations who stand to gain most monetarily by keeping up the traditions of the *ancien regime* intact. No doubt, this is only natural; but it also shows up the hollowness of the sanctimonious utterances of those who stand against reform.

The time-table of the post-graduate department has to be twisted so as to suit the convenience of these pluralists and not the true needs of education or the convenience of the students. Some of these lawyer-lecturers are set down to lecture from 2 to 3 p. m. on Wednesdays and Thursdays. But if they happen to have a case going on at the time, they must absent themselves from their lecturing duty and try to give an equivalent lecture on a Court holiday! Too many lectures are normally crowded into Saturdays, when the High Court does not sit. This arrangement is not justifiable. Even if the lecturer lawyers are briefless at present, it would be equally unsafe and uncharitable to assume that they would continue briefless in future.

Parliamentary Visit to Brazil

The Times (London) of August 10, 1927, gives the following interesting news:—

A number of British Parliamentary representatives will sail from Southampton on Friday in the Royal Mail liner *Arlanza* on a visit to Brazil, at the invitation of the Brazilian Government. The British party, will number 22.

Ireland will be represented by Mr. and Mrs. Denis McCulloch, Mr. and Mrs. M. T. Westropp, Bennett, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde and Lady Esmonde, and Colonel and Mrs. Moor and India by Sir Darcy Lindsay.

Forty delegates from other countries will join the *Arlanza* at Cherbourg and will represent Belgium, Japan, Norway, Denmark, Portugal; Switzerland, Finland, Afghanistan and Turkey.

We wish to draw the attention of the

Indian Nationalist members of the Legislative Assembly to the fact that in this important mission to the most important South American Republic, although England was sending about twenty members of the British Parliament, India was to be "represented" by only one man, and that an Englishman. Did the Government of India consult the Legislative Assembly in making the selection of Sir Darcy Lindsay as India's representative? Did the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly know that the Brazilian Government sent an invitation to the members of the "Indian Parliament"? Is it due to lack of foresight and intelligent interest in foreign affairs, on the part of the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, that India will be so inadequately represented? Turkey and Afghanistan will be represented by Turks and Afghans, not by Englishmen. If the Indians have any sense of national self-respect they should demand a full share in control of Indian Foreign Relations.

Indian members of the Legislative Assembly should carefully study the possibilities of Indo-Brazilian relations, as Brazil, where color-prejudice does not exist, affords a welcome field for Indian emigration and colonization.

Theft of German Trade Secret for British Firm

The Times (London) publishes the following remarkable news:—

Cologne, Aug. 9.

Three employees of the *Hochst-am-Main* works of the I. G. Farben Industrie who are alleged to have stolen the formulae of two proprietary articles manufactured by the Trust, called pyramidon and chrom, were examined by the police to-day.

It is alleged that the police had found on the persons of the employees the stolen formulae and a draft agreement giving the terms on which they were prepared to sell the secrets to a British firm of manufacturers. The agreement provided for free passage to England by air, and for naturalization of the Germans, who were to join the British firm in a purely nominal capacity. They demanded 900,000m. [£45,000] down and certain personal expenses in addition to 6 per cent. of the profits on gross turnover.

After the police examination the men were released from custody as the only charge on which they could be proceeded against was that of attempted betrayal of trade secrets.

This incident illustrates British business policy in one of its aspects. British chemical industry even to-day cannot compete with the superior efficiency of the Germans; but

some of them are willing to steal trade-secrets to undermine the business of a competing firm. Bribing, spying, fomenting revolts, and other kinds of troubles to embarrass political opponents are practised in the West. The standard of political and business morality of the Western nations is not so very high as it is often declared by many upholders of "white and Christian superiority."

German Scientists Discover New Anaesthetics

BERLIN, August 5.

Efforts by German scientists to produce an anaesthetic that is effective and at the same time harmless have resulted in the discovery by Professor Willstaetter and Dr. Duisberg of the I. G. Farbenindustrie, the greatest chemical works in Germany, of E-107, better known as Averin. This anaesthetic, which has received a thorough trial in many of Germany's leading hospitals, is a tribomethylalcohol and is injected into the human body through the bowels. The consensus of opinion among German medical men is that it brings about narcosis rapidly and efficiently and without most of the results that other anaesthetics have on the human organism.

A second new and, according to the best German medical reports, very satisfactory anaesthetic in Pernoceton, a member of the Veronal family and highly recommended by Professor Bumm, the noted Berlin obstetrician. It is injected through the veins and brings about complete narcosis through the blood.

How many are the Indian medical men carrying on researches and making inventions? Ancient India produced Charaka, Sushruta and other great authorities on medical science, but to-day India is the land of plague, malaria, cholera, small-pox and other forms of preventable disease and there is great dearth of Indians devoting their lives to research work in the field of medicine.

Political Morality of British Statesmen

We have been often told by high British officials that Indian politicians use large sums of money to win elections and thus perpetrate political corruption. It will be of interest to note what Sir A. Mond has to say about the *Rt. Hon. Lloyd George's fund*. To maintain and strengthen the Coalition Government of Lloyd George a huge sum was raised, and a part of it was used to win elections. Of course, that is not political corruption, as it is for the benefit of the British ruling class. The *Rt. Hon. Lloyd George*, through "lawful means" got control over the rest of the

fund, which amounts to £300,000, and he is now using it to promote his interests through the Liberal Party.

Referring to Mr. Lloyd George's fund, Sir Alfred Mond said the money was subscribed in the days of the Coalition Government for an entirely different purpose from that to which it was now being devoted. It was unprecedented, in fact, un-British, that such a huge sum of money should be practically in the hands of one man and one party to use for purposes with which the subscribers absolutely disagreed. It was subscribed to support the Coalition Government on the joint programme of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law. How could Mr. Lloyd George use it to finance 500 Liberal candidates?

British politicians are, in most cases, perfect masters of the art of hypocrisy and double-dealing.

Regarding the origin of the fund, *The Englishman's* special London correspondent writes:—

It was hinted some months ago that these sums were connected with the unprecedented distribution of Honours that was made by the Coalition Ministry at the end of the War; that the total received amounted to over £2,000,000 and that the Liberal Party's share was retained by Mr. Lloyd George in his own hands to be utilised when and as he thought fit.

LORD ROSEBERY'S PROTEST

The suggestion that this large fund was the result of the sale of Honours provoked Lord Rosebery, last February, into demanding an explanation and when no reply was forthcoming the aged ex-Premier urged that the Government should appoint a Commission to enquire into the allegations, which if true, revealed the most disgraceful state of affairs since the days of Walpole, and meant the adoption of a policy that would result in the ruin of the British Constitution.

No response has yet been made to Lord Rosebery's demands. Mr. Lloyd George has remained silent on the subject, and while one journal has voiced the Conservative Party's astonishment at party funds being kept in the hands of an individual leader, another journal has suggested that Mr. Lloyd George is no worse than others and that an examination of the Conservative Party's books during the past five years would produce "interesting" results.

Mr. Lloyd George has now transferred the money to the Party organisers. In the meanwhile, no questions are being asked by the funds administrators as to whence Mr. Lloyd George obtained the £300,000.

The "Real" South Africa, Kenya, Rhodesia etc

In India the literates and illiterates are one another's kith and kin; they are inextricably mixed up in race, religion, caste, language, occupation, etc. Yet on the false

pretext of caring for the interests of the illiterates, who are spoken of as the "real" India, and whose interests are falsely assumed to conflict with those of articulate India, the British rulers of India are unwilling to let our country have freedom. They pretend to think that such freedom would give political power only to the articulate classes, who would abuse it to injure and oppress the dumb millions. We need not now discuss whether apprehensions of such abuse are well or ill-founded. Nor need we ask why the British rulers have not made the dumb articulate in 160 years. We now wish to invite attention to what Britishers have done in South Africa, Kenya, Rhodesia, etc. There the illiterate majority, who are the original inhabitants of the country, differ entirely from the literate and articulate minority in race, religion, language, occupation, etc. The latter have actually deprived the former of their land and their liberty and have reduced them to the condition of human cattle. The negroes there are in many respects treated worse than the depressed classes over the greater part of India. This is the actual state of things there *now*, not something which may be apprehended to be the case in some contingent future. Yet, have Britishers cared for the illiterate blacks of Africa? Have they refrained from giving freedom to the minority, the whites, in the interests of the majority, the blacks, styling them the "real Africa"? Ah, no! There the philanthropy of the British hypocrites is in abeyance, because humanity, Christianity, justice must all be sacrificed for making heavier and heavier the white man's burden of wealth.

Lord Birkenhead says, if Indians had to be given seats in the Statutory Commission, a member of the depressed classes would also have to be given a seat there. If that had been done, his lordship may rest assured no Indian would have objected to it. No objection has been raised against men belonging to the depressed classes becoming members of legislatures.

"A Unanimous Report"

One of the reasons adduced by Lord Birkenhead against Indian membership of the Commission is that in that case the number of members being 18 or 20, there would not have been a unanimous report. As we have indicated in a previous note, the number of Indian members need not

have been so large, and it is not right to assume that Indians of various groups conferring together cannot arrive at unanimous conclusions. The conclusions of at least two All-India Conferences held for promoting communal unity, attended by a much larger number of men of various sects and groups than 20, were unanimous. Moreover, an enforced unanimity is undesirable. But that is perhaps what has been prearranged, as one may suspect, reading between the lines of the following sentences of his lordship's speech:—

"But let us attempt to imagine the resulting situation had a body of Indians so unwieldy been appointed. Does anyone suppose there would have been a unanimous report? There may not be a unanimous report now, but at any rate we shall have a report which proceeds upon the same general point of view and principle."

Namely, that India must be held in subjection and exploited and bled in the interests of Great Britain and the Dominions.

Lord Olivier's Speech

Lord Olivier said that if Indians did not obtain all they wanted they would obtain a great deal more than they could possibly obtain if they boycotted the Commission. He hoped that the Commission would at any rate place Indian affairs on a basis of continuous progress and development. He hoped this would be the final inquiry of this sort, and with the assistance of Indians would formulate lines on which continuous progress might be made.

This is Lord Olivier's guess, or it is what he wishes to believe and says in order to make Indians abandon the attitude of boycott. In any case, if any man knows what the Commission will recommend or Parliament will be prevailed upon to accept, it is not he; for he is not in the cabinet. We do not believe that there is any chance of his turning out to have been a true prophet.

Lord Olivier proceeded to say that they knew that Indians did not want to get rid of the British connexion and the army and Navy immediately. In time they would but they did not want immediate Swaraj or Home Rule, which was an impossible and unthinkable thing. They wanted a scheme which would give them in a number of years complete and responsible Dominion Government. Such a scheme was not possible to-morrow or next year, but a scheme was possible which would as rapidly as possible work out and produce that result.

His lordship is right in the first sentence. But he is wrong in supposing that Indians want Swaraj in the course of an indefinite number of years. We think that Swaraj is

thinkable and practicable within one year after the Commission and Parliament have finished their labours. In any case, the number of years, a very small number, at the end of which India is to have complete Swaraj, must be definitely fixed.

Lord Reading's Speech

Lord Reading said a good many things to prove the futility of boycott. He gave both advice and warning. In our opinion, neither is worthy of being heeded. He has repeated a very old but very true observation: "India fortunately is outside party controversy." Yes, it is fortunate for Great Britain that all British parties are, at heart, of one mind regarding the (unjust) treatment and exploitation of India.

Lord Birkenhead has said in effect that he has had no suggestions or proposals regarding the sort of constitution which Indians want. But here is what Lord Reading says, confirming what we have said before. He says that as a result of the Muddiman Committee,

.....there was a very full debate in the Legislative Assembly in 1925 in which resolutions were formulated representing the views of those who favoured an immediate advance and who stated from their view-point what they wished the Government to do. There was a very long resolution, which formulated a Constitution. It left the details to be settled by a Round Table Conference, or by the Commission, but substantially, it stated definitely what they wished and their views were that there must be both a Central Legislature and Provincial Legislatures composed of representatives elected on a wide franchise and that the Governor-General-in-Council should be responsible to the Central Legislature.

Finance and various matters were dealt with, and there were certain reservations regarding the Army, into which I need not go, but it was definitely shaped by the leaders of political thought in India, certainly by those who were taking a prominent part in the debate in the Legislative Assembly.

We have reproduced the above passage in order to show that Lord Birkenhead made an untrue statement when he said that Indians had not made any suggestions or proposals about a constitution for India.

But Lord Reading said these things with a different object, which will be plain from the following passage in his speech:—

I noticed the names of those who spoke strongly in favour of these resolutions, and who, of course, were entitled to represent their views with all the force they could command. They were doing it in a perfectly constitutional manner and although as the Government we might not

agree with them, and thought they were proceeding too fast and going too far, yet no fault could be found with their manner of presenting their case or with the resolutions which from their view-point, they advanced.

But all those who made themselves responsible for that definite declaration are now taking part largely in the agitation, which is proceeding in India for boycotting the Commission. The question I have put to myself, and which I have no doubt the Secretary of State must have considered again and again, is,—Would it be possible to appoint a commission in which the leaders of Nationalist opinion could participate with the knowledge that they themselves, not once, but over and over again, have committed themselves, to a definite view as to the policy for which they wished and from which they would not depart? It seems to me that it would be really putting men on the Commission with the knowledge that the opinions they would express are opinions they have already expressed.

I am prepared to admit they would sit on the Commission with every desire to be perfectly fair and keep an open mind. Nevertheless, they have been thinking about this subject for a very long time and, as I have indicated, have already given pledges from which it would seem very difficult for them to recede. I mention that again, merely for the purpose of illustrating the difficulties there would have been had the Government set about appointing a commission composed of those with Indian experience and left these men out. It would at once have been a challenge to Indian political opinion and thought, and it would have been assumed that it had been done purposely with the object either of humiliating them or of preventing their voices and opinions from having full weight.

Lord Reading has here made an unintentional revelation. The members of the Legislative Assembly who formulated the resolution referred to above and those who voted for it were not the only Indians in favour of India's political advance in the direction indicated therein. Except in some details, there was a remarkable resemblance between that resolution, which had the support, among others, of the Congress party, and the resolutions on constitutional advance passed by the Indian National Liberal Federation, the Muslim League and the Non-Brahman Conference. Therefore, the resolution carried in the Legislative Assembly may rightly be taken to be substantially what the leaders of Indian political thought want. Lord Reading's argument is an indirect and unintended admission that the British political parties are united in thinking that this practically unanimous demand of thinking India should not go forth to the world as what India wants in the form of either, a unanimous or a majority or a minority report, of the Statutory Commission, but that, on the contrary, they want a different kind of

conclusion to be arrived at by the Statutory Commission.

Earl Winterton's Speech

Earl Winterton "scouted the attempts to compare the conditions in India with Ireland and Egypt, since Egypt and Southern Ireland were far more homogeneous than the great sub-continent of India had ever been." But the United States of Soviet Republics are probably less homogeneous than or at least as heterogeneous as India, and there has been much greater bloodshed and "welter of anarchy" there than in India. Why does not, then, Great Britain go to that sub-continent to practise her political and economic philanthropy?

"Nobody who knows India", he continued, "will suppose that two Indian gentlemen, whatever their position or intellectual attainments, could represent all the political, racial and economic factors in India." But when did India want only two of the members of the Commission to be Indians? Earl Winterton took an exaggerated view of party differences in India when he said that it would not have been easy to find a single representative who would command the confidence of "each of the six remaining groups."

He has no personal and direct knowledge of Hindu-Moslem relations in India. And in comparing these in Northern India with Protestant and Roman Catholic bitterness in South Ireland and giving his verdict against the former, he does not take into consideration the vast population and area of North India and the responsibility of British rule for the state of communal feelings here.

He asked whether Parliament was not to listen to the millions of people outside the electoral system in India by obtaining their views directly through its chosen representatives, which the members of the Commission would be, and also whether Mr. Walsh and Major Attlee were less likely to be sympathetic to the Moslem minority or the millions of untouchables than to Brahmins or members of the Hindu majority.

If Parliament had chosen Indians to sit on the Commission, would not they also had been its "chosen representatives," and could not they also have told Parliament the views of the millions of people outside the electoral system in India? Indian members could have examined many illiterate Indian witnesses directly without the help of interpreters, whereas the British M. P.'s would constantly require the help of interpreters for the

purpose, which can not be as satisfactory as the direct examination of witness.

In the latter part of the above extract the speaker makes a bid for the votes of the Moslems and the untouchables. But the real question is, has any Brahmin or other Hindu political leader ever asked for anything for Indians excluding Moslems and untouchables? Have not such leaders asked for political rights for all, irrespective of creed, caste or race? On the other hand Britishers, however sympathetic they may be, would not allow any Indian, whether Moslem or untouchable, to advance beyond a certain stage. It is a historical fact, for example, that it is mainly owing to non-Moslem agitation that Indians enjoy some political rights and occupy some high posts in India; but Moslems, too, reap the advantages of the agitation. To speak arithmetically, if Brahmins and other Hindus press for 90 per cent. of Home Rule and get 45 per cent, there is a chance for all Indians to get the full advantage of this 45 per cent. Assuming the Hindu majority to be very powerful and selfish and prejudiced, no minority can fail to have, say, at least a 15 per cent. advantage. On the other hand, British Imperialists would not agree to give us, say, more than 10 per cent. Home Rule. No minority, Moslem or untouchable, can get greater advantage than this 10 per cent. We will give a different kind of illustration to make our meaning clearer. Before doing so, we wish to say that we do not mean the least offence to any minority or majority in India by mentioning the Negroes of America in this connection. In America, the Negroes are even now treated very cruelly, insultingly and unjustly in very many respects. There is no special encouragement given to movements for their education; the discouraging factors are many. But because America is a free and educationally advanced country, the Negroes have shared this advance so much that, though 70 years have not yet passed since their emancipation, more than 77 per cent. of them are literate. In India, inspite of all the profession of sympathy of Britishers, only about 7 per cent. are literate. Neither Moslems nor untouchables are more literate than that, but rather less. That is the value of British sympathy. On the other hand, there are many societies for social service in different parts of the country, whose workers are mostly or entirely Hindus (including Brahmins), which do good

to Muslims and untouchables also without any discrimination. In Bengal, of which we speak because of direct personal knowledge, Moslems and the depressed classes have derived greater benefit from the efforts of social service workers, all or mostly Hindus (including Brahmins), than any other class of people.

Mr. Walsh or Major Attlee or Earl Winterton have not done anything for either Moslems or untouchables, whereas numerous Brahmins and other Hindus have rendered good service to those classes; and so far as real philanthropy, which is not the same as lip sympathy, goes, Earl Winterton, Mr. Walsh and Major Attlee and the rest of that motley crew are not worthy to unloose the latches of these Hindu social workers' shoes.

Mr. Baldwin's Speech

Mr. Baldwin took the name of God in vain when he brought Him in connection with the appointment of the Statutory Commission. He also spoke of the "instinctive sense of justice which is planted deep in the heart of every Briton." We remain unmoved—except in a way not desired by him.

"Exhibition of British Liberty"

The Premier said :—

"I felt that never had there been an exhibition more patent to the world of the height, depth, breadth and strength of British Liberty than the sight of Mr. Saklatwala delivering that speech in the British House of Commons."

Mr. Baldwin can find a still better exhibition of British Liberty if he comes to some Indian jails and some Bengal villages where men have been confined without trial for indefinite periods, resulting in break-down of health, mental derangement, catching diseases like phthisis, or death.

"Thought of Inferiority"

Mr. Baldwin wasted much breath to persuade us to dismiss from our minds any thought of inferiority. But there was a proviso—the British Parliament alone had the responsibility, the right and the capacity to decide how, when and to what extent Indians are to advance or recede or stand still politically. We have not got that right, responsibility or capacity. Yet we must think that we are being treated as equals!

What contempt these Britishers have for our intelligence!

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Speech

In order to charm away all suspicion from the minds of the Indian people, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald perhaps indulged in more special pleading—some of which was obviously unauthorized, than any other speaker in Parliament. But all his efforts have been in vain.

He spoke of the committee of the Central Legislature as the Indian Commission, which no member of the cabinet has done. He seems to think that this so-called commission of the Indian Legislature can make a report if it likes.

"The body from which it owed its origin could deal with that report with exactly the same freedom as we ourselves could deal with our own report."

This is an entirely baseless assumption. The British Parliament can legislate to give India a new constitution in accordance with the recommendations of its Statutory Commission. The Indian Legislature can do no such thing to give effect to the recommendations of its committee, mis-called commission by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

Besides, if both the parliamentary and the Indian commission can report separately, how can the plurality of reports be prevented, on which Lord Birkenhead laid so much stress?

Col. Wedgewood's Plain-speaking

Col. Wedgewood, like many other speakers, drew inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon's 20th century Gospel, Yclept "Mother India;" but he indulged in some plain-speaking, too, and he was right on the whole, we think.

Referring to the Joint Parliamentary Committee to which the Commission would have to refer, he said the Committee would probably include interesting but extinct "dug-outs" who would water down the report.

It might take many years before all its stages would be concluded. Indians must now be thinking that when legislation was introduced in the Commons for their benefit, it would not depend on the report of the Commission, but the actual state of affairs in India at the time.

Yes, if "at the time" Indians can make themselves very troublesome and a cause of economic loss to the British shop-keepers, they may get some "boons". That is the

way to stimulate the generosity of the most altruistic and philanthropic nation in the world. We do not know, however, whether that is what the Colonel meant.

An open mind on the Commission was a good thing if it was not an empty mind. The Commissioners had shown no sympathy in the past; they were making acquaintance for the first time with a problem that had never interested them before. That was why India found it all the more difficult to accept the Commission as a gift.

Nothing could be more futile than non-co-operation, but to refuse the favour of foreigners was a different thing. Indians remembered that the boycotting of the Milner Commission in Egypt, five years ago did not hurt the boycotters, and he was confident that the Indians who boycotted the Simon Commission had nothing to lose. His only hope of the Commission was that very often good came out of evil.

Boycotting the British Parliament

The question has been raised whether the proposed boycott of the parliamentary statutory commission would extend to the British Parliament also. That depends.

India can be free in three ways: by legislation in the British Parliament, by peaceful revolution, or by armed revolution. The first is what may be called the constitutional method. The second, though merely non-constitutional, may be considered by some men unconstitutional. The third though unconstitutional, has the sanction of numerous historical precedents.

Those who have at present declared themselves in favour of boycotting the statutory commission do not, if we understand the position aright, propose to boycott Parliament as well. They intend, we take it, to bring such pressure to bear on the British Parliament and people as to compel them either to modify the personnel of the commission in the way Indians desire or to accept a constitution prepared by a representative Indian national convention or constituent assembly, and to legislate according to the report of that modified commission or for embodying that constitution in a statute. The boycotters will have to devise implement and methods for generating the requisite pressure. The task is not a light one, nor one to be approached in an airily optimistic mood of mind. It may be that before the Indian people have succeeded in becoming even sufficiently organised for the purpose, Parliament will have legislated and given us a new constitution, which, it may be taken for

granted, will be an unsatisfactory one. But even in that case the movement for freedom must go on. It must be broadbased and include all the people. The existing educational and other social service activities must be greatly enlarged.

We do not think it absolutely undesirable, if necessary, to tread the path of peaceful revolution. Those who have faith in the practicability of such a revolution and are prepared to work and suffer for bringing it about may certainly undertake the difficult task. Many of the things, such as non-payment of taxes, which the boycotters of the commission may have to do to bring sufficient pressure to bear on Parliament, are also among the things which the peaceful revolutionists would require to do.

An armed revolution is not at present within the range of practical politics. So the pacifist objections to fighting need not be stated.

A Queer Agra University Rule

For the constitution of the Executive Council of Agra University the following rule has been laid down in the Agra University Act:—

The members of the Executive Council shall be:—

Class I. Ex-officio members—

- (i) The Vice-chancellor,
- (ii) The Deans of the Faculties.

Class II. Other members—

(iii) Six members appointed by the chancellor, of whom one shall represent affiliated colleges in Rajputana, and one shall represent affiliated colleges in Central India and Gwalior.

(iv) Five Principals of affiliated colleges in the United Provinces elected by the Senate.

(v) Nine members of the Senate elected by the Senate at the annual meeting, two of whom shall be teachers of affiliated colleges other than Principals. The others shall be persons not employed by the University or engaged in teaching in any affiliated college and not less than three of them shall be chosen from among members of the Senate elected by the registered graduates.

The reader will note that five principals of affiliated colleges in the United Provinces are to be elected by the Senate. But the principals of affiliated colleges in Rajputana, Gwalior and Central India cannot stand for election by the Senate. Two of them may only be nominated by the Chancellor, i. e., the Governor of the U. P. What is the reason for this distinction? If the members of the Senate can make a judicious selection from among the principals of the affiliated

colleges in the U. P., they are equally capable of making such a selection from among the principals in the Indian States. They have as much opportunity of getting to know the attainments and ability of U. P. principals as of Indian States principals.

Mark also that the Chancellor's two nominations may not be confined to the principals of the Indian States colleges; he may nominate a member of the staff of a college other than its principal to represent it in the Executive Council. In that case, the principal can not but feel slighted by him. Even keeping the door open for such a slight is no mean blunder.

Mark, too, how every care has been taken to prevent any principal of an Indian States college from getting into the Executive Council otherwise than by the Chancellor's nomination. According to sub-section (v), out of the nine members of the Senate elected by the Senate at the annual meeting two shall be teachers of affiliated colleges *other than principals*.

Some probable results of these provisions may be illustrated by taking imaginary examples.

Suppose the Chancellor nominates the principal of Ghayebabad College a member of the Executive Council. That will not stand in the way of any professor of that college who is a member of the senate offering himself for election by the senate at the annual meeting. If he succeeds, Ghayebabad College will have two representatives in the Executive Council. Moreover, the professor who has entered by election cannot help being more highly thought of in some respects than the merely nominated principal.

Suppose, again, that the principal of Goomnagar College is not nominated by the Chancellor. He cannot offer himself for election even if he be a member of the Senate. But if any professor in his college is a member of the Senate, he may offer himself for election!

What, we ask again, are the reasons for this deliberate discrimination against the principals of affiliated colleges in Rajputana, Gwalior and Central India?

The Chancellor cannot possibly know much about the qualifications of the principals and professors of the affiliated colleges in those areas or even in the U. P. For exercising his choice, he will have to depend on his Director of Public Instruction, or on the Vice Chancellor, or on the Political

Agents. Election by the members of the Senate would be preferable to nomination by these persons. The Senate would be less likely to be influenced by considerations other than educational than by the persons named above. Or is it intended that the persons to be appointed by the Chancellor from the Indian States colleges must either be Europeans or perfectly oily Indian courtiers?

Number of Indians Leaving South Africa

It is stated in a special cable to the *Statesman*, dated Capetown, November 3, that since July over one thousand repatriated Indians have left the South African Union and there are seven hundred more on the waiting list. This shows that hundreds of Indians do not like the terms of the Agreement.

"The Statesman" on Sir J. C. Bose

The Statesman speaks patronizingly of Sir J. C. Bose's Mysore University Convocation address as "an otherwise eloquent and convincing address;" but is unpropitious because he *seemed* to suggest that it was the duty of the Government to find billets in the service of the state for *all* promising students." It cannot and does not say that Prof. Bose *actually* made such a suggestion. It thinks it all right that technical and scientific education of the highest class should be available in India.

But when he wants the *bhadralog* provided with safe and presumably well-paid posts at the expense of the general taxpayer, he is forgetting that Government exists for the good of the community and not of the class.

The Statesman would like very much that our *bhadralog* youth, after receiving the highest technical and scientific training, should not be employed by the Indian Government; because that would interfere with the absolutely philanthropic plan of obtaining all well-paid experts from Great Britain or, failing that, from the continent of Europe. The *bhadralog* do not form part of the community, nor do they pay taxes; nor can their employment as experts conduce to "the good of the community. Therefore, the Government exists, not for them, but for Britishers and other white persons.

Funeral Procession in Honour of Abdur Rashid

The huge procession of some thirty to fifty thousand Muhammadans in Delhi to do honour to Quazi Syed Abdur Rashid, who was hanged for murdering Swami Shraddhananda, shows the mentality of a considerable section of Muslims, as well as the fact that Muslim leaders conspicuous at unity conferences have no influence with this large section.

Where Ignorance is Bliss

The Young Muslim wants not only communal representation, but, consistently with the humorous Bengali characterization of the twig of the bamboo as being tougher than its stem, it wants that each minority group in India should be allowed to send an equal number of representatives to the legislatures with every one of the majority groups, irrespective of the numbers of the either. Quite practical and equitable suggestion! In support of this claim it writes:—

For equal representation in the legislative bodies the analogy is not far to seek. In the United States of America each State sends an equal number of representatives to the legislatures, irrespective of its physical dimensions and the number of its population. Australia may be taken as yet another example. For this ensures equal representation of all interests which cannot lose themselves in the predominance of any particular section.

This is not quite correct. What is really done, for example, in the United States is that each State send only to the Senate or Upper House of Congress an equal number of representatives, irrespective of its size or population. The number of representatives of each State to the Lower House of Congress, called the House of Representatives, is determined by its population. Such is roughly the case in Australia also. And it should be borne in mind that neither in the United States of America nor in Australia is there any communal representation or equal representation of minority and majority credal or sectarian groups.

Centenary Edition of Rammohun Roy's Life & Works

The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta is bringing out a memorial edition, in three volumes, of the life and works of Raja Rammohun Roy on the occasion of the Rammohun Roy centenary celebrations, which

will commence next year. The volumes will include several important contributions from eminent men on the place of Rammohun Roy in the world's religious and social history. The three volumes will be priced at Rs. 15 the set. But those who send in their subscriptions now will get the set for Rs. 10 only. As a limited number of sets only will be printed, it is advisable that admirers and reverers of the great Raja should send their subscriptions without delay to Mr. Hem Chandra Sarkar, Secretary, Rammohun Centenary Committee 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. It is necessary to inform the public that there is no complete edition of the Raja's works now in the book market.

Corruption in Great Britain

The recent epidemic of corruption among Government servants as brought to public notice by frequent cases reported in the Press at least proves that the British Government of India is not run on entirely efficient and economical lines. The popular ideas about *upari* (extra-salarial) income as an effective source of wealth to underpaid officials (also to the overpaid) go to prove that whatever the statistics of reported cases of corruption may show, underhand dealing is an established thing in the house (of steel frame) that John Company built. At the beginning we thought this corruption was of local origin (the heritage of the declining Moghul Court) and that the British regime cases were cases of infection; but further enquiry has shown that corruption is "native" also in Great Britain, just as 'graft' is so in America. The following cutting from the *Times* of London throws some light on the state of affairs in Great Britain:

PREVENTION OF BRIBERY.

League's Coming Of Age.

A meeting to celebrate the 21st anniversary of the Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League was held at the Mansion House yesterday, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Sir Edward Fry, the first president of the League. The Lord Mayor presided at the opening of the proceedings, after which his place was taken by Sir Albert Spicer.

The Lord Mayor said that the meeting was not only the celebration of an anniversary but a recognition of valuable work which successive Directors of Public Prosecutions had said to be of national importance. It would be really satisfactory if the League, having accomplished its task, was being dissolved, but the Solicitor-General had expressed the opinion that the League was as much needed as ever. Support for the League should never be lacking in the City of London, which had always enjoyed a high reputation for fair dealing. (Cheers.)

Sir Albert Spicer moved that: "This meeting regrets that, as bribery is still so widely prevalent and as the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1906, was intended mainly to check practices tending to shake confidence between man and man and so discouraging honest trade and enterprise, prosecutions are so seldom undertaken except by the police and other public authorities; and urges that more general support should be given to the League in its work, which is of national importance."

He said that the League found as much to do as ever, and Lord Lambourne, the president, who was unable to be present owing to indisposition, was not speaking without book when he asserted that "bribery is still rampant and a disgrace to our country and trade." In the post-war years dishonesty seemed to have developed. Since January 1, 1907, there had been, according to the League's records, 499 convictions under the Prevention of Corruption Act only in Great Britain and Ireland. Of these convictions 190 had been police cases, and only 101 private cases. Since the war, beginning with 1920, there had been 140 police cases, 60 cases in which some Government Department or local authority prosecuted, and only 34 private cases. Fifteen of the 34 had been cases in which the League prosecuted or advised, leaving only 19 instances in eight years in which convictions were obtained through private cases irrespective of the League.

Obviously the public did not take proper advantage of the Prevention of Corruption Act. The expense and trouble, increased by the proviso that the consent of the law officers must be obtained before any prosecution could be brought, were contributory causes, but the chief reason was that in private life people were still indifferent or shrank from their duty from fear of scandal. The League was organized to educate public opinion, and it could prosecute with an authority denied to private persons, whom it could relieve of any charge of being actuated by rivalry or revenge. The League had this year been compelled to economize at the expense of efficiency, and without more general support it could not do what it would like or continue to do what it ought to do.

Sir Stanley Machin seconded the resolution. He said that this work fortunately was becoming international. In *The Times* of that day there was an interesting account of how other countries were realizing the vital importance of the question. Great Britain was the first country to tackle this canker. Was it too much to ask that the League should have the support of every big industrialist and manufacturer and of every one else who had the purity of our commercial life at heart?

Mr. G. H. Longman, chairman of the executive, moving a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, said that they did not attach so much importance to prosecutions as to efforts to educate public opinion. He complained that the clergy and ministers of all denominations had proved singularly unhelpful. Of all the clergy invited to that meeting, there was not one who had not made an excuse. Efforts had been made to educate young people. Over 10,000 who were about to start business life on leaving school had been addressed.

Miss Ruth Fry, seconding the motion, said that the social body was behind in the application of

science to its relations. It had not yet been sufficiently realized that poison could not be introduced into the social body and that body not suffer.

Dr. Meynen, of the German Embassy, said that an international congress would be held in Berlin next year and he was convinced that the organizations in Germany concerned with this matter would do their best to make the congress a success. The Germans were as keen as the English to suppress bribery and secret commissions. The competent German authorities who gave a large amount of official support to the German League were much interested in the international aspect of the subject. They would certainly do everything in their power to help those who had at heart the prevention of bribery and secret commissions to carry out their most important and noble work.

An enquiry into British methods of corruption may probably enlarge the vision of India's amateur "corrupts." It will also give us a clear idea of the immensity of the danger of keeping ourselves attached to Great Britain any longer. Truth, justice, fair play, etc., are becoming mere business slogans in the land of "Cricket." These high British sentiments help the honest to deceive themselves and the dishonest to deceive others. We should beware of British morals and British sermons

League of Nations Health Experts in India

The health experts of the League of Nations who are now visiting India are well informed men and probably are in need of no advice. But let us nevertheless point out to them certain outstanding facts of India's health problem which they may miss on account of their outstandingness. For scientists and experts have no respect, as a rule, for the simple and the obvious. They love the mysterious and the microscopic, the hardly noticeable and the complex.

To put it bluntly, three quarters of India's ill health is due to poverty, and the rest to ignorance. It is economic exploitation and backwardness that gives us our greatest scourges, malaria, plague, tuberculosis and enteric diseases. Our ignorance also is largely due to poverty. So that, what we want more than anything else are education and economic regeneration. Without these, no amount of sermonisation or even medical relief, will help solve our health problem.

Erratum

November, 1927, Page 598, 3rd line—for "Kailash Chandra Dutt" read "Kailash Chandra Gupta".

